

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

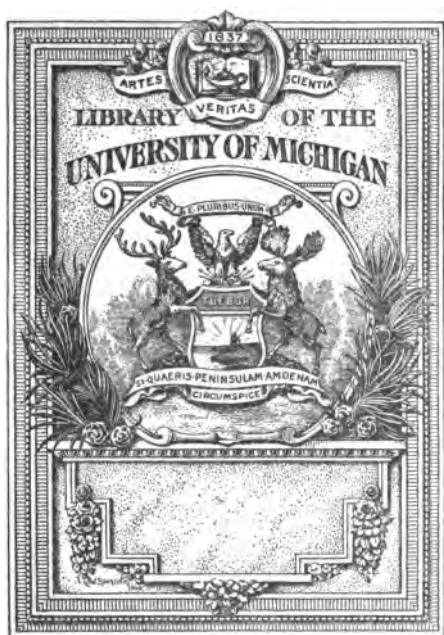
B 953,383



AP

4

S43



AP

4

S43



THE SCOTTISH REVIEW.

THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

4115 15

JANUARY AND APRIL,

1892.

VOL. XIX.

ALEXANDER GARDNER,
Publisher to Her Majesty the Queen,
PAISLEY; AND 26 PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON.

MDCXXII.

INDEX TO VOLUME XIX.

A.			
Aarbøger for Nordsk Oldkyn-			
dighed og Historie, ...	228	Church, Rev. R. W., Dean of	
Ainger, Rev. Alfred, M.A.,		St. Paul's, Village Sermons,	480
Tennyson for the Young, ...	242	Conder, Major C. R., Ancient	
Aitken, Geo. A., The Life and		Trade, ...	74
Works of John Arbuthnot,		The Canary	
M.D., ...	469	Islanders, ...	272
Alexander, Very Rev. W., D.D.,		Craib, Alex., F.S.A. America	
D.C.L., Lord Bishop of		and the Americans, ...	477
Derry and Raphoe, The			
Leading Ideas of the Gospel,	461	D.	
Ancient Trade, by Major C. R.		Dargenty, G., Antoine Wat-	
Conder, D.C.L., R.E., ...	74	teau, ...	481
Anson, Sir W. R., Bart., Law		Darien Expedition, The, by B.	
and Custom of the Constitu-		Taylor, ...	54
tion, part 2, The Crown, ...	468	David, Duke of Rothesay, by	
Anthropological History of		the Marquess of Bute, K.T.,	297
Europe, by John Beddoe,		Death of Gustavus Adolphus,	
LL.D., ...	405	The, by John Mackay, ...	400
Archivio Storico Italiano, ...	215,442	Deutsche Rundschau, ...	203,426
Archivio Storico per le Pro-		Dilke, Sir C. W., and Spencer	
vince Napolitane, ...	214,444	Wilkinson, Imperial Defence,	478
ΑΣΤΤ, ...	215	Dods, Prof. Marcus, D.D.,	
		Erasmus and other Essays,	233
		Duff, late David, D.D., LL.D.,	
		The Early Church, a History	
		of Christianity in the First	
		Three Centuries, edited by	
		his Son, ...	231
		Dyer, Professor Henry, The	
		Race Across the Atlantic, ...	1
		E.	
B.		España Moderna, La, ...	222,451
Beddoe, J. LL.D., Anthro-		Eyre-Todd, Geo., Abbotsford	
logical History of Europe, ...	405	Series of Scottish Poetry,	
Beasley, E. S., Queen Elizabeth,	467	Early Scottish Poets, ...	242
Bibliothèque Universelle et		Mediaeval Scot-	
Revue Suisse, ...	221,450	tish Poetry, ...	481
Bompiani, S., Italian Explorers			
in Africa, ...	240	F.	
Brief Counsels concerning Busi-		Fitzroy, A. J., Dogma and the	
ness, by an Old Man of Busi-		Church of England, ...	230
ness, ...	240	Free Church Layman, A, Pres-	
British Thought and Modern		byterian Reunion and a Na-	
Speculation, by R. M. Wen-		tional Church, ...	177
ley, D.Sc., ...	141	Freeman's History of Sicily,	
Brooke, Rev. Stopford A.,		by J. B. Bury, ...	26
Short Sermons, ...	480	Freeman, Prof. E. A., Histori-	
Bury, J. B., Freeman's His-		cal Essays, Fourth Series, ...	466
tory of Sicily, ...	26	Fyfe, J. Hamilton, Annals of	
Bute, The Marquess of, K.T.,		Our Own Time, Vol. III.,	
David, Duke of Rothesay, ...	297	part 1, ...	241
C.			
Canary Islanders, The, by			
Major C. R. Conder, ...	272		
Church, Rev. A. J., Stories			
from the Bible, second series,	241		

G.			
Gide, De,	224, 457	Logan, Rev. R., Genealogical Chart of the Royal Family of Great Britain,	469
Giornali Storico della Let. It.,	442		
Gore, Rev. Chas., M.A., The Incarnation, (Bampton Lectures for 1891),	229	M.	
Gough, H., Heraldry, British and Foreign,	245	MacGregor, Rev. James, D.D., Apology of the Christian Religion,	230
		Mackintosh, John, LL.D., The History of Civilisation in Scotland, Vol. I.,	465
H.		Mackay, John, The Death of Gustavus Adolphus,	400
Hall, Rev. Dr. C. C., Into His Marvellous Light,	480	Maclean, Hector, Ultonian Hero-Ballads,	481
Harrison, Frederic, The New Calendar of Great Men,	238	M'Lennan, Malcolm, Muckle Jock, and other Stories of Peasant Life in the North,	479
Hatherly, Rev. S. G., Translated Greek Office-Books,	113	Macmillan, the Rev. H., D.D., LL.D., The Gate Beautiful,	241
Hannay, D., Rodney (English Men of Action),	242	MacNicol, E. R., Dare Macdonald,	242
Hazell's Annual for 1892,	243	Maxwell, Alexander, F.S.A. Scot., Old Dundee . . . Prior to the Reformation,	234
Heraldry, British and Foreign, by H. Gough,	245	Michel, E., Les Brueghel,	481
Herkless, Rev. J., Cardinal Beaton,	241	Milligan, Prof. W., D.D., The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of Our Lord (Baird Lectures for 1891),	461
Hymnology of the Christian Church, by J. Telford,	377	Morris, Mowbray, Montrose, Morrison-Grant, Lewis, Protomantis and other Poems,	477
J.		Müller, F. Max, Anthropological Religion,	463
John Major, Scottish Scholastic, 1470-1550, by T. G. Law, M.A.,	344	Murray, Prof. J. C., LL.D., A Summer School of Philosophy,	98
Jubainville, H. D'Arbois de, Cours de Littérature Celtique, Tome V., l'Épopée Celtique en Irlande, Tome I.,	472		
Jullien, Adolphe, Musicians d'Anjou d'hui,	481	N.	
		New Religion, A, by Coutts Trotter,	326
K.		North, Marianne, Recollections of a Happy Life,	475
Keltie, J. S., The Statesman's Year-Book, 1892,	480	Nuova Antologia,	210, 438
King's Cup-bearer, The,	240	Nuova Archivio Veneto,	442
Kirkpatrick, Prof. A. F., The Divine Library of the Old Testament,	233		
Kondakoff, N., Histoire de l'Art Byzantin, Tome II.,	475	O.	
		Oliphant, Mrs., Jerusalem; its History and its Hope,	232
L.		Organization of Secondary Education in Scotland,	161
Lang, Dr. Arnold, Text-Book of Comparative Anatomy,	239	Orpen, G. H., The Song of Dermot and the Earl,	474
Latto, Thomas C., Memorials of Auld Langsyne,	243		
Laurie, Prof. S. S., Ethica, or the Ethics of Reason,	243	P.	
Law, T. G., John Major, Scottish Scholastic, 1470-1550,	344	Pensiero Italiano,	214, 443
Lawless, Hon. Emily, Grania, the Story of an Island,	479	Presbyterian Re-Union and a National Church, by a Free Church Layman,	177
Leisure Hour,	240		

Preussische Jahrbücher, ...	245, 425	Studi di Filologia Romanza, ...	442
R.		Summer School of Philosophy, ...	98
Race Across the Atlantic, The, by Prof. Henry Dyer, ...	1	A, by J. C. Murray, LL.D., ...	240
Rassegna Nazionale, ...	212, 434		
Rassegna delle Scienze Sociali e Politiche, ...	215, 441, 445	T.	
Revue Celtique, ...	220, 449	Taylor, Benjamin, The Darien Expedition, ...	54
Revue des Deux Mondes, ...	217, 447	Telford, J., Hymnology of the Christian Church, ...	377
Revue des Etudes Juives, ...	220	Theologische Studien und Kritiken, ...	205, 427
Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, ...	219, 448	Theologisch Tijdschrift, ...	227, 455
Revue Philosophique, ...	447	Tomkins, Rev. H. G., Life and Times of Joseph in the Light of Egyptian Lore, ...	240
Revue des Religions, ...	219, 448	Translated Greek Office-Books, by the Rev. S. G. Hatherly, ...	113
Revue Scientifique, ...	217	Trotter, Coutts, A New Religion, ...	327
Robertson, Prof. James, D.D., The Early Religion of Israel (Baird Lectures, 1889), ...	460		
Robertson, J. Logie, Thomson's Seasons and Castle Indolence, ...	242	V, W.	
Robertson, Rev. W. B., D.D., Martin Luther, etc., ...	241	Valabiegue, Abraham Bosse (Artistes célèbres), ...	481
Rooskahyah Mysl, ...	428	Vaughan, Rev. J. C., D.D., The Prayers of Jesus Christ, ...	240
Rosbery, Lord, Pitt, ...	235	Vickers, John, The Real Jesus, ...	462
Ross, J. S., Burnasiana, ...	243	Vigoureux, Charles, L'Avenir de l'Europe, ...	243
S.		Voprosi Filosofii i Psichologii, ...	205, 432
Sayce, Prof. A. H., D.D., Races of the Old Testament, ...	240	Ward, Mrs. H., David Grieve, ...	479
Scholfield, Alfred T., M.D., How to Keep Healthy, ...	240	Warschauer, Dr. O., Saint-Simon and der Saint-Simonismus, ...	481
Scuola Positiva, La, ...	214, 444	Wenley, R. M., D.Sc., British Thought and Modern Speculation, ...	141
Séguin, L. G., Heroism in Humble Life, ...	240	Westermanns Monats-Hefte, ...	204, 426
Sellar, W. Y., The Roman Poets of the Augustan Ages — Horace and the Elegaic Poets, ...	470	Wilson, F. Mary, A Primer on Browning, ...	242
Smart C., Introduction to the Theory of Value, ...	480	Wingate, Major F. R., R.A., Madhiism and the Egyptian Sudan, ...	236
Smetham, S. and W. Davies, Letters of James Smetham, ...	237	Wordsworth, Bishop C., Annals of my Early Life, 1806-1846, ...	238
Stalker, Rev. James, D.D., The Preacher and his Models, ...	232	Wright, W. Aldis, The Cambridge Shakespeare, Vol. V., ...	239
Stephen, Sir J. F., Horæ Sabatica, ...	473		
Strachey, Sir John, Hastings and the Rohilla War, ...	464		

ERRATA.

Page 117, footnote, line 3, for 1772 read 1722.

„ 400, 14th line from bottom, for Lauenberg read Lauenburg.

„ 402, 7th line from top, for narrative read narrator.

THE SCOTTISH REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1892.

ART. I.—THE RACE ACROSS THE ATLANTIC.

THE industrial revolution which has been going on during the past hundred years, and which has profoundly affected social and economic conditions, has been immensely accelerated, especially during the latter half of that time, by the great development of locomotion both by land and sea. Every country which has any claim to being considered civilized is intersected by railways, and swift steamers now traverse every sea, so that individuals, goods, and correspondence are transported from one part of the globe to another, with great ease, rapidity, and cheapness. These facilities, combined with the use of the electric telegraph, have not only vastly extended commerce and industry, but have also revolutionised their methods by profoundly altering the conditions under which they are carried on. The discoveries of science and the developments of their application have been great levellers, and have tended to make economic and industrial conditions everywhere the same. Individuals and corporations have no longer the opportunities by which, on account of special position or information, they were formerly enabled to maintain practical monopolies and amass immense fortunes, for the rapid means of communication very soon place the same advantages at the disposal of competitors. What is true of individuals and corporations is also true of nations, and of none more than of

Britain. Her natural resources, especially of the raw materials required in the manufacture of machines, coupled with the energy and ability of the British merchant and manufacturer, and the fact that they had the start in the race, enabled her not only to obtain the industrial supremacy of the world, but also in a sense to annex the products of all other countries. Now, however, these special conditions are rapidly disappearing as other countries are developing their resources, and as means of transport and communication are being extended. Practically, the world has been shrunk to very small dimensions, and the younger generation must look forward to a time, when the centre of magnitude of the world's industry and commerce will be very much nearer newer countries than Britain, and also when the conditions of that commerce and industry will be very different from those which at present exist.

The most important development of the applications of science to the improvement of means of communication is that which has taken place in the steamships which trade between Britain and America, and as for some years past the race across the Atlantic has been attracting the attention of all classes of the community, and as new developments are continually taking place, a short time may be usefully spent in considering the means by which these became possible, and the steps by which they were brought about. The interest in the subject is by no means confined to Britain, and the 'greyhounds of the Atlantic' are no longer only of British origin. France and Germany have recently both produced steamships which are little if anything behind the best of British design and construction, and from America we have the report that an attempt will soon be made to build ships which will cross the Atlantic in three days. Whether this be possible or not, can best be judged by glancing at what has been done in the past, and noting the conditions of further progress.

It is not necessary for our purpose that we should go back to the days of Jonathan Hulls, De Jouffroy, Fitch, and Rumsey, when the earliest attempts at steam navigation were carried out, or even to those of Symington, Miller and Taylor more than a hundred years ago, of Fulton in America, and of Henry

Bell on the Clyde. It will be sufficient if we start from the point when ocean steam navigation became a possibility from the improvements which had taken place in the design and construction of ships and engines. It should be a matter for national pride, that Clyde engineers and shipbuilders early in the race, took the lead which they still hold. The names of Wood, Scott, Steel, Denny, Caird, David and Robert Napier stand pre-eminent among the founders of the great industry of shipbuilding. Of Wood it has been said by a competent authority that 'he was the father of all that is best in the style of our ships, and truest in the practical application of science in the shipbuilding of Great Britain,' while of David Napier, an equally competent authority was of opinion 'that from the year 1818 until about 1830 he effected more for the improvement of steam navigation than any other man.' In 1818 he established steamship communication between Glasgow and Belfast, and a little later between Dover and Calais, and between Liverpool, Greenock and Glasgow. In 1822, the *James Watt* was constructed by the Messrs. Wood, and this marked a decided step in advance. It was 448 tons measurement, and in form, strength of construction, and speed was very much before every vessel of its day, having a speed of 10 miles an hour. The engines were by Boulton and Watt, and were geared between the crank and the paddle shafts. From the time of the construction of the *James Watt* a gradual increase took place in the size, and improvement in the design and construction of ships and engines, until what was called the leviathan class was reached.

Curiously enough, however, the first steamship to cross the Atlantic was not British. In 1819, an American vessel, the *Savannah*, crossed to Britain partly sailing and partly steaming, her engines being only auxiliary to her sails. She was originally intended to ply between New York and Savannah as a sailing packet, but she was purchased by Savannah merchants and fitted with steam machinery, her paddle-wheels and shafts being placed on deck when they were not being used for propulsion. She took 25 days to go from Savannah to Liverpool, 18 of which were under steam. After a visit to the north

of Europe she returned to America, where her machinery was taken out, and she resumed her original character as a sailing vessel, and was ultimately wrecked on the south coast of Long Island. The *Savannah* therefore scarcely deserves a place in the roll of early steamships. In 1833 the *Royal William* crossed from Quebec, but all her hold had to be filled with the fuel which was necessary for the voyage, so that although such a vessel could be used for coast trade, it could not be successful commercially for trans-oceanic traffic.

The whole subject, however, was eagerly discussed by engineers and scientific men, and many speculations and designs were laid before the public, and Parliament collected evidence on the matter. In 1834 Mr. M'Gregor Laird, the founder of the Birkenhead firm, laid before a Committee of the House of Commons on Steam Navigation to India, the following estimate of coal consumption :—

Under 120 H.P., $10\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per H.P. per hour.

„	160	„	$9\frac{1}{2}$	„	„
„	200	„	$8\frac{1}{2}$	„	„
„	240	„	8	„	„

It will be interesting to compare these figures with the average consumption at the present day ; but coming as they did from a practical engineer, it was not to be wondered that those who had no experience of such matters, looked upon the proposal of steamships to cross the Atlantic, and be self-supporting financially, as altogether visionary with the existing conditions of engineering and shipbuilding. Dr. Lardner is reported to have said : * ‘As to the project which was announced in the newspapers, of making the voyage directly from New York to Liverpool, it was, he had no hesitation in saying, perfectly chimerical, and they might as well talk of making a voyage from New York or Liverpool to the moon.’ This is all that is usually known of Dr. Lardner’s opinions, but he himself always protested that the report did him an injustice, and it is only right that this should be known. It is unfair to judge any scientific man from a newspaper report which

* Report of Lecture in *Liverpool Albion*, delivered in Liverpool, 1835.

is necessarily very much condensed, and which possibly omits very important conditions which modify the opinions expressed. It may therefore be well, after all that has been written on this subject, to endeavour to arrive at the actual facts.

In 1836 projects had been started by two different and opposing interests, one advocating the establishment of a line of steamers to ply between the west coast of Ireland and Boston, touching at Halifax, and the other a direct line, making an uninterrupted trip between Bristol and New York. At the meeting of the British Association in Dublin in 1836, Dr. Lardner advocated the former of these projects. At the subsequent meeting in Bristol in 1837, he again urged the advantages of the same route, and by comparison discouraged the project of a direct line between Bristol and New York. Dr. Lardner continued to declare * ‘that the popular rumour that he had pronounced the Atlantic voyage impracticable, to be entirely destitute of foundation, and he brought evidence to show that he distinctly affirmed the contrary, by quoting the following extract from a report which appeared in the *Times* to this effect :—

‘ Dr. Lardner said he would beg of any one, and more especially of those who had a direct interest in the inquiry, to dismiss from their minds all previously-formed judgments about it, *and more especially upon this question, to be guarded against the conclusions of mere theory*, for if ever there was one point in practice of a commercial nature which, more than another, required to be founded on experience, it was this one of extending steam navigation to voyages of extraordinary length. He was aware that since the question had arisen, it had been stated that his own opinion was adverse to it. *This statement was totally wrong*, but he did feel that great caution should be used in the adoption of the means of carrying the project into effect. Almost all depended on the first attempt, for a failure would much retard the ultimate consummation of the project.

‘ Mr. Scott Russel said that he had listened with great delight to the lucid and logical observations they had just heard. He would add one word. Let them try this experiment, with a view only to the enterprise itself, but on no account try any new boiler or other experiment, but to have a combination of the most approved plans that had yet been adopted.

‘ After some observations from Messrs. Brunel and Field, Dr. Lardner,

* *The Steam Engine*, Eighth Edition, p. 295.

in reply, said, that *he considered the voyage practicable*, but he wished to point out that which would *remove the possibility of a doubt*, because if the first attempt failed it would cast a damp upon the enterprise, and prevent a repetition of the attempt.'

What Dr. Lardner did affirm and maintain in these discussions was that the long sea voyages by steam which were contemplated could not be maintained with that regularity and certainty which are indispensable to success, by any revenue which could be expected from traffic alone, and that without a Government subsidy of a considerable amount, such lines of steamers, although they might be started, could not be permanently maintained. He advocated the establishment of a line of steam communication between one of the western ports of Ireland and Boston, touching at Halifax, and he insisted on the necessity for a liberal subsidy for carrying the mails as an indispensable condition for the commercial success of the enterprise, and the experience of the early steamers justified his opinions. Dr. Lardner may have erred in the way of over-caution, and have failed to estimate the possibilities both of engines and ships, as he based his calculations on a coal consumption of 12 lbs. per 1 h.p. per hour, with a speed of 8 knots, but he does not deserve to be held up to ridicule, as he generally is, when his name is mentioned in connection with the early attempts at trans-Atlantic navigation.

The first British steamship which crossed the Atlantic was due to the genius of Brunel. As engineer to the Great Western Railway, which had its terminus at Bristol, he suggested that the operations of that line should be extended to New York, and in 1836 a steamship company was formed, and the keel of their first ship, the *Great Western*, was laid down at Bristol. Her principal dimensions were:—length over all, 236 feet; breadth, 35 ft. 4 in.; depth of hold, 23 ft. 2 in.; draught of water, 16 ft. 8 in.; tonnage by measurement, 1,340 tons; displacement at load-draught, 2,300 tons, and the indicated horse-power of the engines, 750. She was launched in July 1837, and sailed from Bristol on Sunday, April 8, 1838, arriving at New York fifteen days later, at very nearly the same time as the *Sirius*, a vessel which had been purchased

The Race across the Atlantic.

by another company, and prepared for the voyage to York. The fastest westward passage of the *Great W.* was 12 days 18 hours; her longest, 22 days 6 hours. fastest eastward passage was 12 days 7½ hours; the longest 15 days. Whatever may have been the theoretical opinion of those interested in steam navigation, the success of *Great Western*, as Carlyle said, 'left our still moist proof demonstration to dry itself at leisure.'

Before proceeding further with the history of the development of the steamship, it will be well to briefly sketch principles on which that development depended, beginning with the engines, which are still essentially those of Watt. Engines and machines seem to undergo a process of evolution very similar in its nature to that which is observed in animal and vegetable kingdoms. The earliest steam engine consisted of few parts or organs, but each of these performed several distinct functions. As the development proceeded there was greater complexity of construction, but at the same time more definitiveness and certainty in the actions of the parts, accompanied by greater compactness and ease of management. This is easily seen if we look at the engine designed by Papin, in which the boiler, the cylinder, and the condenser were combined in one, and then at Newcomen's, in which the boiler was separated from the cylinder, and lastly at Watt's, in which the condenser was separated from the cylinder. The tendency to multiply parts, and to limit the functions still continues, and instead of the steam being used in one cylinder, it is now very often used in two, three or more cylinders, each with separate organs of admission and exhaust and requiring an increase in the number of the parts of the mechanism.

The engines of the *Great Western* were of the inverted beam or side lever type, which remained for a good many years the ordinary type of the larger marine engines. They were not by any means self-contained, the keelsons and framing of the vessels being largely relied upon for resisting the stresses arising from the action of the engines. Of course, under such conditions, a low pressure of steam and steady uniformity of

motion were matters essential to their safe working, and the makers of such engines seemed to exercise their ingenuity on their architectural details rather than on the proper disposal of the metal for resisting the stresses which acted on their various parts. The pressure of the steam employed rarely exceeded 10 pounds on the square inch above that of the atmosphere, and the space occupied in the hull by the engines and boilers was nearly one-third of the ship's length. Engines of the side lever type have now entirely disappeared, although even at the present day, ordinary beamed engines are largely used in American river and coasting steamers, and with their long strokes and steady motion, hold their own against the modern type. Many modifications of the side lever engine were designed, but now when paddle engines are used, engines of the direct acting diagonal or oscillating type are usually employed for driving them. When the screw propeller was introduced, shortly after trans-oceanic navigation was firmly established, and for a considerable time thereafter, the same kind of engines was used for driving it as were employed for paddle vessels, the connection between the crank and the propeller shaft being effected by means of gearing. Now, however, the screw propeller is almost always driven directly from the crank shaft, and the most common types of engines employed are the horizontal and the vertical, the former in the navy, in which it is necessary that the machinery should be below the water-line, and the latter in the mercantile marine.

The great increase of efficiency in steam engines since the days of Watt, has been brought about chiefly by the increase of the pressure of the steam used, and it is rather curious to note that Watt did all in his power to discourage and prevent the introduction of high pressure steam. He seemed to be quite aware of the economical advantage of such steam, and his chief reason for objecting to its use was that he feared the danger which would attend it. Influenced no doubt by Watt's example, the progress of high pressure steam was very slow, and even then it seems to have been more due to increased confidence in the materials of construction than to a clear recognition of the principles involved. The experiments of Joule

on the dynamical equivalent of heat, and the mathematical investigations of Thomson, Rankine, and Clausius, no doubt had a certain effect, but the science of thermodynamics was more often used for explaining accomplished facts, than for indicating the way to new developments. The foundations of that science had been laid as early as 1824, when Sadi Carnot, the uncle of the present President of the French Republic, published his classical work *Reflexions sur la Puissance Motrice du Feu*, in which he enunciated the fundamental principle which governs all heat engines, namely, that the real value of heat as a source of mechanical power depends on the temperature of the working substance relatively to that of surrounding bodies, and consequently that high pressure engines derive their advantage over low pressure engines simply from their power of making useful a greater range of temperature.

For a considerable time after the introduction of ocean navigation, little attention was paid to the direct economy of fuel, although various causes, such as the improved forms of hulls, the use of iron in their construction, and the introduction of the screw propeller, led to a greater tonnage being propelled with the same amount of coal. As trade extended to foreign countries where coal was expensive, steamship owners saw the necessity for reducing its consumption, and engineers exercised their ingenuity in bringing this about. Among those who led the way in the design and construction of engines of a more economical type, the names of John Elder, Charles Randolph, and John M. Rowan deserve to be specially mentioned among Scotch engineers.

There was a gradual rise in the pressure of steam used in marine engines, until it reached from 30 to 40 lbs. on the square inch. When it had risen to the latter figure, and considerable expansion was employed, the variation in the temperature of the cylinder caused a large amount of initial condensation of the steam, followed by a certain amount of re-evaporation towards the end of the stroke. This had been observed long before by Watt and Smeaton, but no systematic investigation of the phenomena was made until the researches of Clark, Isherwood, Hirn, and others, fully explained the

action of the sides of the cylinder on the steam. It was to obviate this action to a certain extent that compound engines became necessary, and to John Elder is largely due the honour of having successfully applied such engines for marine purposes. He, moreover, re-introduced the steam jacket invented by Watt, but which had gone wholly out of use in marine engines, and he was thus able to prevent a considerable amount of the initial condensation, as well as that caused by the expanding steam doing work.

In 1854 the firm of Randolph, Elder & Co. fitted the screw steamer *Brandon* with compound engines, and it was found that she consumed about $3\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. of coal per indicated horsepower per hour, as compared with 4 or $4\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. with simple engines. It next supplied several sets of engines, of the same type, to the Pacific Steam Navigation Company; and during many years' subsequent service the consumption of coal in those steamers was from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 lbs. per indicated horsepower per hour, a degree of economy never before realised in marine engines, amounting as it did to a saving of from 30 to 40 per cent. of the coal previously burned by steamers of the same class. Gradually the pressure of the steam was raised to 80 lbs., and in some cases to 100 lbs., on the square inch, but it was soon found that at the higher pressures a recurrence of the evils of the simple engines took place. This led to triple expansion engines, in which the steam is expanded successively in at least three separate cylinders. Such engines form the most important development in marine engineering which has taken place during recent years, and their commercial success is largely due to Dr. A. C. Kirk, senior partner of Messrs. Napier & Co. In such engines, generally speaking, steam of a boiler pressure of at least 150 lbs. on the square inch is employed, and being admitted into the first or high-pressure cylinder, it is cut off at about three-fourths of the stroke and allowed to expand; it then passes into the mean pressure or middle cylinder, and from that into a third cylinder of much greater capacity, where it is still further expanded; and, lastly, it escapes into the condenser. The general principle is that in the triple expansion engine, the fall of temperature is divided be-

tween at least three cylinders, and the amount of condensation in each is reduced, and what does take place is to a large extent utilised during re-evaporation behind the pistons of the mean and low pressure cylinders. A saving of from 25 to 30 per cent. of fuel, as compared with ordinary compound engines, was the result of the introduction of those with triple expansion. Quadruple expansion engines have been used for steam pressures of 200 lbs. on the square inch, and upwards, and it might be thought that all that is required for still greater efficiency are higher steam pressures and greater expansion. But it must be remembered that the rate of increase of temperature of saturated steam decreases as the pressure increases, and as the cost of construction of engines increases with the pressure, a point must soon be reached when the increase of efficiency of the steam will be balanced by the increase of cost, and by the loss of efficiency of the mechanism from increased friction. It is evident therefore that with the pressures possible with the type of boilers at present in use, we have almost reached the limit of expansion which is desirable, and that a further increase of efficiency must be sought in higher temperatures, or in new types of engines and boilers, possibly in all three combined.

The use of the multi-cylinder engine has to a very large extent rendered the steam jacket unnecessary, for as already stated, the fall of temperature is divided between the cylinders, and the amount of condensation in each is reduced. Moreover, it ought to be remembered that the steam-jacket is a necessary evil, justified only by the properties of the steam and of the materials hitherto used in construction, for while it increases the work done by the expanding steam, the increase is by no means so great as it would be if the heat employed in the steam-jacket had been applied to generate more steam for use in the cylinder. This is at least one point which was indicated by the science of thermodynamics before it was ascertained by practical experience, for the use of the steam-jacket, as ordinarily constructed, involves a violation of the fundamental law of maximum efficiency of heat engines, which requires that they should receive all their heat at the maximum and give it

out at the minimum temperature, and not as in the case of an engine with a steam-jacket, some of it at temperatures between these, and at times when the heat imparted lessens the efficiency, as it evidently must do at and near the end of the stroke. Hence in multiple expansion engines, in which the variation of temperature in each cylinder is not very great, steam-jackets have been either wholly or partially omitted. In marine engines, however, apart from their primary use, jackets are very convenient for heating the cylinder on starting, and as the liners are always cast separate from the exterior casing, they have the further advantage of convenience of renewal when the interiors of the cylinders become worn.

The chief stages in the development of the marine engine are clearly marked by the pressure of the steam used, and the amount of coal consumed per indicated horse-power per hour, and these may be briefly recapitulated. Until about 1830 the pressure seldom exceeded 3 lbs. on the square inch above that of the atmosphere. From that date a gradual increase took place, and in 1845 the average was about 10 lbs. on the square inch. By 1850 it had reached 15 lbs. In 1856, Randolph, Elder & Co., employed pressures of 30 lbs. in their compound engines, but it was not till almost ten years later that such pressures became general in the merchant service. On the compound engine becoming common, pressures rose suddenly to 60 and in some cases to 80 and 100 lbs. on the square inch, and now for triple expansion engines the average is over 150 lbs., while for quadruple expansion engines it is 200 lbs. on the square inch. With regard to coal consumption, the earliest marine engines must have used nearly 10 lbs. per indicated horse-power per hour. In the well known side lever engines it was about 7 lbs., while for engines in use before the general introduction of the compound type 4 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. was the average. Randolph, Elder and Co., as we have seen, had an average of from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 lbs. In 1872, when two cylinder compound engines had been in use for some years, the average was found to be about 2.11 lbs., being a saving of nearly 50 per cent. over the ordinary engines, while in 1881 there was a reduction to 1.828 lbs., or a further saving of 13.37 per cent. With triple

and quadruple expansion engines there has been a still further reduction of about 25 per cent., the consumption of fuel in some of these engines being as low as $1\frac{1}{2}$ or $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb. per indicated horse power per hour. This method of measuring the performance of engines in terms of the consumption of fuel per indicated horse-power per hour is convenient for approximate calculations, but it cannot be considered scientific. It would be more exact to use as unit of comparison the weight of steam consumed per unit of power given out, and that unit should not be the indicated horse-power, but the actual horse-power, of which the indicated is only one of the factors. This would involve a measurement of the efficiency of the mechanism of marine engines, and on this subject we know little or nothing. In every department of scientific investigation, progress has been marked by the advance in the methods of measuring the quantities involved. At first these were merely qualitative or relative, and the aim is always to make them quantitative and absolute, and this aim should be kept more distinctly in view by marine engineers and shipowners than it has hitherto been, for they have been content with methods which may give very inexact impressions.

Space will not allow us to enter into the details of the improvements which have been made in the design and construction of marine engines, a brief enumeration of the more important is all that is possible. The early rectangular flued boiler has given place to the cylindrical tubular, with corrugated flues and forced draught; the surface condenser has replaced the old jet form; and improved valve gears, pistons, bearings, the use of separate pumps for feed and circulating water, have all added to the efficiency. Increased piston speed has led directly to economy of weight, the power developed being proportional to the speed, and the weight not being affected by the increased speed to any great extent. In the early marine engines from 150 to 200 feet per minute was the average piston speed; now from 600 to 800 feet per minute is common, and 1000 feet per minute is not unknown. The extended use of steel has enabled engineers to reduce the weight of their engines and boilers to a very considerable

extent, and has thus added to the freight carrying power of the vessels. The screw propeller has replaced the paddle wheel in all trans-oceanic steamers, and twin screws are now becoming common in the passenger steamers of the largest size; and they are to be commended, not only on account of the additional safety they give to the vessels, but also because they enable them to enter harbours with a comparatively small depth of water. A modern ship is almost a working museum of many departments of mechanical engineering. In the main engines we have incorporated all the most recent developments of steam engineering; but these, although the most important, now form only a small part of the things requiring the attention of the chief engineer. Appliances for starting and reversing the engines, for shipping and discharging cargo, pumps of various kinds, condensing apparatus, steam steering-gear, electric lighting, and signalling apparatus of various kinds, are examples of what are now required, and the result of the use of which has not only been to enable the ship to make more voyages, but also to reduce the number of seamen very much. At the present time the number of persons required to work a steam vessel is about one-half of what it was at the beginning of Her Majesty's reign; a fact which proves how necessary it is for the shipowner to keep himself informed regarding the most recent developments of mechanical engineering.

There is still great room for improvement and development not only in these smaller arrangements, but also in the main engines and their connections. The complete efficiency of a marine engine is the resultant of the separate efficiencies of the boiler, the steam, the mechanism, and the propeller. To give a rough idea of the value of this, the first of these components may be assumed at $\cdot 6$, the second at $\cdot 2$, and the third and fourth combined at $\cdot 5$. The resultant efficiency is therefore $\cdot 06$, that is to say, that only about one-sixteenth of the energy of the fuel is utilised in the propulsion of the vessel; so that notwithstanding the progress which has been made during the first century of the marine engine, there is still a wide field for the ingenuity of the engineer and the shipbuilder.

The improvement in the design and construction of steam engines, and in mechanical appliances generally, led to a very rapid development of the sizes, and increase in the strength and conveniences of steamships, and we may now resume the historical treatment of the subject, and note the main stages of that development. The success of the *Great Western* demonstrated beyond a doubt the possibility of establishing regular steamship communication between England and America, and made others anxious to take part in the venture. The Great Western Company built another ship the *Great Britain*, and as it was notable for being the first large ship built of iron, and also for using the screw propeller instead of paddle wheels, it may be interesting to give a few details of its career. It was designed by Mr. Brunel and built by Messrs. Paterson & Sons of Bristol. Her keel was laid on the same site as that from which the *Great Western* was launched, and it was not until she was nearly completed that it was discovered that the gates of the dock into which she was launched were not of sufficient width to allow her egress. These however were enlarged and she was floated in 1845. Her rig was that of a six-masted schooner. Her chief dimensions were:—Length between perpendiculars 322 feet, beam 51 feet, depth 40 feet, tonnage 3733 tons, cargo space 2000 tons, coal space 1000 tons; with accommodation for 600 passengers. Her engines were of 1000 horsepower, and she was propelled by a four-bladed screw. Her first trip was to London where she excited much interest, being visited by Her Majesty, the Royal Family, by members of the aristocracy, men of science, and many others. She made two voyages successfully between Liverpool and New York, but on the third, her commander mistaking the coast lights ran her aground in Dundrum Bay, Ireland. She lay there for nineteen months before the efforts to raise her were successful. On being raised she was towed to Liverpool, where she lay in dock for nearly three years, when she was purchased by a private company, and in 1851 she was refitted, and it was found that so strongly was she constructed that little or no damage was perceptible in her frames, planking and rivetting. She was supplied by Messrs. Penn & Sons with new engines of the

oscillating type, capable of being worked up to 800 horsepower, the steam pressure being 10 lbs. on the square inch. She made the voyage from Liverpool to New York in June 1852, but on her return she was placed on the Australian trade, where she was long a favourite passenger vessel. She was laid up for some years at Birkenhead, where she was an object of much curiosity, and finally having had her engines taken out and being sheathed with wood, was converted into a sailing vessel. She made one successful voyage to San Francisco, but on her second in 1886, she put into Stanley, Falkland Islands, damaged, where she was surveyed and condemned, and afterwards turned into a coal hulk. She certainly deserved a better fate, for at the time of her construction she was as bold a conception as was her designer's later and much more unsuccessful venture, the *Great Eastern*.

The first regular line of steamers between Britain and America, was the North American Royal Mail Steam-Packet Company, which was organised in 1840, by Mr. Samuel Cunard of Halifax, Mr. George Burns of Glasgow, and Mr. David M'Iver of Liverpool, a company which is best known by Mr. Cunard's name. Its promoters were able to secure a subsidy from the British Government for carrying the mails, and thus were able to overcome the financial difficulties which their competitors encountered, and this arrangement was continued for forty-six years. In 1886, it was discontinued and the mails sent by any steamer which might be selected by the Government. At first the service was monthly, and afterwards fortnightly, and the ports called at were Liverpool, Halifax and Boston. Eventually, on a larger subsidy being paid by Government, a weekly service was established between Liverpool and New York, as well as a semi-monthly service between Liverpool and Boston.

The first ships of the Cunard Line were the *Britannia*, *Arcadia*, *Caledonia* and *Columbia*, all wooden paddle steamers, constructed on the Clyde, and supplied with side lever engines by Mr. Robert Napier. The first of these sailed from Liverpool on July 4th, 1840, and after a passage of 14 days and 8 hours arrived safely at Boston. The principal dimensions of

The Race across the Atlantic.

the *Britannia*, which was the representative of the others, as follows:—length of keel and fore rake, 207 feet; breadth of beam, 34 feet 2 inches; depth of hold, 22 feet 4 inches; draught, 16 feet 10 inches; displacement, 2050 tons; indicated horse-power, 740; bunker capacity, 640 tons; cargo capacity 225 tons; cabin passengers carried, 90; average speed, 6 knots. These ships were thus much smaller than the *Great Britain*, and even slightly smaller than the *Great Western*, about the same coal consumption and rather less speed. So, however, other steamers were constructed of somewhat larger size and greater speed, but for some years the progress was steady rather than rapid. All we can do here in the meantime is to indicate some of the chief landmarks.

One of these although not directly connected with Atlantic trade was the founding of the Peninsular Company in 1837, which at first confined its operations to the ports of Spain and Portugal, but soon extended them to India under the name of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, now so well known, and whose extensive fleet has long done excellent service not only for India but also for China and Japan, and the Australian Colonies. Another most important step was the establishment in 1840 of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, which has done so much to develop the resources of South America, and to connect that Continent with Europe.

Meanwhile the speed of the Cunard steamers was gradually increased. In 1847, four new steamers, the *America*, *Niagara*, *Canada*, and *Europa*, each of 1820 tons, with side lever engines of 680 horse-power nominal were built by Napier. The *America* was the 'greyhound' of her day, being noted as the swiftest steamer on the Atlantic, her fastest passage from Liverpool to Halifax being done in 8 days 23 hours out, and 8 days 10 hours home, being about three days faster outwards, and 2 days homewards than the speed of the Cunarders when the line was started eight years previously, which is a remarkable advance in so short a time. This, however, was considerably above the average of the ordinary steamers, which was about 10 days 13 hours outwards, and 9 days 15 hours homewards, also a considerable advance on that of the *Great Western*.

The Americans were naturally anxious to obtain a share both of the glory and the profit of the Atlantic steamship trade, and in 1847 established a line between New York and Bremen, touching at Southampton. The pioneer ship of the line was the *Washington*, of about 4000 tons displacement and great proportional engine power, and consequently from which high speed was expected. The results, however, were not on the whole satisfactory. The chief competitors of the Cunard steamers were those of the Collins Line, which was formed in 1850, and supported by a large subsidy from the American Government. The most important of the other Atlantic lines were the Inman, the North-German Lloyd, the French Compagnie Transatlantique, the National, the Williams and Guion, (latterly the Guion), the White Star, the Allan and the Anchor Lines, all of which afforded many good examples both of ships and engines.

The contest as regards speed was for some years chiefly between the ships of the Cunard and the Collins lines, and both companies exerted themselves to the utmost. The first vessels of the Collins line were named the *Arctic*, *Baltic*, *Atlantic*, and *Pacific*, and were each of 3,000 tons, their chief dimensions being: length, 282 feet; breadth, 45 feet; and depth, 32 feet. The Cunard Company immediately added two new steamers to their fleet, the *Asia* and the *Africa*, built by Steele of Greenock. They were 268 feet long, 40 feet broad, and 28 feet deep, with a tonnage of 2,226. The engines were of the side-lever type, with cylinders 96 inches in diameter, and 9 feet stroke. The vessels were built of oak, and had accommodation for 180 passengers, and a cargo capacity of 600 tons. The superior engine power of the Collins steamers enabled them to slightly surpass in speed those of the Cunard line. In 1852 the best Collins passage outwards was 10 days 3 hours, while the best Cunard passage for the same route was 10 days 19 hours. The corresponding homeward passages were 9 days 13 hours 30 min., and 10 days 5 hours 10 minutes, respectively. The Cunard Company in 1852 added the *Arabia* to their fleet, and a few years later the celebrated *Persia*, which on one occasion made the passage from New York to Liverpool in 9 days 2 hours 55 minutes. Her

length was about 350 feet keel, with a registered tonnage of 3,766. The engines were still of the side-lever type, and were of 3,600 indicated horse-power. Her consumption of coal was 3.47 lbs. per hour, and her average speed about 13 knots. The contest was expensive to both parties, and in the end was ruinous to the Collins Company, which collapsed in 1858, as both the shareholders and the American Government declined to spend any more capital. Since that date there has been no American trans-Atlantic line, and the American nation has steadily lost ground in the shipping trade. Now, however, another attempt is about to be made, with the aid of Government subsidies, to obtain a larger share of the carrying trade of the world.

The Inman line was started in 1850, but it was not till 1857 that it entered into direct competition with the Cunard line by making New York its port of destination in America instead of Philadelphia. The Inman steamers, which were built and engined by Messrs. Tod & M'Gregor of Glasgow, differed from those of their rivals in the facts that they were built of iron instead of wood, and were propelled by screws instead of paddles. Their directors also initiated the custom of carrying emigrants in steam vessels. These had hitherto been compelled to go in sailing vessels, and very often suffered great hardships from the protracted voyages and tempestuous weather. It may be noted that the *Great Eastern* was built in 1858, and great expectations were formed of her capabilities, but she scarcely affected the Atlantic trade, for after a short time she was employed chiefly in cable laying, and being unsuccessful financially she was broken up about a year ago.

In order to meet the increasing competition of the Inman and other companies, the Cunard built the *Scotia*, which was a magnificent example of the older style of shipbuilding and marine engineering, and worthy of the reputation of the firm of Robert Napier & Co., but she was the last of her kind. Her length was 379 feet, her tonnage 3,871, and her indicated horse-power 4,570. Her speed, on a coal consumption of 159 tons per day, was 13 knots, and she made the homeward voyage to Liverpool in 8 days 22 hours. In 1864-5 the Inman Company added to their fleet two notable ships, the *City of Paris* and the *City of New York*,

prototypes of their more famous successors of to-day. In 1866, in a race between the *Scotia* and the *City of Paris*, the former covered the distance to Queenstown in 8 days 7 hours 10 min., and the latter 8 days 16 hours 40 min.

The number of notable steamers now becomes so large that only a few of the most striking can be mentioned. In 1868 the North-German Lloyd had several vessels of 14 knots speed built, which made very satisfactory passages. In 1865 Messrs. Napier constructed for the French Transatlantic Company the *Ville de Paris* and the *Pereire*, both of which were distinguished by their performances. In 1867 Messrs. Thomson built the *Russia* for the Cunard line. She was 358 feet long, 2,960 tons, with engines of 2,800 indicated horse-power. Her speed averaged 13 knots, and she had many a race with the *City of Paris*, which had made the voyage in 8 days 4 hours, and this remained for a year or two the fastest run on record. The compound engines now entered the field, the first steamers fitted with such engines for the Cunard Company being the *Batavia* and the *Parthia*, built by Messrs. Denny of Dumbarton. The introduction of compound engines caused a considerable amount of new construction in all the principal ocean lines. In 1870 the White Star line was inaugurated, and its vessels have always been distinguished by their comfort, safety, and speed. In 1875 the *Britannic* and the *Germanic* were built for this line. They were of 5,000 tons, and 5,500 indicated horse-power, and they made the passage from Liverpool to New York in 7½ days.

For a few years there was somewhat of a lull in the contest, but it was evidently only to make more effective preparation for a more exciting competition. In 1879 Messrs. Thomson built the *Gallia* for the Cunard Company. In comparing the *Gallia* with the *Persia*, Sir William Pearce stated that the *Gallia* carried, besides her passengers, fuel, stores, etc., 2000 tons measurement or 1,700 tons weight of cargo, for which 20s. was considered a fair rate, and was competed for, and that the *Persia* burned on her voyage 6½ tons of coal for every ton of cargo she carried, while the *Gallia* burned something less than half-a-ton for every ton of cargo she delivered, although she carried it at two-and-a-half knots an hour faster. But Sir William Pearce soon

The Race across the Atlantic.

came to the conclusion that even this could be excelled, so, for this purpose, he constructed the *Arizona* for the Guion Line, which had been instituted in 1863. She was not much larger than the White Star vessels, but her model was different, and had greater power, her tonnage being 5,147, and her indicated power 6,630. She had engines of the compound type with three cylinders, one high pressure and two low pressure, with connecting rods set on three cranks at angles of 120 degrees, an arrangement which added to the steadiness of motion. Her best passage was made in 1884, when she made the distance from Liverpool to New York in 7 days 6 hours 14 minutes, and the return voyage in 7 days 3 hours 38 minutes. This result caused considerable activity in the shipbuilding world, and led to the construction of many notable steamers. Among these may be mentioned the *Servia* for the Cunard Line, the *Alaska* and the *Oregon* for the Guion, and later on the *Umbria* and the *Etruria* for the Cunard. For some years the two latter were the fastest steamers on the Atlantic, the average speed being $18\frac{1}{2}$ knots on a consumption of fuel of 325 tons per day. The following table shows the best passages in the years 1885-89:—

OUTWARDS.					
Year.	Month.	Steamer's Name.	Passage.		Average Speed. Knots.
1885,	August,	Etruria,	6 d.	6 h. 31 m.	18·7
1886,	September,	Umbria,	6 d.	5 h. 8 m.	18·6
1887,	May,	„	6 d.	4 h. 34 m.	19·2
1888,	„	Etruria,	6 d.	2 h. 7 m.	19·6
1889,	September,	„	6 d.	1 h. 44 m.	19·3
HOMEWARDS.					
1885,	August,	Etruria,	6 d.	7 h. 32 m.	18·4
1886,	July,	Umbria,	6 d.	10 h. 8 m.	18·2
1887,	February,	Etruria,	6 d.	5 h. 19 m.	19·4
1888,	November,	Umbria,	6 d.	3 h. 12 m.	19·1
1889,	December,	Etruria,	6 d.	4 h. 20 m.	19·1

Towards the end of the period named other competitors for supremacy had entered the field, and notably the *City of Paris* and the *City of New York* of the National and Inman Line, and

* *Engineering*, May 8, 1891, p. 546.

the *Teutonic* and *Majestic* of the White Star Line, all being fitted with twin screws. The *City of Paris* is 10,500 tons gross register, and is 527 feet long. Her speed with 20,000 horse-power is nearly 22 knots, her best run on service being a little over 20 knots, and her daily consumption of coal is about 320 tons. The *Majestic* is 9,851 tons gross, and 565 feet long, that is 38 feet more than the *City of Paris*, which latter, however, has the advantage of 5·4 ft. greater beam. The *Majestic* consumes about 290 tons of coal per day, and her indicated power on her trial trip was 17,000 horses. Her speed, taking the mean of ten voyages, is 19·72 knots. The following* are the particulars of the runs in which the record was broken in 1888-90 :—

OUTWARD RECORD RUNS.

Etruria, -	June, 1888,	6 d. 1 h. 44 m.	19·3
City of Paris,	May, 1889,	5 d. 23 h. 7 m.	19·95
„	July, 1889,	5 d. 23 h. 10 m.	19·6
„	August, 1889,	5 d. 19 h. 18 m.	20·01
Teutonic, -	„ 1890,	5 d. 19 h. 5 m.	20·175

The contest, however, has not been confined to British owned steamers. The North German Lloyd, and the Hamburg-American Company now own ships, some of them built on the Clyde, some at Birkenhead, and others at Stettin, which are little, if anything, behind the others we have mentioned, either in speed, comfort, or safety. The French have also determined not to be behind in the race, and the new Atlantic liner *La Touraine*, French built and owned, in her first passage last summer from Havre to New York, has beaten the record from any French port to America, her passage being 7 days 3 hours and 11 minutes. If we allow 16 hours for the extra distance of Havre from New York as compared with Queenstown, it gives 6 days 11 hours for a passage from Queenstown of equal speed. The *La Touraine* is 512 ft. long and 55 ft. broad, with a displacement of 11,675 tons. To drive her at 20½ knots she has twin-screw engines of 13,000 indicated horse-power collective, which is equal to 1·11 I.H.P. per ton of displacement. The

* *Engineering*, May 8, 1891, p. 546.

The Race across the Atlantic.

Etruria for 19 knots has 1·36 I.H.-P.; the *City of Paris* for 19 knots 1·38 I.H.-P., and the *Teutonic* for 19·7 knots 1·42 I.H.-P., which shows good results for the French steamer.

The latest developments of the Atlantic race show a close approximation between the best steamers of the White Star, the Inman, and the Cunard Lines, there being only a difference of a few hours in favour of the order in which the names are given for the fastest passages of each varying from 5 days 16 hours 31 minutes to 6 days 2 hours 31 minutes. The Cunard Line is thus temporarily a little behind in the race, but a Company which has shown such spirit in the past is not likely to give up the contest, even with such remarkable competitors as she now has. Two new steamers, each 600 feet in length, have been ordered, and it is stated that their guaranteed speed is to be 21 knots on the measured mile, and 21 knots at sea. This latter speed will enable the passage across the Atlantic to be accomplished in about 5 days 10 hours.

Before considering the conditions which affect the speed of steam vessels, a few remarks may be made on the relation of speed to safety, a matter of more importance than a difference of a few hours in the length of the voyage. From 1838, the time when trans-Atlantic steamship traffic was established, till 1879 there were one hundred and forty-four steamers of all classes lost. Of these, twenty-four never reached the ports for which they sailed, their fates being unknown, ten were burned at sea, eight were sunk in collisions, three were sunk by ice, and the others were stranded or lost from various causes. Many of these were small, but some were of considerable size, and their loss caused much public feeling. The first which disappeared was the *President*, which was never heard of after she sailed in 1841. A Cunard steamer, the *Columbia*, was wrecked by running ashore in 1843, but it is somewhat remarkable that this was the only Atlantic steamer lost in thirteen years after the disappearance of the *President*, a fact which speaks volumes for the quality of the workmanship of the shipbuilders and engineers, and the skill and care of the navigators. In 1854 the *City of Glasgow*, with four hundred and eighty souls on board, was never seen or heard of after she sailed, and in the same year the *Arctic*, of the

Collins' line, was sunk by a collision, and five hundred and sixty-two persons perished, and two years later another steamer of the same line disappeared with one hundred and eighty-six persons on board. The *Austria*, of the Hamburg-American line, was burned at sea, in 1858, with a loss of four hundred and seventy-one lives. Some of the most striking losses in the following years were the *City of Boston*, of the Inman line, which disappeared in 1870 with upwards of two hundred persons on board; the *Atlantic*, of the White Star line, which ran ashore in 1873, causing the loss of five hundred and sixty lives; the *Ville du Havre*, of the French line, which was sunk by collision in the English Channel, and two hundred and thirty persons drowned; the *State of Florida*, sunk by collision with a sailing ship; and the Cunard liner *Oregon* by the same cause with a coal schooner. Statistics show a great decrease in the number of accidents and losses during what may be called the modern period of the steamship, as compared with the earlier, and especially with the transition period from sailing vessels to steamships, and no doubt may be accounted for by the fact that the officers in charge were more thoroughly acquainted with their duties, and the ships and engines more efficiently constructed. The record for the year 1890 was of the most satisfactory kind for, notwithstanding all the risks involved, we find that there were nearly 2,000 trips made from New York alone to various European ports, and that about 200,000 cabin passengers were carried in addition to 372,000 emigrants, all without any accident. It is an interesting fact to note that in the large lines of steamers the average safety of the sailors' life is high. The late Mr. Thomas Gray stated, for instance, that in the Union line to the Cape he found that only one passenger had died in twenty years, and that four seamen died in three years. In the P. & O. only one seaman had died in one year in the forty vessels of the line, and during three years not a single passenger had been lost; the Inman liners had lost no passengers out of a million, and only eleven seamen had died in three years; and the Cunard liners had no passengers lost in three years, and only nine seamen dead.

In conclusion, space will only allow a very few remarks on the general conditions of increase of speed, the complete investiga-

tion of which opens up a very wide field indeed. As a preliminary it may be noted that the very common expression of so many knots an hour is not correct, as a knot is a measure of rate of speed per hour, and not of length. It is sufficient to say, for instance, that the speed of a ship is 20 knots, which means that she is travelling at the rate of 20 nautical miles per hour, the nautical mile being 6,080 feet, and the land mile 5,280 feet.

We have seen that progress has been made by slow and steady steps, and this is likely to continue unless we have a complete change in the types of ships, of engines and boilers. So far as can be seen at present, the shape of steam vessels is not likely to be materially altered, as it is substantially the same as that of the Viking's craft of more than a thousand years ago, and seems to conform to the arrangements of Nature, with regard to fishes, as nearly as the materials at our disposal will admit. It must be remembered that increased speed is not simply a question of more power relatively to displacement, but that each shape of vessel has a speed to which it is specially adapted, and that any attempt to drive it beyond that speed would lead to a great expenditure of power with little useful result, as the energy would be chiefly expended in raising waves. It is found by experiment that for ordinary speeds the resistance of the water to the passage of the ship through it is proportional to the square of the speed, and as the work to be done is equal to the resistance multiplied by the velocity, it follows that the power needed to propel a ship varies as the cube of the speed. For higher speeds it varies as a higher power than the cube, which can only be ascertained by experiments with actual ships or with carefully prepared models. It can also be shown that the power required for propulsion varies approximately as the cube root of the square of the displacement. These points must be carefully remembered in considering the possibilities of still further increased speeds, and they shew the necessity for increasing the size along with the speed. If anything like the present speeds had been attempted with vessels of the size which were common on the Atlantic thirty or forty years ago, the size of engines required, and the extra expenses involved, would have reduced the earning power of the ships very much, and possibly in many cases made it disappear, but remembering

the second of the above-mentioned points, namely, that the power required varies as the cube root of the displacement squared, it is evident that the proportion of power to tonnage will decrease considerably as the sizes of the ships increase, and consequently that it will be more economical to propel a large ship at a higher speed than a small one. The future development of the steamship, however, depends on conditions, about which it is impossible to say anything very definite. The materials of construction have been changed from wood to iron, and from that again to steel. We cannot foretell the possibilities of bronze, manganese, aluminium, and other metals. The engines have developed from inverted Watt engines, through a great variety of forms, to multiple expansion engines of great complexity and considerable efficiency. All these may be rendered useless by some other form of heat engine, or by the application of electricity. When once we have some idea of what electricity is we may be able to dispense with a great deal of our complicated machinery for the conversion of energy. It is evident, therefore, that the limits of the sizes and of the speeds of steamships in the future are to be determined by commercial considerations and experience, rather than by abstract scientific speculations, or even by mathematical and physical calculations.

HENRY DYER.

ART. II.—FREEMAN'S HISTORY OF SICILY.

The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., Hon. D.C.L., LL.D. Vol. I.—The Native Nations; the Phœnician and Greek Settlements. Vol. II.—From the beginning of Greek Settlement to the beginning of Athenian intervention. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1891.

THE importance and interest of Sicilian history, both ancient and mediæval, have never failed to win recognition, and scholars and historians have bestowed plentiful attention upon

various periods. But these periods have been always kept apart, almost as if they belonged to the histories of different lands. Those who explored the island of Greeks and Phœnicians knew nothing of it as the island of Saracens and Normans; while those who told the stories of Maniakēs and Roger of Hauteville forgot the deeds of Gelôn and Timoleôn. Writers about Panormos cared nought for Palermo, and writers about Palermo did not concern themselves with Panormos. And in truth Sicilian history appears more fragmentary by nature than the histories of other lands, and this appearance can be easily explained. Sicily has never been the home of a nation; it has always been the meeting-place of nations, whose chief homes were elsewhere. Thus its history seems to lack that continuity which belongs to the life and growth or decline of a single nation. Sicily might strike one as an island of episodes—an island doomed to belong to everybody and anybody except herself, to be the theatre of odd scenes from many different dramas, but to have no drama of her own. The mere land itself—the mere boards of the stage to keep up the metaphor—might seem to be the only unity that Sicilian history could claim.

But this is only the first aspect. It is many years ago now since Mr. Freeman, in an historical essay, taught us something better. He professes to have learned the secret from Grote, who, in writing about the Phœnicians and Greeks, glanced forward in a brief but great sentence at the Saracens and Normans. 'We are here introduced to the first known instance of that series of contests between the Phœnicians and Greeks of Sicily, which, like the struggles between the Saracens and the Normans in the eleventh and twelfth centuries after the Christian era, were destined to determine whether the island should be a part of Africa or a part of Europe, and which were only terminated, after the lapse of three centuries, by the absorption of both into the vast bosom of Rome.' But Grote did not work out this idea in all its bearings. Mr. Freeman, taking it as his text, created a completely new view of Sicilian history. He showed that Sicily has a drama of her own, and that her history has a unity beyond the mere geographical unity. She is the land of 'historical cycles.' Her early history foreshadows her later history,

her later repeats her earlier. She is the island set between the eastern and western waters of the Midland Sea, and for her the East and the West struggled—in ancient days the Phœnician with Greek and with Roman, in later days the Saracen with 'Roman' and with Norman. Almost continuous with Italy—once in the forgotten past actually continuous with Italy—yet not too far from the coasts of the southern continent, was she to be part of Asiatic Africa, or part of Europe; was she to be a Semitic or an Aryan land?—this was the question for her both in the 5th century B.C. and in the 11th century A.D.

But if Mr. Freeman's new exposition of the cycles of Sicilian history was suggested by Grote, his conception of a history of Sicily is assuredly original. It could hardly have occurred to any one else. Few but the common historian of the Achæan league and the Norman Conquest could have ever dreamt of a task which would demand equal mastery of Diodôros of Agyrium and Geoffrey of Malaterra, and a readiness to turn from the pages of Holm to those of Amari, from the deeds of Agathoklès and Pyrrhus to those of Belisarius and Maniakès. In two respects the appearance of the first instalment of the new *History of Sicily* recalls the great work of Gibbon. In the first place, both works embrace vast periods treated on a large scale. Mr. Freeman's period indeed is considerably larger than Gibbon's; the Decline of the Empire begins at the end of the second century A.D., so that the history of Sicily has a start of about 900 years. On the other hand, while Gibbon advances to the middle of the 15th century, Mr. Freeman will probably halt about the middle of the 13th. But if Mr. Freeman has the better of Gibbon by 700 years, the advantage is not so great as it seems, for during many scores of years in which exciting events were being enacted in other parts of the Empire, provincial Sicily, far away from the frontiers, has no recorded history whatever. Moreover, in point of geographical space, while Gibbon had to expatiate throughout the whole Empire, Mr. Freeman has only one of its small provinces. Yet it seems probable that the *History of Sicily*, when it is finished, will be at least as big a book as the *Decline and Fall*, for Mr. Freeman aims at completeness in details, whereas Gibbon, in the second half of his work, gives only the broad out-

lines of imperial history. The other point in which Mr. Freeman's subject reminds us of Gibbon has been touched upon already. Both historians have to deal with many diverse nations; one with the countless peoples who were admitted into or who invaded that Empire, which was thought almost to include the world, the other with the various nations who came from the ends of the earth to the battleground in the centre of the Mediterranean. In the history of Roman Sicily during the imperial period there will be many points of contact between the two historians. Mr. Freeman, too, will have to tell of Ostrogoths and Vandals, of Odovacar and Theodoric, of Belisarius and Maniakês. For such were the strange fortunes of that southern island that its history is emphatically of ecumenical import; and this fact must be appreciated in order to understand the scale on which its historian has planned out his work.

At first Mr. Freeman only meant to write a Norman Conquest of Sicily which should be a companion work to his *Norman Conquest of England*. The likenesses and contrasts between these two remarkable episodes of the Norman Duchy in Gaul and the Norman Duchy in Italy, leading each to a Norman kingdom in a great adjacent island, rendered such a study very tempting. But just as the story of William the Norman could not be written without taking the mind to Robert the Duke and Roger the King, so the story of the struggle of these with the Saracens could not be written without travelling back to the struggle of Gelôn and Thêrôn with the Phœnician. And so it came about that the same historian who formerly told how, in the land of the Britons, arose a new England, now tells how in the land of the Sikels arose a new Greece.

It will be readily conceived that Sicily furnishes Mr. Freeman with abundant opportunities for bringing out the truths and applying the methods which specially associate with his name. He has a theme which, if any other, lends itself to teaching the continuity of history, and one which of all others is suited to illustrate the place which geography holds in history. Both these matters are dealt with in the First Chapter, headed 'Characteristics of Sicilian History,' where a general survey is taken of the whole subject. Here Mr. Freeman is able to

go to and fro among the ages, as he loves to do, and does with such lucidity and force. Two characteristic passages may be quoted. Of foreign deliverers who came to Sicily he writes thus :

'We may begin with the Athenian expedition. Athens sent against Sicily a would-be conqueror in the person of Alkibiadēs, a striver after conquest against his will in the person of Nikias. The success of that expedition might have led to the dominion of a city of old Greece in Sicily, perhaps in Africa. Presently old Greece, instead of invaders of Syracuse, sent her champions. Diôn, Spartan by adoption, Timoleôn, Corinthian by birth, came on the errand of deliverance. Then, at the call of Tarentum, Sparta and Epeiros sent forth a line of princes, who came half as deliverers, half as conquerors. They sought doubtless to do what they could to deliver the Western Greeks from barbarian attack, but they further aimed at founding a Greek dominion in the West, to balance the Greek dominion which the Macedonians had founded in the East. They, too, have their cycle. They are repeated in a later series of conquerors and deliverers, some of whom come, like them, from the Greek-speaking lands of the East. Belisarius, George Maniakēs, Roger of Hauteville, Peter and Frederick of Aragon, perhaps even Charles of Bourbon in his own eyes, answer to the series from Archidamos to Pyrrhos, and stand distinguished from simple conquerors like Henry the Sixth and Charles of Anjou. And, last of all, the unsullied glory of Timoleôn shines forth again in the unsullied glory of Garibaldi' (p. 24).

Only Mr. Freeman could bring home to us the geographical relations of Sicily, as they are brought home in the following words :

'At no time had Sicily lost its old character of the meeting-place of nations ; but it became so again in a special way under its Norman rulers. Now, yet more than under Dionysios and Agathoklēs, does Sicily become the centre of a dominion which stretches into Italy, Africa, Illyria, and Greece. Close dealings with those lands was the necessary fruit of the geographical position of the island. Whether Sicily should be a power ruling in those lands, or a province ruled by the master of some or of all of them, was decided in various ages by the circumstances of those several ages, and partly at least by the characters of particular men. A land must be badly off, indeed, which cannot rise to greatness under the guidance of an Agathoklēs or a Roger. The connexion between Sicily, Italy, and the Greek and Illyrian lands is kept up equally, whether the conquerors or deliverers go from the East to the West, or from the West to the East. Pyrrhos, lord of Epeiros and Korkyra, rules at Tarentum and Syracuse ; he wins Panormos and threatens Africa. Starting from another point, his dominion is almost exactly reproduced in the fluctuating dominion of the

Sicilian kings of the twelfth century. All ruled in Sicily and southern Italy ; most of them added some dominion, greater or less, in the lands east of Hadria, or even in Africa itself. The connexion between Sicily and Greece lived on after the Norman dynasty had passed away, and even after the Sicilian kingdom had been split asunder. Manfred and Charles of Anjou ruled on both sides of the Hadriatic. A day came when, of the kings of Sicily on the two sides of the Pharos, Achaia owned the lordship of him of the island. A Duke of Athens, owing homage to a Spanish king at Panormos, did not come within the dreams of Alkibiadés. Nor did the wider insight of Polybios foresee a Gaulish king at Naples holding a supremacy over a large part of Peloponnésos. We might go further still. When Edmund, son of Henry the Third, was shown to Englishmen in a Sicilian garb as King of Sicily, it is well to remember that the realm which he claimed took in spots beyond the Hadriatic with which Englishmen had to do in earlier days, and with which they had to do again in days far later. The Sicilian realm, which Popes took upon them to dispose of, took in Dyrrhachion and Korkyra—we must by that time say Durazzo and Corfù. When Belisarius offered Britain to the Goth in exchange for Sicily, he hardly foresaw a prince from Britain claiming a Sicilian crown. We cannot take a glance at the central land of the elder European world without finding our range of sight presently enlarged. At every moment it takes in some distant land or other, in whose destiny the position of that central island has called it to have some share' (p. 41-43).

Before I proceed to some of the special questions of interest which are raised in these first two volumes, there is one feature in Mr. Freeman's method of writing history which has often been blamed, and of which I should like to say a word or two. It has often been said that he spoils his stories and expositions by too much repetition, that he is too fond of saying the same thing over again in different ways. But it seems to me that it is just the way he has of turning facts over that makes Mr. Freeman more impressive than any other writer on history. He gives everything elbow-room; he looks at each fact from all sides; he gives it full time to tell as much as ever it has to tell; and, when the occasion comes, he reminds us of its tale. The consequence is that the reader gains a lasting impression. He said himself, somewhere or other, that history should arrange facts on the principle of the Roman legion, not on that of the Macedonian phalanx. In connexion with this large and leisurely treatment may be mentioned the richness of local colouring and topographical detail, which distinguishes his work. Mr. Freeman

knows Sicily as well as England—perhaps better, he tells us himself—and he knows how to make the stones, the hills, and the waters speak.

The first volume is wholly occupied with the early inhabitants and the Greek and Phœnician settlers. Chapter I., as we have seen, is introductory; chapter II. deals with the physical characteristics of Sicily, and with its earliest inhabitants; chapter III. with the Phœnician, chapter IV. with the Greek colonies (735-580 B.C.). With the second volume we cross the threshold. Chapter V., 'The First Age of the Sicilian Greeks,' tells the history of the various Greek cities from 735 to 480. Chapter VI. is concerned with the first wars with Carthage and Etruria, and includes the tale of the great deliverance at Himera. Chapter VII. gives the history of free and independent Sicily, 472-433, and takes in the fall of the tyrants, the political work of Empedoklês, and the enterprise of Ducetius the Sikel. Thus the third volume will begin with the events that led to the Athenian expedition.

The chapter on the earliest inhabitants gives us a good deal to think of, touching, as it does, on difficult questions of race and language, which have been, and will continue to be, doubtful matters of controversy. Three peoples were settled in Sicily before the coming of the Phœnicians and Greeks. These were the Sikans, the Sikels, and the Elymians. Their coming is prehistoric; history does not record how, or when, or whence, they came, but there were traditional beliefs about their origin which it devolves upon an historical enquirer to examine. The Sikans believed themselves to be autochthonous, but there was also a tradition that they came originally from Spain. The Sikels believed that they had come into Sicily from Italy. The Elymians claimed to have come from Troy, and to be a mixed settlement of Trojans and Phocians. Let us consider the few traces we have for forming an opinion as to who and what these peoples were.

The Sikans are the first people that we find in the island :

'Vomere verterunt primum nova rura Sicani.' *

* *Silius Italicus*, xiv. 35

The earliest historical name of the island is Sikania, which occurs in the *Odyssey*. They must have been there a long time before history begins, because they believed that they were the children of the soil—a belief which, if generally held, only shows that they had no definite recollection of an older home. But another view was held by a competent observer in the fifth century B.C. Thucydides, in the celebrated account of Sicily and Sicilian history, with which his Sixth Book opens, rejects the autochthonous origin of the Sikans, and declares that they were Iberians who had come to Sicily from Spain. We should like to know what grounds he had for this view, which seemingly was not a mere tradition but a result arrived at by some sort of historical investigation, whether on the part of Thucydides himself or of some earlier authority. That the Sikans were Iberians, or rather, to put it more generally, that they belonged to that pre-Aryan group of peoples to which the Iberians and the Ligurians belonged, is a view which, on the face of it, is probable. That they came from Spain is credible, and we can easily believe that Thucydides or his 'source' may have had some distinct evidence pointing to that quarter. But when it is added that they came from the banks of a river, Sikanos, in Spain it is high time to pause. We need not enquire too curiously into the whereabouts of that stream. Some have been adventurous enough to seek for Sikans by the Sequana in Gaul, others have identified the Sikanos with the Sisoris. But surely this eponymous river belongs to the same class of existences as the eponymous heroes. In historical times we find the Sikans inhabiting the western part of Sicily, to which they had been driven back by the invasion of new settlers, the Sikels. The limits between the country of the Sikels and the country of the Sikans were marked by the two like-named rivers, the northern and the southern Himéras. But it was in the land about Akragas that the Sikans gathered in greatest force, and this quarter was specially associated with their name. When Sikels first came to the island they and other visitors knew it as Sikania, but after the eastern part had become Sikel the Greeks began to call it after the new settlers, Sikelia, which name has clung to it ever since, throughout all vicissitudes of inhabitants and rulers. The old name, Sikania, was reduced to signify that part of Sike-

lia which was notably Sikan. To the view concerning the origin of the Sikans, which makes them extinct kinsmen of the Basques, there is, when we regard them by themselves, seemingly no objection. But the invaders, who robbed them of the eastern half of their island, have also made an attempt, or rather have suggested to others to make an attempt, which might result in robbing them of their birthright. The names *Sikel* and *Sikan* are so nearly alike that it has seemed to many modern scholars preposterous to keep them apart. *Siculus* and *Sicanus* seem to be related in the same way as *Romulus* and *Romanus*. Surely, it is argued, the *Siculi* and the *Sicani* must be the same folk, or of very near kin indeed. But before we consider the argument, on which Mr. Freeman has some telling criticisms, we must see what is handed down about the origin of the Sikels, whom our ancient authorities kept carefully apart from the Sikans. Thucydides states that the Sikels dwelt in 'Italy,' and crossed from that land into Sicily. He adds that there were Sikels in Italy in his own day. It must be remembered that 'Italy' in Thucydides bears a restricted sense, meaning the peninsula of *Bruttii*, which is now called Calabria. He also tells us that the Sikels left Italy because they had to flee before the *Opicans*, and that this migration took place 300 years before the earliest Greek settlements. Fragments of the special Sicilian writers, *Antiochos* and *Philistos*, and of *Hellanikos* (an older but less judicious writer than Thucydides) preserved second-hand, agree in the main with the statement of Thucydides. *Philistos* mentions that the Sikels were driven out by *Umbrians*; this carries them northward to central Italy, and falls in with the teaching of Latin writers that they were an ancient people of *Latium*.

This tradition, then, that the Sikels came from the Italian peninsula, accepted by the critical Thucydides as historical fact, and confirmed by the testimony of Latin antiquarians, there is certainly no reason to reject. Like the tradition that the Dorians of the Peloponnesus went thither from a northern 'Dôris,' the tradition that the Sikels of the island went thither from a northern *Sikelia* is perfectly credible. The next question is, who were they? Are they to be classed with *Iberians* and *Ligurians*, or are they to be regarded as of the Indo-European stock, brothers

of the Latins, Umbrians, and Oscans? Mr. Freeman discusses this interesting question very fully, and concludes in favour of the second alternative. Language in such a case is the surest criterion, and fortunately a fragment or two of the Sikel tongue have survived. The fact that Varro noticed a likeness between Latin and Sicilian words is itself important. He accounted for it by referring to the tale of old Roman annals that the Sikels originally came from Rome itself.*

Mr. Freeman ascribes special importance to the word *gela* or *gelas*, which in the Sikel language meant 'frost' or 'cold.' He writes thus :

'No great amount of their language is handed down to us ; we have no Sikel writings, no certain Sikel inscriptions, but we have Sikel words which are so plainly Latin that it is hardly needful to argue the point at any length. A people who called a stream *Gelas*, from the coldness of its waters, leave little room for further dispute as to their ethnical kindred. The exact relations of the Sikels of Italy to the Latins who held the Thirty Cities or to the Romans who held the Palatine Hill against the Etruscan and the Sabine, are points which touch Italian rather than Sicilian history. For Sicilian purposes it is enough to rule that they were an offshoot of the general Italian stock, that they belonged to the same general branch of it as the men of Rome and Tusculum, that in short they were, in a wide sense of the word, a Latin people.'

In the Appendix (Note iv.) some other Sikel words are mentioned which are thought to point the same way :—*leporin*, a hare, *catinon*, a dish, *cubiton*, elbow, *patana*, dish. Besides these there are the well-known names of weights—*νοῦμμος*, *nummus* ; *λίτρα*, *libra* ; *οὐγκία*, *uncia*. If the Sikels belong to the Latin stock, all these likenesses are certainly accounted for. But there is another possibility which we must face, and that is, borrowing. If the names of weights stood alone we should have little hesitation in adopting the alternative, for such words are just those which are most likely to be imported. We should say that just as the Sikeliot Greek borrowed those words from the Sikel, so the Sikel himself borrowed them from the Italian neighbours among whom he had lived. Similar borrowing one might easily suppose in the case of the two words meaning dish ; and, as for

* Varro, L.L., v. 101.

leporin, it might plausibly be conjectured that here the borrowing was the other way, and that *lepus* was not Indo-Germanic but derived from pre-Aryan natives. All these likenesses, it seems to me, would not by themselves go any distance to establish an Aryan descent for the Sikels; but they assuredly go some way to support it, when it is rendered likely by other facts. These facts are *gela*,* which Mr. Freeman does well to put in the forefront of his argument, and, in the second place, *cubiton*. The borrowing of a word signifying *cold* or *frost* is just as improbable as the borrowing of a word for a weight or coin is probable. We must also take into account the fact that Varro, who had at his disposal materials which we have not, noticed the likeness between Latin and Sikel as a circumstance demanding explanation. On the other hand, there is really nothing against the Indo-Germanic origin of the Sikels, and therefore, on the whole, one is inclined to agree with Mr. Freeman's view, that they were 'in all likelihood the vanguard of Aryan settlement in that island.' When he says in the Appendix (p. 488):—'The language of the Sikels, I do not scruple to say, was Latin, or something which did not differ more widely from Latin than one dialect of Greek differed from another,' he goes a little farther than he goes in his text, and he goes farther than he need. Umbrian differs more from Latin than the Greek of Athens from the Greek of Thebes, and Sikel may have differed as much. *Gela* hardly proves such closeness to Latin. Taken apart from the geography, it would only prove an Aryan, not specially a Latin, language. γελανδρόν. ψυχρόν in Hesychius shews that the form *gela* was in the Greek branch too.

And now we may come back to the question which was raised before: have the Sikans anything to do, in point of race, with the Sikels, or is the likeness of name a freak of chance? Adolf Holm, the learned historian of ancient Sicily, decides, like many others before him, that Sikan and Sikel were originally the same; Mr. Freeman on the contrary holds that they were originally dif-

* This word is preserved by Stephanos of Byzantium, *sub voce* Γέλα: καλεῖται ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ Γέλα· ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς, ὅτι πολλὴν πᾶχυν γεννᾷ· ταύτην γὰρ τῇ Ὀπικῶν φωνῇ καὶ Σικελῶν γελαν λέγεσθαι.

ferent. The question is an important one. For if they are the same, we have to choose between two consequences. Either the Sikans must give up their Iberian origin and become Aryan settlers—forerunners of their Sikel brethren; or the Sikels must give up their Aryan origin and become fellows of the Iberian and later followers of the Sikans. The first alternative could not be seriously entertained, nor would the circumstance that there were Sicani as well as Siculi in Italy render it plausible. And therefore the Sikels would have to be degraded from their Aryan level.

It is to be observed that the *only* argument for identifying Sikan and Sikel is the likeness of name. What is this argument worth? By itself a resemblance of name may be made to prove anything, but it really proves nothing. Such resemblances stand on quite a different footing from resemblances in language where we can compare the meaning of the words, as in the case of *gela*. We require the evidence of language or ascertained historical connexion to lend any significance to the likeness of proper names. If we did not know from recorded history the origin of Galatia, and had no trace of the Celt in that land, we should have no right to imagine that it had anything to do with Gallia. There was once a schoolboy who was convinced that Australia must have got its name through some kind of connexion with Austria. No doubt, he had never heard of Austrasia, which set beside Australasia would have seemed a strong confirmation. There is nothing to prove that, if we could go back to the days when the names Sikel and Sikan were new, the meaning of the two *siks* would not have been wider apart than the east from the south, than Teutonic *ost* from Latin *auster*. Mr. Freeman copiously illustrates the accidental likeness of geographical and ethnical names.

‘The kings of the Goths and Vandals who still reign in Europe, but who can show no succession from Alaric or Gaiseric, owe their titles to simple confusion of names which are somewhat alike. Schafarik (*Slavische Alterthümer*, ii. 553, 572), on the strength of the Slavonic *Wiltzi*, and of Slavonic *Wiltaburg* (now Teutonic Utrecht), inferred a Slavonic element in *Wiltünscir*, which he perhaps might not have inferred from the tribal name of the *Wilsaetan*. The mistake was pardonable, but it may serve as an useful warning. All this playing with names is dangerous. Servius (*Æn.*

ix. 582) showed his sense when he stopped to remark that the "ferrugo Hibera" of the son of Arcens came, not from the Spanish peninsula, but from lands eastward of the Euxine' (p. 473).

Again in rejecting a wild theory of a Sikel invasion of Egypt in the fourteenth century B.C., a theory founded on a not very clear resemblance of names, he writes thus (p. 130):

'He [the Western scholar as opposed to the Orientalist] will remember how easy it would be for a conqueror from the east of the Euxine to set forth to overcome the world at the head of a mingled host of Achaïans who have no share in the empire of Agamemnôn, in the league of Aratos, or in the principality of William of Champlitte—of Albanians, who own no kinsfolk on the Illyrian hills—of Iberians, who own no kinsfolk in the peninsula of the West—of Georgians, whose name tells of no fellowship with the work of Oglethorpe in the yet further West. Or, to come nearer to our own story, he may remember that Lewis of Hungary, lord of *Siculi* in his own realm, may well have brought men bearing the very Sikel name to wage his warfare against the offspring of Sikels in the Greater Hellas.'

On the other hand, against the identity of Sikel and Sikan there is a very strong argument indeed. The likeness of the names of these two peoples, living in the same island for a long time, is so striking that it could not fail to be remarked by the Greeks. And if we remember how prone Greek antiquarians were to connect names bearing even a faint likeness to each other, it seems a decidedly remarkable thing that they made no attempt to turn the Sikels into original Sikans or the other way, but keep them quite separate. They must have had strong reasons for keeping them apart, that could induce them to resist such a tempting opportunity to bring names together. This argument is properly insisted on by Mr. Freeman. It certainly outweighs any presumption that the likeness of names may be thought to establish. The further consideration that by keeping Sikans distinct from Sikels we can do justice both to the evidence which points to the non-Aryan origin of the former and that which renders probable the Aryan descent of the latter, must decide us in favour of Mr. Freeman's conclusion that the Sikels were not Sikans.

There was another people of political importance in the island, whose origin is still darker than that of either Sikan or Sikel. The Elymians were said to have come to Sicily from Troy, and,

as Mr. Freeman observes, all Trojan stories are very suspicious. It is certain at least that they were settlers who came from somewhere, and came later than the Sikan; they did not, like the Sikan, profess to be antochthonous. They settled in the north-western corner of the island, and their two cities were Eryx and Segesta. 'The chief of Elymian cities was ever Segesta, but the crown of the Elymian territory was the sacred mount of Eryx' (p. 199). Some have thought that Entella was also Elymian, but Mr. Freeman rules that it was Sikan. These sites tell us something about the Elymian immigration. They point to the early date of Elymian settlement in Sicily. 'They are not such as either the Phœnician or the Greek would have chosen. The Elymian settlers had clearly not learned to love the sea. Of their two sites neither is on the sea-shore. Both, indeed, stand within sight of the sea; one of them is very near to it; both in after-times had havens on its shore; but we may doubt whether they had havens from the beginning. We may suspect that Drepana did not become the haven of Eryx till ages after Eryx, town and temple, had come into being' (p. 200).

As to the question who these dwellers in the north-western corner were, Mr. Freeman forbears to express an opinion, on the ground that there is no sufficient evidence to go upon :

'Who the Elymians were I will not pretend to say, as a matter of mere guesswork. When Pausanias calls them Phrygians, it is simply the Trojan story in another shape. It is as when Euripidēs, and a crowd of other writers, call the men of Ilios itself Phrygians. It is easy to connect the Elymian name with the Elam of the East; it would be no less easy to connect either or both with the Elimiôtis of Macedonia or the Elymia of Arkadia. Once more, all such mere likenesses of name go for nothing, unless they are supported by some strong corroborative evidence. The Elymians were in the Greek sense barbarians. The alleged Greek intermixture was either so little believed, or was held to be so slight as not to take them out of that class.'

The only surviving pieces of evidence that might bear on the original home and the race of the Elymians are: (1) the legend that they came from Troy; (2) some curious case endings on the coins of Eryx and Segesta; (3) the Elymian name itself. The third item may at once be set aside, for, as we have seen, a proper name has no independent value in this kind of investigation. It

can be made to tell anything, and therefore it can tell nothing. All it could possibly do is to corroborate something otherwise discovered. In regard to the Trojan story, the question is whether we can fairly seek in it for a kernel of fact. Does it really point to some early connexion of the Elymians with Asia Minor? Mr. Freeman shows reason for thinking that there may be some groundwork of truth in the legend, though it is clearly made up.

‘Why should a Trojan origin be largely claimed for Elymians, while it is never claimed for Sikans or Sikels? If the Trojan origin were asserted only by writers under Roman influence, the answer would be easy. It was very convenient for Segesta to be Trojan at the time when the Romans became important in Sicily, and it was easy for the actual inhabitants of Segesta at that time to call themselves anything that they chose. . . . But the Trojan origin of the Elymians was asserted long before the Romans were of any account in Sicily. Segesta and Eryx are accepted as Trojan by Thucydides, and Entella is not.

‘There must then have been something under colour of which the Elymians could claim a Trojan origin, while such a thought never occurred to Sikans or Sikels. That is, there must have been something which had an Eastern, but not a Phœnician character.’

This presumption that the Elymians had some connexion with the East seems to be considerably strengthened by a remarkable paper of K. F. Kinch,* dealing with the legends of the Elymian coins. He interprets ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΞΙΒ and ΕΡΥΧΑ ΒΙΞ, which are found on those coins where we expect genitive plurals, as Σεγεσταῶν and Ερυκαῶν, and connects these forms with West-Asiatic adjectival forms, among which may be mentioned Phrygian *Sabazios* and Lydian *Atunazi* (Athenian). Mr. Freeman's text was finally printed before he became acquainted with Kinch's essay, which he discusses in the Appendix. He is evidently rather inclined to look with a measure of favour on the West-Asiatic view, for he says (p. 558): ‘Kinch's argument, as far as the forms of the letters and words go, seems, if I am at all entitled to judge, to be singularly ingenious, and to go very far towards being convincing.’ It should be observed that the names of the Elymian sites prove

* In the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xvi., 167 (1889).

nothing about the Elymians. There is nothing to show that these newcomers gave new names; the probability is that the places which they occupied retained their older names. It has been noticed by Holm that *Eryx* and *Segesta* recur in Liguria; but that is no valid argument for his view that the Elymians were akin to the Sikans and Ligurians. *Segesta* and *Eryx* are doubtless pre-Elymian names.

I should like to linger longer over the first volume, over the tale of the Sikan king *Kôkalos*, who dwelled at *Kamikos*, over *Henna* and the lake of the *Palici*, and the holy places of the *Sikel*, over the vivid descriptions of the Greek and Phœnician towns. It is high time, however, to go on to Vol. II., in which the history of the settlements described in Vol. I. begins. But a word must still be said touching the strangely minute dates which Thucydides gives for the foundation of the Greek cities in Sicily. It is generally supposed, and is probable enough, that one of the chief sources of Thucydides was *Antiochos* of Syracuse.* But what was the authority of *Antiochos*? How did he know the chronology of the eighth century so exactly? Can we believe that there was trustworthy evidence accessible to him about events which are otherwise so wrapped in obscurity,—which may be said, as far as the details are concerned, to lie on the borders of the world of myth (*τὸ μυθώδες*). Mr. Freeman fully recognises (I, 313) that ‘neither Thucydides nor *Antiochos* had before him any trustworthy written narrative of such early times.’ But he accepts the dates of Thucydides on the ground that ‘chronology is older than narrative history, and primitive ways of reckoning may have handed down the exact year of many events whose details, left to mere tradition, had, long before the days of *Antiochos*, fought their way into the region of things passing belief.’ He concludes: ‘There is really no presumption against the dates, either from any unlikelihood in themselves or from any impossibility of handing them down. The story hangs well together, and, though we see from other authors that other

* But not the sole source, as some scholars would have us believe. There is no proof that Thucydides transcribed *Antiochos*. We can hardly doubt that he used both *Antiochos* and *Hippys* of Rhêgion; there is every reason to suppose that he sifted their statement.

versions were current, the differences are not of a kind which need seriously disturb our acceptance of the facts and the dates which are given us by the great master.' Mr. Freeman makes a point when he also urges in favour of the dates that in the case of Zanklê and of Himera no date is given, the inference being that Antiochos and Thucydides had no such evidence before them for the foundation of these cities as they had for the others. We should like to know more than we do about those primitive ways of counting time. We should give much to know what evidence Thucydides had which satisfied him that the date of 'the oldest sea-fight we know of' between the Corinthians and Corcyraeans took place 260 years before the end of 'this war' (Bk. i., c. 13). It is perfectly clear that Thucydides exercised historical criticism in the matter of dates as in all else. He gives no date for Minos or for the Trojan War, and this reserve makes us disposed to trust his judgment. But we should be better satisfied if we knew his reasons.* For, on the other hand, when he states that the Sikels entered Sicily 300 years before the Greeks, we can hardly think that he was in a critical mood.

Roughly speaking, from the earliest times to the beginning of Roman intervention—till the point, that is, when Polybios comes in—Diodôros is the chief guide for Sicilian history. The original materials which Diodôros used are lost; many books of Diodôros himself are lost, and he must be illustrated and supplemented by all sorts of other incidental evidence. The works of the two special West-Greek historians who wrote in the fifth century B.C., Hippys of Rhêgion and Antiochos of Syracuse, are lost, as well as that of Philistos, who wrote in the following century. Herodotus, a contemporary of Antiochos has some incidental notices of high importance, and the Odes of Pindar throw contemporary light on the age of Hierôn and Thêrôn. For the episode of the Athenian Expedition we have, of course, Thucydides himself, for the constitutional history of Sikeliot towns we have the Politics of Aristotle. Strabo, Pausanias, Plutarch, even Polyainos, all give

* For scepticism on the Sicilian dates of Thucydides see Mahaffy, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, ii., p. 124.

help, not to be despised, to the historian of Sicily. But Sicilian Diodôros is emphatically the source on which he has chiefly and constantly to rely. Diodôros must yield to Thucydides when Thucydides officially comes in, but we have soon to go back to him. The thought strikes one—what if we had no Diodôros? What would the history of Sicily be then? Mr. Freeman is duly grateful, and is always respectful, to Diodôros; indeed, he is always grateful for any atom of evidence that the most undiscerning compilers have preserved. One remembers the extraordinary, indeed unintelligible, doctrine concerning the writing of history put forward by the Master of Balliol in the introduction to his translation of Thucydides. ‘When, as in modern histories of ancient Greece, the good cloth of Herodotus or Thucydides or Xenophon, is patched with the transparent gauze of Diodorus and Plutarch, the whole garment becomes unequal and ragged.’* One might answer that it is something to get a ‘whole garment.’ Herodotus and Thucydides would often leave us with only a pair of sleeves. Let us take an instance. Would Mr. Jowett propose to write the story of the Battle of Himera from Herodotus solely, without consulting Diodôros? On the same grounds, would he ignore altogether the episode of Ducetius, for whose story we depend wholly on the ‘transparent gauze.’ One is almost inclined to guess that Mr. Jowett has not read many pages of the writers whom he condemns. He has certainly laid down a strange theory of the business of historical research.

Mr. Freeman gives the fullest account yet written of that passage in the struggle between the East and the West, which was decided in the right way by the Battle of Himera. The deep and sustained interest of these fifty pages (II. 162-216) shows at its best that method of deliberate narrative which turns everything over and is never in a hurry. On one question connected with this Carthaginian episode Mr. Freeman puts forward a striking view which calls for special notice. While the colonial Greeks of Sicily were expecting an invasion from Carthage, the Greeks of the mother country were making their preparations to

* Mr. Freeman refers to this passage more than once, but without naming the author.

11
Freeman's History of Sicily.
meet the great invasion (τῇ μεγάλῃ στόλῃ, as Thucydides calls it) from Persia. It is almost certain that Carthage and Persia had allied themselves for the express purpose of attacking at the same time Sicily and Greece. The Greeks of old Greece assembled on the Isthmus to take counsel for common action and defence against the invader. They sent envoys to various places seeking for help, and among others to Gelôn of Syracuse, as Herodotus relates :

‘In such an embassy,’ writes Mr. Freeman (p. 173), ‘we should have looked for the mother-city of Syracuse to take the lead ; but of Corinthian envoys we hear nothing : the speakers, whose alleged words have been preserved, are the Spartan Syagros and a nameless Athenian. It may deserve a passing thought whether, now that Syracuse was under the rule of a man of Gela, the tie between metropolis and colony could have been so keenly felt as it assuredly was both earlier and later. But the reported dialogue between Gelôn and the Athenian and Lacedaemonian envoys is one of the most famous scenes in Grecian history. The unlucky thing is that to accept the speeches recorded by Herodotus as reports of anything that was actually said is to cast aside all the known circumstances of the case. It is to attribute to the representatives of Athens and Spartan a measure of empty boastfulness and a lack of the most ordinary prudence which seems to pass all belief. When men in great danger ask for help of a powerful kinsman they do not go out of their way elaborately to insult him.’

In the record of Herodotus Gelôn is asked to give help against the Persians, as if his hands were quite free and there were no danger threatening him from Carthage. The only danger that is thought of is the remoter one that if the Persian conquers Greece, he will advance on Sicily. Gelôn consents to send a very large force, and offers to provide food for the whole armament while the war lasts, on the single condition that he be the Commander-in-chief of the whole Greek army.

‘A demand like this might be startling, but it was surely in no way unreasonable in one who could offer help on such a scale. The only question is whether any offer of help could then and there have been made at all. In any case we are surely in the land of romance when the Spartan envoy is made to answer, with a scrap of Homer pressed into his service, how the Pelopid Agamemnôn would mourn if the command were taken away from Sparta and given to Gelôn and the Syracusans. The appeal to the Pelopid Agamemnôn in the mouth of a Dorian of Sparta speaking to a Dorian of

Syracuse or Gela was as much to the purpose as an appeal to the shade of British Arthur would be in the mouth of an envoy from England speaking to a President of the United States. Yet the thing is possible ; we know how often Greek diplomacy turned, or was expected to turn, on arguments drawn from legendary times, and we know the strange confusions of thought which had come about through the rule of Herakleid princes over a Dorian army. But what follows passes belief in any case, unless the threats of Agamemnôn to Achilles were taken as a model by his votaries. Let Gelôn not talk any more of the command for himself ; if he chose to help Greece he must be under the command of the Lacedaemonians, if he did not choose to be under their command he had better not send any help.'

Thereupon Gelôn lowers his demand, and professes that he will be satisfied with the command either by land or by sea ; on no other condition will he send aid. Then the Athenian envoy makes an absurd speech, and declares that the Athenian would yield the command by sea to a Lacedaemonian but to no one else.

'The Athenians were the most ancient people of Greece ; they, alone among the Greks, had never changed their dwelling-place. They were not ashamed to make their boast, for it was an Athenian of whom Homer in his verse had spoken as the best of all men to marshal and drill an army. The patience of Gelôn at last changed into wrathful sarcasm. He told the Athenians that they seemed to be well off for commanders, but not to be so rich in men for them to command. If they still claimed all for themselves and would yield nothing, they would do well to get them home as fast as they could, and to tell Greece that the spring was taken out of her year.

'So outrageous a form of outspoken folly as is here attributed to the Athenian and Spartan envoys passes all belief. But one may be inclined to see in these famous speeches a certain element of satire. The speeches are a grotesquely exaggerated expression of certain traditional feelings and habits of the Greeks of the mother country which could hardly fail to show themselves in a comic light to any Sikeliot of a sarcastic turn. We can well believe that in the cities of Old Greece there was a certain feeling of jealousy towards a colonial power like Syracuse which had just made such a sudden start in the world. To Spartans and to Athenians, Syracuse would be simply such an upstart power. Neither of them has its metropolis. . . . And we must remember that Athens herself was really somewhat of an upstart power. Her greatness was almost as new as that of Syracuse ; her position in Greece was not acknowledged like that of Sparta ; she had to be always asserting her antiquity, to be always quoting Homer, sometimes, her enemies said, falsifying him. She is well conceived

as the power which, by no means with general consent, claims the second place, and whose policy it is to profess for the moment an almost ostentatious submission to the power that holds the first place. In all these ways, though the exaggeration is manifest, the position is well caught. The whole reads like a piece of Syracusan satire, which was passed off on Herodotus as a report of speeches actually made. He was further told in Sicily that, after all, Gelôn would have given help to Greece if the Carthaginian invasion had not hindered him. But the certainty that the Carthaginian invasion was coming must have equally hindered him from offering help. Even setting aside exaggeration and satire, the only way in which we could believe the most meagre outline of the speeches to be historical would be if we could fancy Gelôn playing the dangerous game of making demands so great that he felt sure that they must be refused. That was the game which Nikias played just before the Athenian invasion of Syracuse, and with him it was not lucky.'

This view of the embassy as a piece of Syracusan satire which Herodotus heard on the spot, is striking and convincing. Mr. Freeman adds a further guess in his Appendix (p. 515). He thinks it not unlikely that the dramatic scene may actually come from a play of Epicharmos. 'We have our parallels in more modern times. The dialogue seems framed to make game of the kind of personage who, some time back, used to be spoken of as "Mr. Mother-country."'

One turns with interest to the pages which are devoted to the famous tyrant Phalaris of Akragas. In Sicilian history, as far as we know it, Phalaris played but a small part; indeed, his very existence has been questioned. But his name is famous; famous in ancient literature by its association with the terrible bull, famous in modern times by the great controversy of Bentley and Boyle on the forged letters. Of the existence of Phalaris there is no reason whatever to doubt; and he may have played a greater part in Sicilian history than we guess. The existence of the bull might seem more doubtful; but Mr. Freeman believes in the bull too. His whole discussion of the question is a good example of his clear method of sifting evidence and separating fact from fable. The strongest direct evidence for the bull, and very strong it is, is the distinct testimony of Pindar.* There is

* τὸν δὲ ταυρῷ χαλκῷ κεντῆρα νηλέα νόον
ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντὶ φάτις.

—*Pyth.* i. 95.

also the indirect argument urged by Mr. Freeman, that 'if the bull were real, we at once understand what is otherwise so hard to explain, the deep and lasting impression which a man of whom so little is really known has made on men's minds from his own time till now' (p. 458.) It has been thought that the existence of the bull was denied by the historian Timaios of Tauromenion. Both Diodôros and Polybios seem to say so. Diodôros (xiii. 90) tells us that the bull of Phalaris was part of the booty taken by the Carthaginians when they sacked Akragas in 408 B.C.; that from Carthage it was brought back to its home by the younger Scipio, and that he, Diodôros, himself saw it at Agrigentum. And he alleges this as an argument against Timaios, who said 'that this bull had not existed at all' (τοῦτον τὸν ταῦρον μὴ γεγενῆσθαι τὸ σύνολον). Polybios (xii. 25) expresses his belief in the genuineness of the bull brought from Carthage, and mentions adversely the view of Timaios that 'neither did the Carthaginian bull come from Akragas nor did *such a bull* exist in Akragas':—

φάσκων μὴτ' εἶναι τὸν ἐν Καρχηδόνι ταῦρον ἐξ Ἀκράγαντος μῆτε
γεγενῆσθαι τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ πόλει.

These two statements, taken by themselves, would certainly leave the impression that Timaios denied the bull altogether. That was the inference drawn by Bentley. If Polybios and Diodôros meant this, they must have misread their Timaios. For a fragment of that historian has been preserved in a scholium on Pindar (Pyth. i. 185). There we read: 'The Akragantines cast the bull of Phalaris into the sea, as Timaios says. For he adds that the bull shown in the city is not the bull of Phalaris, as is generally believed, but an image of the river god Gelas.' Bentley rejected the statement of the scholiast as inconsistent with Polybios and Diodôros. But Mr. Freeman rightly accepts it. 'In this case the scholiast is not guessing, but quoting Timaios, and seemingly quoting him accurately. The very significant bit about the river-god must be a genuine bit of Timaios; so must the statement that the real bull of Phalaris was thrown into the sea. No scholiast could ever have invented or dreamed of either of them.'

It is quite clear that Diodôrus mistook what Timaios said.

What Timaios must have said, was that the original bull of Phalaris had been thrown into the sea, and no longer existed at the siege of Akragas in 408 B.C.; and that therefore the bull at Carthage could not be the original bull. But it is not so clear that Polybios misunderstood the author whom he criticized. For we can interpret his words to mean: 'Timaios asserted (1) that the bull at Carthage did not come from Akragas, and (2) that there was at Akragas no *such* bull as the Carthaginian bull.' It is worth noting that both Diodôros and Polybios use the same words *μη γεγονέναι* in stating the assertion of Timaios; and this looks as if the original words of Timaios were *οὐ γέγονε*. If we suppose that Timaios wrote something like *οὐδὲ γέγονε τοιοῦτος ἐν Ἀκράγαντι*, we could easily understand how Diodôros might have wrongly taken him to say that there was no bull at all in Akragas; whereas he must have meant that Akragas never had a bull like that at Carthage. And that Polybios understood him in this sense, seems almost certain from the argument brought forward by Polybios in favour of the Carthaginian bull, namely, that it had a door in the shoulder, through which the victims could be put in.* The point of this argument was evidently to show that the bull in question was *such* as the bull of Phalaris. I submit this explanation of the Polybios passage to Mr. Freeman's consideration.

Mr. Freeman points out that there was a stage in the growth of the Phalaris legend. 'If Phalaris did put men in a brazen bull, they were no doubt his political enemies at Akragas. He was a Greek tyrant imitating Phœnician ways, but he was a Greek tyrant after all. As soon as men had begun to liken him to Bousiris, Echetos, Gêryonês, and other purely mythical oppressors, he was conceived as, like them, the enemy of strangers [so in a scholium on Lykophrôn, whereas in Diodôros he punishes his *ομόφυλοι*]. Instead of a Greek tyrant somewhat outdoing the usual measure of a Greek tyrant's cruelty, he becomes an ogre or a two-headed giant.' There are also some interesting remarks on the forged letters. Mr. Freeman compares the persistent

* There is a misprint in the passage quoted from Polybios on p. 462. After *ἐρέπας* in the third line, *αίγλας* is omitted.

belief in the Battle Abbey Roll and the false Ingulf with the general slowness to accept the convincing demonstration of Bentley. Yet the Letters, forged though they be, may perhaps give us some bits of information. Forgeries prove nothing as to what they are intended to prove, but they may be good evidence for incidental matters which the forger may have known and was not concerned to misrepresent. The *Secret History* ascribed to Prokopios, for instance, is good authority for social life in the sixth century A.D., whatever view we hold concerning either its authorship or its credibility in regard to the conduct of Justinian and Theodóra. Mr. Freeman gives a good example of this principle in the question of the birthplace of Phalaris. But first, touching his date, Jerome gives 570 or 575 B.C., and there is no reason to reject this statement. Akragas was founded in 580, so that *a priori* this date is very likely. We may feel pretty certain that between 570 and 560 Phalaris was tyrant at Akragas. We should be quite certain, if we had the lost book of Diodóros, in which Phalaris would have come in. This being so, it is clear that Phalaris was not a native of Akragas, which was founded only ten or fifteen years before he became tyrant. In one of the forged Letters it is stated that Phalaris was a native of Astypalaia. Mr. Freeman is disposed to accept this town as his birth-place. 'He may very well have been born at Astypalaia, and it is hard to see what should have put Astypalaia into the forger's head, if he had not seen some record or tradition to that effect' (p. 460).

Some have blamed Mr. Freeman for not doing justice to the tyrants. It seems to me that the tyrants have received at his hands whatever justice they deserve. There is no doubt that they did much to promote the development of literature and art; they were ambitious to shine in the intellectual as well as in the political world. They did much for the unity of Hellas and the national sentiment of the Greeks, by founding and patronizing the great national festivals. The example of their wealthy and luxurious courts may have tended to elevate and refine, in superficial ways, the social life of Greece. I am not disposed to under-rate what the tyrants did; I am rather disposed to think that their work has been sometimes insufficiently appreciated. But if

we look at the *tyrannis* from a political point of view, the sight is not so pleasant. Arbitrary rule, with all its injustice and cruelties, meets our gaze. And the worst thing about it, and also the strangest thing, is that it is totally opposed to the free spirit of the Hellènes. The form of government known as *tyrannis* is the very last that we should expect to meet among a people who were fain to bow to no master but reason, and laws founded on reason. Yet the *tyrannis* is always cropping up. And this very strangeness, this very inconsistency, makes one ready to believe that the tyrants were a sort of necessity, and had an important function to perform in Greek history. I have already touched on what they did in the social world, and in the field of letters. But even in political history, if they were directly a misfortune, indirectly at least they were of some use. This has been well brought out by Mr. Freeman (II., 294) :

‘And, contrary to the poet’s rule, it was often the good that the tyrant had done that lived after him. When he had risen to power on the ruins of an oligarchy, that oligarchy could seldom be brought back again. When he had risen to power with the good will of a part of the people, his rule had commonly wiped out earlier distinctions, or at least had made it impossible to restore them in their fullness. His rule had brought with it equality, if only equality in submission ; his fall brought with it equality in freedom. In other words, his fall led to the establishment of democracy.’

This was the chief political use of the *tyrannis*. Enemies of democracy may profess to regard it as a bad use ; but it is hard to see how any reasonable man, who reads Greek history and studies Greek literature, can deny the fact that democracy, in its Greek form, was the constitution best suited to the spirit and temper of the Greeks.

On the many important disputed questions which Mr. Freeman has discussed in these volumes, his conclusions, whether positive or negative, seem to me to be always justified by the data. In some small matters of detail, here and there, I take a different view, and, before concluding, may call attention to one or two points in which, I think, he is mistaken. In his account of Syracuse, Vol. I., p. 352, he observes : ‘Of the many cities which grew to make up the mighty whole of Syracuse, the city on the

island was not the greatest;’ and in a note he throws out a conjecture. He asks :

‘Does the phrase *μεγαλοπόλις* ὁ Συράκοσαι in Pindar (Pyth., ii. 1) refer to the beginning of this process under Gelōn, or is it simply “Syracuse that great city?” In Pyth. vii. 1, we have αὐτὴ *μεγαλοπόλις* Ἀθῆναι, which it would be a little forced to apply to the *συνολικίς* of Attica, while to the city of Athens it would hardly apply till Hadrian’s day.’

Whatever *μεγαλοπόλις* means it certainly could not mean ‘that great city.’ For *μεγαλόπολις* is clearly an adjective, not (like *ἀκρόπολις*) a substantive, as it would in that case have to be. But is Mr. Freeman’s suggestion possible? Here, indeed, he seems to distrust it, but he comes back to it again in Vol. II., p. 139, where we read in the text: ‘Of that union Gelōn was the beginner; under him Syracuse began to deserve the epithet given to it by the poet as the great city made up of many cities.’* Here we see more exactly how he would interpret the epithet. But this interpretation seems hardly possible; *μεγαλόπολις* can only mean one of two things. It may mean (1) *μεγάλῃν πόλιν ἔχουσα* ‘having a great city;’ or (2) *μεγάλαις πόλιν ἔχουσα*, ‘having great cities,’ which would be an appropriate epithet of Sicily herself. The second meaning might fit the guess of Mr. Freeman, as far as the plural is concerned, but would all the cities which made up Syracuse have been called great? Mr. Freeman seems to feel the awkwardness of this by his version, the great city made up of many cities. There is, further, the objection, which he mentioned himself, that ‘many cities’ is inapplicable to *μεγαλοπόλις* Ἀθῆναι. There is surely little doubt that *μεγαλόπολις* means simply ‘having a great πόλις.’ This signification is quite clear in the case of Athens. For Thucydides tells us that the Athenian acropolis was formerly the *polis* (ii. 15, τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἢ οὐν οὖσα πόλις ἦν) so that there can be little doubt of Pindar’s reference to the acropolis. I submit to Mr. Freeman’s consideration whether we may not also conclude that, when the same poet called Syracuse *μεγαλοπόλις*, he referred to the Island, which was truly the great polis, ‘the head and centre of all.’ And this would illustrate the ‘peculiarity in the topographical nomencla-

* In the note there is a misprint. 252 should be 352.

ture of Syracuse that the word *akropolis* and other equivalent names are often applied to the lowest of the main quarters of the city.' 'The Island,' writes Mr. Freeman, 'was what the hill was at Athens, what the soaring mountain was at Corinth. And the habit of thinking of the strongest part of a town as its highest point was so strong that at Syracuse the words *akra* and *akropolis* are constantly, however inappropriately, applied to the Island.'

In Vol. II., p. 206, there is a reference to the verses of Pindar on the victory of Himera.* We read: 'And to the sons of Deinomenês the hymn should rise by the well-watered coast of Himera, to tell how by their deeds of arms the foemen perished;' the expression 'well-watered coast of Himera' suggests the sea-coast at Himera. But this is not what Pindar says *παρὰ τὴν εὐνυδρὸν ἀκτῶν Ἰμέρα* surely means 'by the well-watered bank of the river Himeras.'

In Appendix, Note xxvi., on 'Xenokratês, son of Ainêsidas-mos,' p. 534, it is said that the Isthmian victory of Xenokratês which is mentioned in the Second Olympian, 'is of course an earlier Isthmian victory, not that commemorated in the second Isthmian.' On a careful consideration of the evidence, I decidedly think that there was only one Isthmian victory, namely, that celebrated in the second Isthmian. If there had been two, we may regard it as perfectly certain that two would have been mentioned in the list of victories which is given in the second Isthmian. A victory at one of the four great games was too precious and rare to be left out, and Pindar's silence seems conclusive that the victory celebrated in Isth. ii. is the same as that referred to in Ol. ii. It was not uncommon to write odes for an anniversary, and in this case we learn from the scholia that Simonides also celebrated the victory which occasioned the second Isthmian. We may conjecture that Simonides composed his ode for the immediate celebration, while Pindar's hymn was meant for an anniversary at least four years later.

A difficult historical question arises as to the change of Zanklê into Messana. On this subject Mr. Freeman has a long note in his Appendix ii. pp. 485 *sqq.*, and his view differs from that of

* *Pyth.* i., 75, 599.

Holm. While Holm says that the new name was given to Zanklê before Anaxilas of Rhêgion had driven out the Samians, Mr. Freeman doubts whether it was given until a period later than the death of Anaxilas. He is inclined to bring the name into connexion with the Third Messenian War (467-457 B.C.); and he quotes Diodôros * to shew that 'there is some reason to think that the city was called Zanklê for some years after the time of Anaxilas.' The two chief passages about the transformation of Zanklê into Messana are in Herodotus (vii. 164) and Thucydides (vi. 4.) The earlier historian tells us how Kadmos of Kôs joined with the Samians in occupying Zanklê, 'which changed its name to Messênê.' This, as Mr. Freeman remarks, certainly need not mean that the change of name was the work of the Samians. The later historian, having mentioned the settlement of the Samians, states that Anaxilas, not long after, drove them out and changed the name of the city to Messênê, in commemoration of his own remote ancestors in Peloponnesian Messênê. Thus the statement of Thucydides is rejected both by Holm and, hesitatingly, by Mr. Freeman; but while the former makes the name Messana older, the latter proposes to make it later than the rule of Anaxilas at Zanklê. Holm appeals to coins of Samian type which have the inscription *Messenion*; and this is decidedly in favour of his view. Thucydides however is cautious about his statements, and there must surely have been some ground for his assertion about Anaxilas. I should be inclined to conjecture that the name Messênê at Zanklê may have been far older even than the occupation of the Samians. There may have been a sort of outpost close to Zanklê, and standing to Zanklê in the same relation in which Achradina and Temenitês stood to the Island. The Samians might have first occupied this outer quarter of the town, and it might have continued to be their special quarter, even after they had been in possession of the *polis*. And the statement of Thucydides might then be quite true. Anaxilas might have united Messênê more closely with Zanklê and might have called

* When Diodôros is recording the death of Anaxilas he calls him still *ὁ Πρωτον καὶ Ζάγκλης τύραννος*, and the first mention of Messênê does not come till about 15 years later.

the whole of the enlarged town by the name of the old suburbs, in commemoration of his Peloponnesian ancestors. This is a guess ; but it is a case in which one is driven to guessing. And Mr. Freeman is probably quite right in inferring from Diodôros that the older name was still used after the time of Anaxilas. A new official name can hardly come into general use all at once ; there was a period no doubt in which both names were current. And it is quite possible that there may, even on the theory here put forward, be a measure of truth in Mr. Freeman's proposed connexion of Messênê with the Third Messenian War. That event may have finally fixed the supremacy of the new name. I suggest, as a possibility, that in this way the statement of the Greek historian, and the diverging views of the German and the English historians, may be partly reconciled.*

J. B. BURY.

ART. III.—THE DARIEN EXPEDITION.

IN the vaults of the Bank of Scotland at Edinburgh, there is a strong box of rivetted sheet-iron, which was formerly the Treasure-Chest of the Darien Company. This is the sole remaining tangible piece of property belonging to an enterprise famous in its day, the story of which is almost forgotten in this generation. The Panama Bubble of M. de Lesseps is not the only disaster associated with the narrow Isthmus of Darien, although the French scheme has dissipated more money than did the project of the Scotch Company.

It is curious to think that an empty cash-box or an old ledger may, fifty years hence, be all that is left of M.

* As these volumes will probably soon reach a new edition, one or two trifling misprints may be noted which we observed in Vol. II. P. 96, n. 2, for *εἰλε* read *εἶλε*. P. 103 n. 1, for *ὑπέναντια* read *ὑπεναντία*. P. 214 n. 3, for *ὕδρωπιών* read *ὕδρωπιών*. P. 309 n. 3, for *κατασκευάσαι* read *κατασκευάσαι*. P. 322 n. 4, last word should be *ἀπέφηναν* (without *i. subscr.*) P. 570, the *Sikel Archônides* is omitted in the Index.

The Darien Expedition.

de Lesseps' great Canalisation Scheme. It is possible, perhaps probable, that in a couple of hundred years or so, the 'Lottery-bonds' and the famous 'Reports' will be as great curiosities as are now the books of the Darien Company. These books, at anyrate, were models of mathematical accuracy and of scrupulous accounting, and it is said that in style and method they would do credit to any first-class banking institution of our own time. But alas! many a private trader has found, as did the Association of Merchant Adventurers, that the most exact and careful system of book-keeping is not in itself sufficient to avert ruin from ill-considered undertakings. The Darien Company collapsed in spite of the most beautiful books: the City of Glasgow Bank collapsed in spite of the most ingenious financing in the history of commerce.

Various accounts have been given of the adventure known as the Darien Expedition, but much of its history is concealed in scattered papers and pamphlets of the period, which are not accessible to most people. With the assistance of some of these we propose to tell the story afresh, with some new lights upon it.

In Pagan's History of Glasgow, it is stated that Glasgow, then beginning to awaken to the advantages of foreign commerce, entered into Paterson's scheme with hearty goodwill. The last of the ships sailed from Rothesay Bay, and among the emigrants was the last of the Stuarts of Minto, but so reduced in circumstances that he could not even take shares in the Company. The citizens, however, subscribed largely; some of them invested their all in the undertaking; and a great many joined it as colonists. When the end came, 'so severely' says Pagan 'did Glasgow suffer from the shock, that it was not till many years subsequently, viz., in 1716, that her merchants possessed ships of their own.'

At the time of the inception of the enterprise, Scotland was deriving little advantage from the Union of the Crowns. According to law, no goods could be exported to or imported from Asia, Africa and America, except in English or Irish bottoms, while of the crews of the vessels, three-fourths must be

English. Only English built ships were allowed to conduct the coasting trade, no product of 'the Plantations' could be imported into Scotland direct, and all land-traffic between Scotland and England had to pass through either Carlisle or Berwick, and was subject to tolls. But after the Revolution of 1688, the nation began to have a hankering after unrestricted commerce, and a desire for a share of the good things of the Indies. A nervous restlessness took hold of the people, who were in such a mood that Paterson's proposal found eager listeners and enthusiastic supporters.

Not much is known of William Paterson's early career. A Scotchman by birth, he seems to have gone while quite young to the West Indies, but whether as a missionary, as some say, or as a buccaneer, as Sir Walter Scott inclined to believe, is disputed. The truth seems to be that he began life as a packman, and that, as a young man, he gravitated towards the Bahamas, where he lived for a time among the buccaneers of those islands, who were not originally pirates but derived their name from their trade, which was 'buchanning,' or drying and curing beef for the ships and colonies. (*Boucan* is the Indian name for smoke-dried flesh). While in the Bahamas, Paterson seems to have practised as a preacher, as well as a buccaneer. He led a roving life for some years, at any rate, and when he came back to this country had more than one great scheme in his head. As Macaulay says, 'He seems to have been gifted by nature with fertile invention, an ardent temperament, and great powers of persuasion, and to have acquired somewhere in the course of his vagrant life a perfect knowledge of accounts.' Three years after his return, he succeeded in floating the Bank of England, of which institution he was for a time a Director. According to Scott, it was only after he was shouldered out of that concern that he turned his attention to the plan of settling a colony in Central America.

It was really an old idea of his, however, and was doubtless suggested by what he had seen of the Spaniards and their traffic in Tropical America. He selected a situation which seemed to promise to arrest the commerce of two hemispheres. On the narrow neck of the Darien Isthmus he hoped to com-

mand the wealth of both the Old World and the New,—to form a common centre for the trade of the whole world. Little was known about the climate, but he saw the Spaniards flourishing in other parts of America—why should not Scotchmen flourish in Darien? It was quite unappropriated, he maintained, for the Isthmus had never been the property of Spain, but was possessed by independent Indians, who made war on the Spaniards. And as for the country, here is even a later account than Paterson's, published in 1699, in *The History of Caledonia: or the Scots' Colony of Darien*. By a Gentleman lately Arrived.' He calls the country 'the most famous isthmus in the world,' and says:—

'It is about 120 miles long and 60 broad. If it were possible to cut a channel from sea to sea, capable of shipping, it would facilitate the navigation of the world two parts in three, but it is next to an impossibility, for it is almost a continuous chain of mountains, of which some are as high as any of the Alps. The valleys are watered with rivers and perpetual clear streams, which are most pleasant to drink, as soft as milk and very nourishing. The hills are clothed with tall trees without any underwood, so that one may gallop conveniently among them many miles, from sun and river, unless of a great continuance. The air makes in the tops of the trees a pleasant melancholy musick, so that one of the Colony, considering the coolness, pleasant murmuring of the air, and the infinite beauty of a continual natural arbor, called them the "Shades of Love."'

From this roseate picture one would conclude that the writer did not remain many weeks in this 'most famous isthmus.' But he goes on to speak of mines of gold and other minerals, of an interview he had along with Mr. Paterson with the Indians, of the friendly character and fine appearance of these natives, of the feasting which attended the negotiations, and so on. In fact, the 'Gentleman lately Arrived' from Darien might have commanded his own price as prospectus-writer for a company-promoter of our own day.

To return, however, to Scotland. The Scotch Parliament of 1695 was chiefly occupied with the tragedy of Glencoe, but also turned its attention to various schemes for encouraging the commercial enterprise of the country. One of these schemes was the formation of the Bank of Scotland; another of them was a company for trading with Africa and the Indies.

It was the attitude of William III. to this last affair which fomented the opposition to his Government, and revived the hopes of the Jacobites in favour of the exiled King. This was an unfortunate period in Scottish history, and yet it marked the beginning of a new time, for to the years between 1695 and 1700 may be traced the introduction of various industries into Scotland, and the foundation of enterprises which were hereafter to bear rich fruit. The Bank of Scotland was founded under an Act of this Parliament, dated 17th July, 1695. It began with a capital of about £100,000 sterling, and had for its first office a second 'flat' in the Parliament Close, Edinburgh. Custom had to be sought, for the advantages of a bank were then unknown; and it is stated that the Directors had even to go about personally to invite people to come and borrow from them. The rate for loans was 6 per cent.,* and for bills 12 per cent., with a rebate of 2 per cent. when the loans were promptly repaid. The Treasurer received a salary of £100 per annum; the Accountant £60; and the Secretary £25. The first Accountant was George Watson, who afterwards founded the hospital in Edinburgh still bearing his name.

This Parliament also passed in 1695 an Act for the Encouragement of Foreign Trade, and granted a charter of Incorporation to 'The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies.' As the interest of Scotland was held to be the main purpose of this undertaking, one of the conditions was that at least half of the stock should be held in Scotland by Scotchmen, and that the other half should be allotted to Scotchmen residing either in Scotland or elsewhere, or to foreigners. The Company was empowered to plant colonies in all parts of Asia, Africa, or America, which were not possessed by any European power. The ships of the Company were to return direct to Scotland with their cargoes, without breaking bulk, and the Company was to have the sole privilege of trading from Scotland to these three quarters of the globe, the right of seizure and forfeiture being granted against all

* 'The Bicentenary of the Bank of Scotland' in *The Bankers' Magazine* for September, 1891.

delinquents. The concession was to hold good for thirty-one years from the 31st August 1696, and the Company was to pay to the Crown, by way of acknowledgement, one hogshead of tobacco yearly, if required.

In a letter from Paterson to the Lord-Provost of Edinburgh (one of the Directors named in the concession), he counsels secrecy as long as possible as to the terms of the concession, lest the English Parliament and people should take alarm. With the shrewdness of a modern 'promoter,' he advises that the subscription list should not be opened too soon and not kept open too long:—'The Bank of England had but six weeks time from the opening of the bookes,' he says, 'and was finished in nine dayes; and in all subscriptions here (London) it is limited to a single day; for if a thing goe not with the first heat, the raising of a fund seldom or never succeeds, the multitude being commonly ledd more by example than reason.' He concludes by dwelling upon the prospects of success for the enterprise, and with the expression of the hope that the Almighty would bless the endeavour and 'make use of Scotland to visit the dark places of the earth, whose habitations are full of cruelty.'

The secret, however, was not kept—as, of course, it could not be—and the London merchants brought all the strength they could to bear upon Parliament to stifle the undertaking, which seemed, as they thought, to threaten the English paramountcy in trade. The East India Company and the English African Company, although bitter rivals, made common cause against the new Scotch Company because of its origin. The English Parliament even, later on, ordered the books of the new Company to be seized, and the Directors to be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanour.

Paterson, however, had calculated that, although impoverished by the war, Londoners would subscribe liberally to the Scotch scheme. Indeed, when the subscription was opened in October, the whole amount offered to the English merchants was at first quickly taken up. Chambers* states this amount at £300,000, which could hardly be if the capital

* *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, Vol. III.

was £400,000, of which one half had to be reserved for Scotchmen in Scotland. But the fears of the East India Company being aroused, they made political use of the cry that the Scotch adventurers would destroy the trade of England abroad.* The London subscriptions were withdrawn, or rather the stock was not taken up, and the shares were forfeited; while to add to the reverse, one of the London Directors made off with £8,500.

The original idea was a capital of £600,000, of which one half should be furnished by England and one half by Scotland, but when England dropped off Scotland was unable to make up the whole of the deficit. An appeal was made to Hamburg for support, and subscriptions were promised there to the extent of £100,000, but the English capitalists got political influences to bear and the Hamburgers never took up the stock. All that Scotland could do was to add another £100,000 to the original allotment, and this with difficulty, for the last subscription of £2000 to complete the £400,000 was a 'bogus' one.† The name of an Edinburgh citizen was put down on a guarantee from the Company—a proof that the devices of company-promoters were even then not unknown.

Protected by the Charter of the Scottish Parliament, the Company appealed to the people of Scotland, and the response was miraculous. Says Scott:

'The hopes entertained of the profits to arise from this speculation were in the last degree sanguine; not even the Solemn League and Covenant was signed with more eager enthusiasm. Almost every one who had or could command any sum of ready money embarked it in the Indian and African Company (i.e., Darien Company). Many subscribed their all; maidens threw in their fortunes, and widows whatever sums they could raise upon their dower, to be repaid an hundredfold by the golden shower which was to descend upon the subscribers. Some sold estates to vest the money in the Company's funds, and so eager was the spirit of speculation that when eight hundred thousand pounds formed the whole circulating capital of Scotland, half of that sum was vested in the Darien stock.'

This, then, was the subscribed capital with which the concern started—£400,000—and it was raised in a sort of spirit of

* *Parliamentary Papers*, 1695.

† Burton.

national pride, with all the more enthusiasm after the Hamburgers withdrew. The subscribers to this scheme were representative of all classes of the nation, but the contributions from the Highlands were confined to a few small amounts from Inverness. Curiously few, indeed, are the names beginning with 'Mac' on the list, and such as there are hailed for the most part from Ayr and Galloway. The explanation, of course, may be found not in the lack of sympathy with the adventure, but in lack of money among the clans. The list was headed by the Duchess of Hamilton for £3000. William Paterson was down for the same amount, as also were the Corporations of Edinburgh and Glasgow, the Duke of Queensberry, Lord Belhaven, and Sir John Stuart of Grandtully. The subscribers of £2,000 each included Mr. Robert Blackwood, merchant in Edinburgh, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the Earl of Hopetoun, the Earl of Leven, and Lord Glenorchy. The Earl of Argyll was down for £1,500, as also was 'Patrick Thomson, Treasurer of Glasgow.' The Merchant Company of Edinburgh subscribed for £1,200, and the Merchants House of Glasgow for £1,000. Many lords, lairds, and merchants subscribed for £1,000 each, including Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, the Provost of Glasgow, Lockhart of Carnwath, Sir John Maxwell of Pollok, Lord Stair, 'John Spreul, *alias* Bass John, merchant in Glasgow,' and Sir John Shaw of Greenock. The total of subscribers was 1,400, and the amount they actually paid up and ultimately lost was £243,166—an amount which, Macaulay says, would have to be multiplied one hundred-fold in our time to give a fair proportion to the then population and wealth of the country.

The Court of Directors lost no time in beginning business, their first proceeding being to purchase two houses for offices and stores, in Mills' Square, Edinburgh, at a cost of £850. Then they proceeded to organise a staff, to lay down office regulations, and to arrange salaries. An eight-hour day was practically provided, viz., from 8 till 12 in the forenoon, and from 2 till 6 in the afternoon, but the cash had to be balanced every night before the office was closed. The salaries were only a shade more liberal than in the new Bank of Scotland,

with which corporation, indeed, the African (or Darien) Company entered into keen competition. The charter of the Bank might have enabled it to restrain the Company from banking operations, but the Governor seems to have judged it prudent not to offend so great and influential a Company, lest they should retaliate by causing a run on the Bank. It is interesting to note from these old records* that the African Company had rather a contempt for the young Bank of Scotland, and predicted failure for its efforts to introduce regular banking into the northern kingdom. Yet now the Bank of Scotland is one of the most powerful financial institutions in the realm, and the Darien Company is represented by an empty treasure-chest in its vaults!

The Directors retained control over the most minute details, to judge by orders referring to such small matters as flour for the purser of one of the ships. The secretary's salary was fixed at £150; the chief accountant, £120; the chief cashier, £120; and the assistants or clerks seem to have received from £70 down to £25 per annum.

From Burton we learn that the books and papers were remarkable for correctness, and that the book-keeping was perfect. The office-books were of enormous size, but 'would excite no passing remark on their obsolete appearance if they were seen lying open, with the ink wet, on a bank-counter of the present day.' The larger volumes had 'over the regular binding a loose cover of soft, red leather of the sort still used to mitigate the wear and tear of books requiring to be regularly handled,' and 'the writing is clear and distinct, and would at the present day be called the perfection of bank-clerk caligraphy.' This is the testimony of a noted book-hunter, who was, perhaps, the first to disturb the long repose of the relics of the Darien House.

Although the Directors were so eager to begin business, it is important to note that nothing in the original charter referred to Darien,—the ostensible object of the enterprise being to trade with Africa and the Indies. It was, indeed, not until two

* Bannatyne Club, *The Darien Papers*.

years after the capital had been subscribed that the first expedition sailed. It is not easy now to account for this long delay, but that the public enthusiasm endured through it all is certainly remarkable.

The first vessel purchased was the *Caledonia*, the next the *Instauration*. Both were lying at Hamburg, and were brought over to Leith under convoy. The Scots Privy Council granted them Letters of Marque; and towards the end of July 1698, the first expedition left Leith with some 1,200 colonists and seamen. They had a very vague idea of where they were going, but they were filled with the highest hopes and fired with the greatest enthusiasm.

Of the twelve hundred men who formed the first expedition, a large number were Highlanders, and some were soldiers who had been discharged at the Peace of Ryswick. The officers, generally, were men of good birth. Dalrymple says,* ‘the neighbouring nations with a mixture of surprise and respect, saw the poorest kingdom of Europe sending forth the most gallant and the most numerous colony that had ever gone from the old to the new world.’ The expedition sailed amidst the tears and prayers and praises of a vast multitude, more or less directly interested in its welfare. Dalrymple says, ‘Many seamen and soldiers whose services had been refused, because more had offered themselves than were needed, were found hid in the ships, and, when ordered ashore, clung to the ropes and timbers, imploring to go, without reward, with their companions.’ The ships had sealed orders which were not opened until Madeira was reached, so that the destination was actually a secret, however well it was suspected by the more knowing ones. Indeed, one would infer from Mr. Hugh Rose’s Journal† that few of the company had the remotest idea of where they were bound for, or any clear conception of what was to be done when they reached their destination.

Darien was reached on 4th November, 1698, and the settlers proceeded to fortify the landing-place by landing fifty cannon,

* *Memoirs of Great Britain*, by Sir John Dalrymple.

† *Bannatyne Club Papers*.

and erecting what they called Fort St. Andrew. 'On the other side of the harbour there was a mountain a mile high, on which they placed a watch-house which, in the rarified air within the tropics, gave them an immense range of prospect to prevent all surprise. To this place it was observed that the Highlanders often repaired to enjoy the cool air, and to talk of their friends whom they had left behind.'* They issued a proclamation declaring freedom of trade and of religion, they sent friendly messages to the Spanish Governors, and they entered into negotiations with the natives for the purchase of land.

A Council was appointed by the Company for the government of the Colony, and 'fundamental constitutions' for its perpetual rule were ordained. Free trade in the Colony was proclaimed, but the Company reserved one-twentieth of all lands, gold-dust, silver, and pearls. Import dues were imposed of 2 per cent. (to operate after 1702) on all goods by Scotch vessels, 3 per cent. by other ships, and 1 per cent. only on American produce coming by American ships. Export dues of from 2 to 4 per cent. were also fixed. The duties of the Colony to the Company were very clearly and minutely laid down, and all the instructions were most exact.

The first Council consisted of seven members, pithy descriptions of whom we find in the records of a contemporary writer.† There was (1st) James Cunningham—'he had been a major in the Scots' forces and disbanded in the peace: a pillar of the kirk and never out of Scotland before.' (2nd) Donald Mackay—'a scrivener's or writer's clerk, newly come out of his apprenticeship, but a youth of good parts.' (3rd) William Veitch—'a man of no trade, but advanced to this post on the account his father was a Godly minister and a glorifier of God, I think in the Grassmarket.' (4th) Robert Jolly—'a jolly Scotch *overgrown* Hamburger, who was formerly a skipper and used to the Shetland trade, but had for some dozen years been set up at Hamburg, in the quality

* Dalrymple's *Memoirs*.

† *A Defence of the Scotch Abdicating Darien*, published about 1700.

of merchant, and after that a broker, and now a councillor.' (5th) Robert Pennicuik—'formerly a surgeon in the English navy, then a lieutenant, and afterwards commander of a bomb. This gentleman having gained experience by being twenty-one years away from Scotland in various trades and occupations, was advanced by the interest of the Kirk party, the better to balance that of the Church, and to keep out Dr. M., a reputed atheist. Mr. Pennicuik was not only councillor, but likewise captain, commodore, and the very Oxford of our navy.' (6th) James Montgomery—'you may know him by the story of the bloody fight he had with the Spaniards, where so many hundreds were taken prisoners, though, at the same time, there was never a Spaniard hurt. This gentleman was formerly an ensign in the Scots' Guards, but, not liking the office, left it and carried a brown musket in another regiment, his preferment being entirely due to influence.' (7th) Robert Pinkerton—'a good, downright, rough-spun tar, never before known by any designation or State office save that of boatswain to Sir William Phipps, when he was on the wreck.'

These were what the writer sarcastically calls 'the seven wise men' who were to annex Mexico and Peru, and enrich Scotland. Veitch, however, did not sail with the expedition, and Paterson was, on the voyage out, appointed in his place. Of the ministers of the gospel with the expedition, this writer speaks in no exalted terms.

The news of their settlement in the Isthmus of Darien arrived at Edinburgh on the 25th March, 1699, and was celebrated with the most extravagant rejoicings. 'Thanks were publicly offered up to God in all the churches of the city. At a public graduation of students, at which the magistrates in their formalities attended, the Professor of Philosophy pronounced a harangue in favour of that settlement, the legality of which, against all other pretenders, was maintained in their printed theses; and it seems even to have been a common subject of declamation from all the pulpits.'*

* Arnot.

The Church of Scotland sent four ministers with the first expedition, to keep alive among the colonists the religion of their fathers. These four were,* Alexander Shields, Francis Boreland, Archibald Stobo, and Alexander Dalgleish, to whom, in 1700, the General Assembly directed a pastoral. A further selection of ministers was sent by the General Assembly with the succeeding expeditions. A lengthy 'Letter from the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, met at Glasgow, 21st July, 1699, to the Honourable Council and Inhabitants of the Scots' Colony of *Caledonia* in America,' is also among the records.

In this letter the colonists are reminded that the eyes of God, of angels, and of men, are on them, and they are besought 'for the Lord's sake, for their own souls' sake, and for the sake of their country and their own posterity, and for the interest of the commonwealth, and for all that ought to be sacred, to live honest lives, abhorring uncleanness, idleness, falsehood and unjust dealings.' They are also specially exhorted to be just and earnest in their dealings with the natives. The letter acknowledges that the adventurers had been led under divine direction to a land which the Lord had 'espyed and reserved,' and to which He had borne them 'as on angels' wings, and piloted them safely to the void but commodious dwelling to which, like Abraham, who knew not whither he went, they had gone.' A promise is conveyed to send out other four ministers,† to form a Church Court with the assistance of elders, and the letter prays that these 'may be highly esteemed in love for their works' sake, that their hands may be strengthened and their endeavours encouraged.' Much good advice is conveyed in this interesting pastoral.

There is a pamphlet of this time by one Philo-Caledonius, which is entitled, 'Scotland's Present Duty, or a Call to the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of the Land, to be duly

* Cunningham's '*Church History of Scotland*.'

† The Assembly of 1700 instructed its Commission to 'supply with good and able ministers and ships the colonies of the African and Indian Coy., as they should be applied to by the Court from time to time.' (Cunningham's *Church History*.)

affected with, and vigorously to act for our Common Concern in *Caledonia*, as a means to enlarge Christ's kingdom, to benefit ourselves, and to do good to all Protestant Churches.' Thus there was a missionary as well as a commercial phase in the great enterprise. The writer of this pamphlet ascribes the want of success in the undertaking up to the time when he wrote (1700) to, amongst other reasons, 'the non-confession of sin, covenant breaking, ingratitude to God for the happy Revolution, and neglect of Gospel ordinances.'

But before 1700, adverse critics had begun to arise, and one, already cited, in 'A Defence of the Scotch abdicating Darien,' was very severe on 'the golden dreams of Paterson, the pedlar, tub-preacher, and at last whimsical projector,'—while he does not spare the Directors for their lavish and foolish expenditure on ships and stores. He says: 'Had two second-hand ships been bought in the Thames and despatched to India with a suitable cargo (not Scotch cloth, slippers, periwigs and Bibles), a very different result might soon have been brought about.'

The first expedition arrived out safely, as has been said, disembarking at Acta, where they obtained the site for a town, to be called New Edinburgh, after building the fort already mentioned. They were well received by the natives, and as they arrived in the cool season, they were tolerably well pleased for a time. But by-and-bye the hot weather came on, and with it a whole troop of tropical diseases; their provisions ran short; no relief reached them, and they died off rapidly. Finally, after eight months of misery and semi-starvation, the shattered remnant of the 1,200 abandoned the settlement. A vessel with supplies for them was despatched from the Clyde in January, 1699, but was shipwrecked; and two other relief-ships were so delayed, that they did not arrive at the Isthmus until two months after the desertion of the Colony.

But, meanwhile, before all this was known at home, a second expedition of four* ships had set sail from Rothesay Bay.

* Chambers (*Domestic Annals*) says six, but he is probably including the two relief-ships which preceded.

This was in September, 1699, and the persons of the expedition numbered 1200. Among them was the Rev. Francis Boreland, already mentioned, who was the only one of the ministers destined to return home. In 1714 he published in Glasgow a narrative of the Darien expedition, a book which is now exceedingly rare.

Mr. Boreland's description of the country and the people, as he found them, appears to be generally applicable to the present time. He agreed with a former traveller that 'Darien is pernicious, unwholesome, and contagious,'—a land of which it may be said 'Thou devourest men and eatest up thy inhabitants,' and where it was 'no wonder though our Colony neither did nor could thrive there, suppose no other enemy in the world had molested them.'

Some hundred and sixty of the second lot of colonists died on the voyage out, and although the ships put into Montserrat for supplies, they were refused both water and provisions by the Governor, acting under instructions received from England, to the effect that the Darien Colony was illegal and improper, and should not be countenanced by His Majesty's loyal subjects. They arrived at 'Caledonia' only to find, instead of a happy prosperous settlement of their fellow-countrymen, a waste and howling wilderness. This was the harder for them, inasmuch as this second expedition was fitted out not to settle a colony, but to recruit one supposed to be already in working order.

The leader knew not what to do, but Captain Campbell of Finab arrived shortly afterwards in a sloop, with provisions and some more men, so it was resolved to hold on to the place. Then the Spaniards came, invested the fort, and blockaded the harbour. Disasters accumulated fast, until, as Boreland writes: 'What with bad water, salt spoiled provisions, and absence of medicines, the fort was indeed like an hospital of sick and dying men.' The Spanish General seeing their condition, offered easy terms of capitulation,—agreeing to help them out of the country if they would leave their guns and ammunition, and promise not to come back again. By this time hardly 300 of the colonists were fit for duty, and the

deaths were at the rate of sixteen per day. Finally, after a stay of four months and a half, the broken-hearted and physically debilitated band were assisted on board the ships that had brought them out, and three others that had since arrived.

But misfortune still followed them. Numbers died of hardship at sea, malignant fever broke out on board, one ship sprang a leak, and had to be run into Cartagena where she was sold to the Spaniards, another was wrecked near Jamaica, and on board the others some 250 men perished from disease on the voyage between Caledonia and Jamaica.

At Jamaica more deaths occurred,—intemperance hastening the end of many,—and the numbers were further diminished by desertions. The remaining ships were re-fitted and again sailed for England, but the *Rising Sun* was lost off Charlestown with about 140 souls. How many survivors of the two expeditions reached England is hardly known, but they were very few,—James Pagan says not more than thirty.

Among the survivors was the Rev. Mr. Boreland, who made his way from Jamaica to Boston, and so home, to write the narrative from which we have quoted. He says the colonists were a very bad lot, that although he had been in all parts of the world, and had served as a minister with the army in Flanders, he had never been mixed up with such a wicked company before. He finishes his account in the following curious verses—

‘ No wonder, then, our infant colony
In Darien could not long time thriving be,
By such ill neighbours in a spot of earth
Beset with griefs, and daily views of death.
Remote from friends, the objects of envy
To many, who did wish we here might die :
Our single strength but feeble to support us ;
Our skill in such affairs small to direct us ;
Besides an higher cause of our distresses,
God’s wrath against us, for our great trespasses.
Then strange not that our new plantation,
Soon died and came to desolation.’

So ended the great Darien Colonisation Scheme.

William Paterson does not seem to have had much to do with the actual management of the Darien Company. He was one of the first Directors, and was sent out with two others of the Board, to negotiate trade for the Colony. But he seems to have had little influence. He was taken ill with fever and was carried on board one of the ships which brought away the remnant of the first expedition. Of those on board the *Unicorn* with him, 150 out of 250 died before they reached New York—mostly, as Paterson says in his Report to the Directors, ‘from want of looking after and means to recover them.’ After lying some two months incapacitated in New York, Paterson succeeded in getting passage from there to Islay. Crossing from the island to the mainland, he made his way with difficulty, owing to the state of his health, to Edinburgh, where he arrived, completely broken down, towards the end of 1699.

Paterson, however, did not die in poverty and neglect as has been stated by Sir Walter Scott and others. He lived until the year 1718, and his will was proved for some £7000. It is said that his mental activity improved with his health. There are documents in the British Museum which are thought to show that King William was at the time of his death somewhat inclining towards Paterson’s scheme. If so, it is just as well for his subjects that William died when he did. All European efforts on the Darien Isthmus have been crowned with disaster and death. It is said that a navvy lies buried under every sleeper of the Panama Railway, and the full tale of mortality of the Lesseps’ enterprise remains to be told.

The General Assembly in 1700, and again in 1701, proclaimed a fast,* with special reference to the calamitous failure of the expeditions. The Parliament also passed a series of Acts condemnatory of the treatment which the colony had received at the hands of the English Government. Public feeling against the English was very strong, and there can be little doubt that the Jacobite chances were never better, had

* Cunningham’s *Church History of Scotland*.

there been brains—and money—forthcoming to take advantage of the situation. Nevertheless Scott writes:

‘It is, however, only justice to William to state that though in the Darien affair he refused the Scots the justice which was unquestionably their due, he was nevertheless the only person in either kingdom who proposed, and was anxious to have carried into execution, an Union between the kingdoms as the only effectual means of preventing in future such subjects of jealousy and contention. But the prejudices of England as well as Scotland, rendered more inveterate by this unhappy quarrel, disappointed the King’s wise and sagacious overture.’*

And again Robert Chambers:—

‘It seemed to the people of Scotland that the hostility of the King’s Government, rather than that of the Spaniards, had been chiefly to blame for their misfortunes, and certainly there is some truth in the allegation. Nevertheless, when the whole matter is viewed without national prejudice, it must be admitted that there was a radical want of prudential management and direction in the expedition to Darien, and through this chiefly did Scotland lose the opportunity of possessing herself of the most important station for commerce in the world.’†

In the light of more recent knowledge one may well doubt whether in the best of circumstances the Scotch colony could have formed a profitable settlement in the fever-den of Darien, but that there were other causes of failure than the climate and the opposition of the English Government, may be seen from the testimony of one of the ministers with the second expedition, who wrote to the Moderator of the General Assembly on 2nd February, 1700, ‘From the Woods of Caledonia,’ to the effect that ‘The fountain cause of all their miseries was brought from Scotland with them, choice having been made of the scum of the country, who were without the commonest measures of religion or reason, honesty or honour, the conduct of the colonists even on the voyage out being bad beyond belief,’ and since their landing ‘such as threatens the final and fatal ruin of the colony, to the irreparable loss and indelible shame and reproach of the nation.’

The bearing of the Darien Expedition on the Union is

* Sir Walter Scott.

† *Domestic Annals of Scotland.*

worthy of more attention than it has received. While it would be absurd to say that there would never have been a Legislative Union between England and Scotland but for the adventure and the disaster which resulted from the Act of 1695, it is tolerably certain that but for these events it would have had a different history. The anger aroused against England for the Darien reverses brought the countries to the verge of war, from which nothing but an incorporating union seemed possible to save them.* William, as has been said, was one of the first to recognise this, and he took the initiative in persuading the House of Lords to take the first step. This, however, proved a mistake, because the Commons, offended at what they regarded as a breach of etiquette, threw out the Bill on the second reading. They preferred the danger of a war with Scotland to the humiliation of listening to a suggestion from the Lords.†

One fact which tended to restrain the Scotch from armed outbreak was that the bulk of the loss fell chiefly upon the inhabitants of the Lowland towns, who had supported the revolution of 1688, and who had been devoted to King William. Indeed, there was a pretty general disposition, which has been ignored by many writers on the subject, to exonerate the King from blame in the matter, and the dread of a return of the Stuarts, with popery and persecution, was probably greater with them, in spite of their anger against England, than the desire for reprisals. In an 'Humble Address to the Scots Parliament' of this period, the King is referred to as the father of the Church and nation, and is appealed to 'to send an olive-branch of an answer of peace to their cry, and to aid in sending blessings and prosperity to this distressed and impoverished nation.' In reply to this and countless other addresses and petitions, the King wrote, in July 1700, that he was much concerned at the losses of the African Company, and was so 'heartily inclined' to advance the prosperity of Scotland that he would gladly concur with Parliament in everything which would help towards it, and to

* *Burton's History of the Reign of Queen Anne.*

† *Burton.*

repair their losses. He had already expressed his apprehension that difficulties must often arise between the two kingdoms, 'unless some way be found to unite them more nearly and completely,' and he again urged on Parliament the necessity of considering 'an union between the two kingdoms.'

It is not so certain, as some assume, that Scotland lost heavily by the Darien failure. By the terms of the Act of Union, the Darien shareholders received out of the so-called Equivalent Money (£398,000) as much as would repay every penny of their subscriptions, with 5 per cent. interest. In this connection an incident may be mentioned not generally known. The principal receivers of the Equivalent Money did not accept payment in cash, but formed themselves into a Company of Equivalent Proprietors, allowing their share of the fund to remain in the hands of the Government in return for an annuity of £10,000. Later on, about 1727, these Equivalent Proprietors began to undertake banking, and obtained a charter as 'The Scottish Banking Company,' a title which was later changed for that of 'The Royal Bank of Scotland.'

There is not the slightest reason to believe, as Mr. Charles Waddie does,* that the Darien scheme would have succeeded but for the opposition of the English. Yet one may easily trace the formation of the Union to the Darien failure rather than to the Act of the English Parliament of 1704—'to prevent mischiefs arising to England from the Act of Security in Scotland,'—followed as that Act was by threats of and actual preparations for war. The affair of the 'Worcester,' which Burton tells at great length, no doubt served to precipitate a settlement, by arousing popular passions to a dangerous height. But the lesson of the Scotch African Company was, that the just demands of Scotland for a 'mutual communication of trade privileges and advantages' could no longer be ignored. The Darien scheme, in short, demonstrated the necessity of a Legislative Union between the two kingdoms. The only alternative was complete separation.

BEN. TAYLOR.

* *How Scotland lost her Parliament.*

ART IV.—ANCIENT TRADE.

THE political history of the ancient world, and the story of wars and conquests, is familiar to us, both through the works of early historians, and from the existing monuments of ancient civilised countries; but the history of ancient trade, and of the peaceful relations which bound together the various nations of Asia and of Southern Europe, remains still to be written, although the materials for such a work are constantly accumulating. We are apt to regard the ancients as jealously guarding their own lands from foreigners, and as continually warring with their neighbours, and to forget that the merchant and the artist, by extended travels and by residence in other countries, bound together the various civilised races, even as early as 2,500 B.C., almost as completely as in our own times.

Perhaps the earliest evidence of such peaceful trade and employment is to be found in the inscriptions of Wâdy el Maghârah ('valley of the cave') in the Sinaitic desert. The mines in this country, from which the Egyptians obtained *Mafek* or turquoise—whence the region was called *Mafka*—were worked in the time of Senoferu, ninth king of the 3rd dynasty, whose tablets still remain carved on the rocks; and copper is also believed to have been thence obtained. The date of this monarch is very uncertain. It has been placed as early as 3,600 B.C.; but the method by which scholars endeavoured to ascertain such dates is open to criticism, since it supposes an average reign of thirty years for each king, which seems much too long a period if we compare the average in later times, when the regnal years are exactly recorded. Senoferu, however, cannot have lived much later than 2,500 B.C.

About the same time the great Akkadian conqueror, whose name is usually read as Gudea, had established his capital on the lower Tigris, and had conquered northern Syria, whence he took cedar wood for the building of his temples. He states, in an inscription recently discovered at Tell Loh, that the

diorite in which his statues were hewn came from *Ma-gan-na* 'the land of the wall;' and the evidence of other texts shews clearly that the country so called was Sinai. The term answers to the Hebrew Shur 'the wall;' and in addition to this statement geologists assure us that the material used for the statues is the same diorite found in the Sinaitic peninsula. At this very early period, therefore, the Egyptian and the Mongol Akkadian appear to have met, in the Sinaitic region, in times of peace, and the stone from the quarries was transported over the distance of 1,200 miles eastwards to the Tigris.

The wealth and advanced civilisation, of which we have such early evidence, were not lost in succeeding times; and as early as about 1,700 B.C. the Semitic peoples appear as traders, connecting the valley of the Euphrates with that of the Nile. When Thothmes III. invaded Syria he found the Phœnicians already famous for the graven metal work, which was so highly prized by the Greeks, at the time when the Homeric poems were penned. Egyptian pictures represent their presents of vases and urns, elegant in the forms of their repoussé workmanship, and made of silver, gold, and bronze. The list of spoils and of tribute from Palestine, Syria, and Assyria, astonishes us by its enumeration of precious objects, taken from Hittites and Syrians as well as from Nineveh. The chariots of the conquered tribes were plated with silver and gold, and, in addition to wine, oil, wheat, and fruits, statues were found made of precious metals; and precious stones—blue and green—are mentioned, with staves of ivory, ebony, and cedar, inlaid with gold, tables of cedar adorned with gold and with gems, and thrones of which the footstools were made of ivory and cedar. The armour, also, was inlaid with gold, and agate chests are enumerated, with copper chariots. Some of the chariots in Phœnicia were painted. Alabaster and lead, with incense, balsam, sweet oil, and precious woods, came from the same region. From Cyprus were brought bricks of lead, with bluestone and elephant's tusks, and the vases were carved in fanciful designs, with the heads of goats, lions, bulls, and eagles. Iron spears are noticed, with battle-axes of flint. The Hittites sent negro slaves, showing how early the slave trade

must have been organised ; and the Phoenicians are represented leading little yellow children, who were perhaps brought from Armenia or the Caucasus. Lead, gold, and silver, with precious stones, came also from Naharaim or northern Mesopotamia, with ornamented collars of leather. It is remarkable that both iron (*Berzil*) and the chariot (*Marcabah*) were known to the Egyptians by their Hebrew or Assyrian names, showing apparently that they were first obtained from a Semitic people, and the same remarks applies to the horse (*Sus*) which was not known in Egypt before the conquests of the 18th dynasty in Western Asia.

Even before the time of the great Thothmes the Egyptians had a fleet in the Red Sea. His famous elder sister, Hatasu (or as others prefer to read the name Hashop), sent her ambassadors far south to Punt, which seems to have been the present Somali land, where they landed on the coast of the 'incense mountain cut in terraces' near Cape Gardafui. The natives presented incense-trees, which were brought to Egypt planted in tubs, together with resin and ebony, ivory objects inlaid with gold, kohel for the eyes, dog-headed apes, long-tailed monkeys, greyhounds, and leopard skins. The natives from whom these gifts were obtained appear, on the bas-reliefs, to have been of the great Bantu stock, with features resembling those of the Caffre rather than the Negro. The Manna, which was used in Egypt for incense, appears to have come from Sinai or from further south, and retained the same name by which it was known to the Hebrews.

These embassies and presents continued to pour in from north and south alike in the 16th century B.C., and down to the time of the revolt of Canaan, about 1,450 B.C., from the weak rule of Khu-en-aten. The Hittite Prince Tarkondara, sent copper (or bronze) and precious stones from the region near Palmyra. Even from Babylonia gold was sent in quantities, with stone vases and rare trees and vessels of bronze. Tin was very early known to the Akkadians of Chaldea, as we learn from the well-known bilingual text, in which it is said to have been mingled with copper to produce bronze; but it is remarkable how tentatively this result was attained, as shown by the

recent analysis of bronze objects of various dates. As late as the time of the 6th dynasty it would appear to have been unknown in Egypt, where only pure copper was used. In the time of the 12th dynasty only 5 per cent. of tin occurs in the bronze, whereas, under the 18th, the metal—perhaps obtained from the Phoenicians—was made with 6 or 7 per cent of tin. In the same way the earliest Akkadians used pure copper, but in the days of Sargon (700 B.C.) 10 per cent. of tin was added. So also Dr. Schliemann discovered tools and weapons, ranging from the copper pins and nails of the earliest period to the bronze battle-axes of later days, which show 9 per cent. of tin. Thus, if antiquaries insist on a 'Bronze Age' they must also allow for one of copper; but in reality such an attempt to arrange a chronology founded on the use of the metals fails entirely when it is applied to a large area of the ancient world, wherein various races were living contemporaneously in very various stages of civilisation. Recent discoveries in the south-east of Spain have revealed a period when bronze was little known and when no iron was in use, but when, in chambers of hewn stone, the dead were buried in pottery jars, and adorned with beads of ivory, with bracelets of copper, rings of silver, and coronets of gold. Axes and arrow-heads alike were made of copper by these early Spaniards, as were their knives and awls and daggers. The copper was probably hardened in oil, but the bronze brought by Phoenician traders is rarely found.* The people whose early and rude civilisation has thus been illustrated in the far west, were entirely illiterate, but it is not necessary to suppose that such remains belong to a very early date—the historic ages in Asia reach back further than the prehistoric in savage Europe.

The Egyptians had ships in the Mediterranean as well as on the Red Sea coast. About 1,300 B.C. the rude Aryan tribes—Thracians, Achaïans, Lycians, Sardiens, and others—attacked Mineptah II., being leagued with the blue-eyed Libyans from

* MM. Henri et Louis Siret's *Les Premières Âges du Métal dans le Sud Est de l'Espagne*. See Miss Buckland's paper, *Archæolog. Rev.*, No. 4, 1888.

the west, whose descendants still maintain their fair complexion, and who appear to have been early Celtic settlers in Africa. They were defeated, but the attack was renewed a century later against Rameses III., and was by sea. They were then opposed by Egyptian fleets of 'ships of war, merchantmen boats and skiffs,' and after the annihilation of this second expedition the Egyptian fleet advanced to Cyprus, where many of the chief cities were taken. An Egyptian ship is described as being 100 cubits long, and some of them were armed with beaks or rams. Even at the earlier period (1,300 B.C.) there was a maritime trade between Egypt and northern Syria, for 'Mineptah II. speaks of certain Pitishu 'whom I allowed to take away wheat in ships to save the lives of the Hittite people.'

The intercourse of the Egyptians with the Semitic peoples of Syria dates back to the early days of the Hyksos, whom some regard as having been themselves Semitic. The well-known picture at Beni Hassan, dating from the times of the 12th dynasty, gives evidence of the feeble beginnings of this trade even earlier than the times of the Hyksos. A tribe of Semitic people, called Amu, bring Kohel, and an ibex such as is found in Sinai, coming from the country of the Pitishu. They are armed with bows, clubs, and spears, the men bearded, the women in curiously flounced garments, the children carried on asses, and one strikes a lyre of ancient form with the plectrum. These relations were, however, broken when the 'Syrian shepherds' were driven from the delta by the Nubian kings of the 18th dynasty, although renewed later when the succeeding kings of the same race married Armenian princesses. By the time of Rameses II. the Semitic population had become so numerous in Egypt that many Semitic words crept into the Egyptian language, and Semitic gods found a place in the Egyptian pantheon. Yet, later in the troublous times which succeeded the final loss of the Asiatic conquests, a Phœnician named Arisu or Haris even sat upon the throne of lower Egypt for a time, and cruelly oppressed the native race. Of him Rameses III. records the impiety and final overthrow, yet the Phœnician trade with Egypt continued till much later

times, and these sailors were employed in 600 B.C. by Necho, to circumnavigate Africa, which, as Herodotus tell us, they successfully achieved.

The early exploration of the Mediterranean was mainly due to Phœnician traders, who penetrated first to Cyprus and the Greek islands from Sidon, and established colonies throughout this archipelago and in the Morea, as well as at Thasos, Lemnos, and far north at Sesamos and Sinope on the Black Sea. They found copper in Cyprus, gold at Thasos, and silver in Siphaios and Cimolus. The earliest colonies at Citium are thought to have been founded between the 17th and 14th centuries B.C., and the trade with Greece dated back to at least 1,200 B.C. Southern Italy is also said to have been reached by the Sidonians, who established themselves at Temesa, Medama, and other seaside towns. The men of Gebal, north of Sidon, founded Golgos, in the north of Cyprus, and went as far west as Melos, near the Morea; but the discovery of the Western Mediterranean was due to the Tyrians, who, in the 9th century B.C., reached Sicily, and founded Carthage. The colonies in Sardinia, Spain, and the Balearic Isles were Carthaginian, and it is doubtful whether any of these bold mariners had gone west of Malta before the great city of the Tunis promontory was built.

The Greeks soon learned maritime arts from their Phœnician teachers, and had their own navies on the Mediterranean as early at least as 700 B.C., and very probably even before 1200 B.C.* The Dorians conquered Phœnician colonists in Rhodes, Melos, and Thera, and in 734 B.C. there were Greek colonies in Sicily side by side with those of the Tyrians.† Before Hannibal's time the Phœnicians had a temple in Marseilles, and at the mouth of the Po they received amber from the shores of the Baltic, brought by caravans through Germany.

* That the Greeks were the first Aryan sailors is clearly indicated by the fact that other ancient Aryans adopted Greek words for all sorts of nautical and shipping terms.

† Brunet de Presles *Recherches sur les Grecs en Sicile*. Paris, 1845, p. 71.

Their discovery of the Tin Islands must have occurred earlier than 400 B.C., for the Cassiterides were dimly known to Herodotus; and nearly as early, in the fourth century B.C., Pytheas of Marseilles (according to Strabo and Pliny) had followed the north coasts of Europe beyond the Rhine, and is believed to have entered the Baltic. About 500 B.C. also, Hanno passed the Pillars of Hercules, and reached the Canaries and coasted far south beyond Cape Palmas. All these early voyages of Greeks and Phœnicians were due to a knowledge of astronomy, which enabled them to sail by the polestar, and though they never ventured far from the coasts they made a steady rate of about 100 miles in the twenty-four hours, sailing when possible and rowing when obliged.

The Carthaginian trade continued until the fall of the city in 146 B.C., although many of the colonies were then already lost. The Romans and the Arabs succeeded to the commerce of their great predecessors, but even in Roman times many of the traders may have been of Semitic race. Spain was the richest of the colonies, and the mining operations of the Carthaginians are described by Diodorus Siculus as pursued in the latest times of the Phœnician domination in this region. Gold and tin were only found in small quantities, but silver was abundant and of good quality. The traders are said to have found the natives using this metal for their commonest drinking vessels, which accords with the unexpected discovery of silver in the Spanish tombs already mentioned. The veins were numerous and often of great depth, and iron and copper of inferior quality were also obtained. Lead was plentiful and was mixed with silver in the ores. This compound, called *galena* by the ancients, was smelted, and the gold was obtained by washing. Diodorus says that shafts were sunk to a depth of half-a-mile (which is perhaps an exaggeration), and the galleries followed the veins, piercing through or working round the faults of trap rock. These mines were cased with wood, but at times collapsed, or were flooded by the subterranean springs, which were drained off, or the water pumped out by the 'screw of Archimedes.' The pounded ores were melted in white clay crucibles, and purified by pouring

from one such receiver to another when liquid. The labours of slaves were used in such mines by Carthaginians and Romans alike.

The African trade was of another character (*Scylax Periplus*, § 112). Ointment and Egyptian vessels, pottery from Africa, and wine, were the cargo brought to the natives of Senegal, from whom in turn the Phœnicians received ivory and elephants' hides, and skins of antelopes, lions, and panthers, and fleeces. The ships anchored at Cerne (apparently near or at the Canaries), and the wares were landed in small boats. Hanno also brought home to Carthage from these shores the skins of gorillas, which he regarded as human but untameable savages. The influence of Carthage is monumentally shown in these regions by the existence of an alphabet of Phœnician origin in the Canaries, and on the coins of Spain down to the third century of the Christian era.

The home trade of Tyre itself was mainly in works of art and in fabrics. The Phœnician bowls, of which many still exist in museums, were highly prized by the Greeks, as were the woven cloths dyed with the famous purple of the murex. This shell is still found in the bays of the Syrian coast, after storms, as far south at least as Mount Carmel. The fishers used ozier baskets with cork floats, baited with mussels and frogs. The smaller shells were crushed, but the finer ones were bored, and the colouring matter in its sac was extracted unharmed. The fluid was boiled with salt in a leaden vessel, and the colour obtained varied from yellow and green to red and true purple. Dyeing is still a trade in Sidon, and was a very usual occupation of the mediæval Jews, but the art of preparing the 'twice dipped' robes, the 'colour of black roses,' which the Romans admired, seems to have been lost in early times.

The Tyrians were highly prosperous in the days immediately preceding the Babylonian invasion, and the wide range of their commerce is evidenced by the well-known passage in Ezekiel (ch. xxvii.) about that time. The prophet describes the cedar or fir wood masts, and oars of Bashan oak, the benches of boxwood and ivory, the linen sails with Egyptian

embroidery, of the galleys which crowded the Tyrian harbours; and speaks of the purple awnings, and the rowers from Sidon and Arvad. The hired troops were from Persia and Lydia, and the garrison from Arvad, with the Caucasian Gammarim. From Tarsus, on the north, the traders brought silver and iron, tin and lead; the Ionians, Tabalians, and Moschians from the same ports traded in slaves. The Armenians brought horses and mules, and from Dedan and the islands of the Persian Gulf came Indian ivory and ebony. From Syria itself the merchants brought precious stones and purple stuffs, linen, coral, and rubies. From Judea came wheat, honey, oil, and balm. Damascus sent its fabrics, with wine from Hermon, and white wool. Iron, cassia, and the calamus or Indian cane, could be bought in Tyre, and far south from Arabia came flocks and herds. From Yemen were brought spices, with gold and gems. From Assyria choice stuffs in chests. The trade routes of the ancient world poured all their choicest products into the little island town, whence ships distributed them over all the western colonies, before Alexandria was founded and became a ruinous rival. Thus by about 500 B.C. the Phœnician commerce linked Britain with India, and Western Africa with the Scythian shores.

Among all these products of Semitic trade, perhaps the most interesting are ivory and tin. The question still remains to be finally settled as to what were the original sources whence both these precious substances were obtained. As regards ivory there appears to have been a double source, the Egyptians and Carthaginians using African ivory, while the Assyrians and Phœnicians obtained it also from India. The Carthaginians appear to have tamed the African elephant—a feat now regarded as impossible. On the other hand, Thothmes III. encountered a herd of 120 elephants in Mesopotamia, and shows an elephant as part of his Asiatic spoils. Possibly the Assyrians may even at that early period have obtained elephants from India. The Persians used them at Arbela, and the Greeks brought them to Palestine, as Pyrrhus (unless, indeed, his elephants were African) did to Italy. But the range of the Asiatic elephant may have been wider in early

times than it now is, for it survived with the rhinoceros in Honan down to 600 B.C. The elephant is correctly represented on the black obelisk of Shalmanezer II. (860-825 B.C.) with the rhinoceros; and other Bactrian and Indian animals (notably monkeys) occur on Assyrian bas-reliefs. The Phœnicians, as we have seen, obtained ivory from the Persian Gulf. In Nineveh, on the other hand, an ivory object carved in Egypt has been found, which is no doubt of African material. The word used both in Assyrian and in Hebrew for the elephant is *habba*, which survives to the present day in the vernacular of the Malabar Coast and of Ceylon, as the name of the Indian elephant. This is usually regarded as conclusively showing that Solomon must have traded with India; but the curious fact remains that the Egyptian name of the elephant is *ab* or *abu*, which appears to be the same word. In like manner the Hebrew word for the apes, which Solomon's traders brought from the East, is *koph*, which has been compared with the Tamil name for the monkey. It occurs also in Sanskrit as *kapi*, and was adopted by the Greeks as *κῆπος*, *κῆβος* or *κέιβος*, and by the Latins as *cepus*; but here also we are confronted by the fact that the Egyptian word for ape is similar. Possibly the African elephant was not known till later times in Egypt, and hence received an Asiatic name, as did the horse and the camel. To the Assyrians both the two humped Bactrian, and the single humped Arab camel were well known, and the former may have already been used by traders in Asia Minor, where it still is found.* It is, however, not impossible that ivory and apes, in Solomon's time, may have come from Somali land, and not from India.

With regard to tin, the metal is not of common occurrence, and in the early Akkadian period it was not to be obtained from either the Tin Islands or from Eastern India, while the supply from Spain would be equally impossible, even if it had

* The name of the camel is usually regarded as a Semitic word, but is not derivable from any appropriate root. More probably it is of Akkadian—that is Mongolic—derivation, from the root *gam* 'to bend' with the termination *il* for 'beast,' thus signifying 'the beast with a hump.'

once abounded there, of which we have no evidence. Tin is said to occur in the Caucasus, and is found in the Altai mountains. One of these ranges is the probable source of the tin, which was already used about 2000 B.C. or earlier; and this agrees with the passage in Ezekiel, already noticed, which speaks of a trade in tin through Tarsus, whither it was brought by the tribes from the Caucasus.

One of the remarkable results of such study of ancient trade is its bearing on the usual European theory of ages distinguished by the use of various metals. According to Morlot's calculations the 'Bronze Age' extended from about 1000 B.C. to 2400 B.C., which is the end of the stone age for European students of prehistoric times. The age of iron, according to this view, is not to be carried back beyond 1000 B.C., and an age of copper is entirely omitted. Such distinction recalls rather the theories of Hesiod than the voice of serious scholarship. We have seen that bronze was already known very early, but that pure copper was previously used in both Asia and Europe, and that iron was certainly worked by the Asiatics before 1600 B.C. The time at which various metals came into use differed in different countries, according to the distribution of the natural supply, and to the acquaintance of natives with foreign traders. The Akkadians knew iron very early, and it is in their language denoted by two signs, which may be read *dimmirsa*, equivalent to the Turko-Mongol *timirti*, which is still a word in living dialects as the name of the metal. Iron was known by its Semitic name to the Egyptians in 1360 B.C., and in 1200 B.C. in pictures of the time of Rameses III. the metal is represented of a bluish colour on the monuments. Iron mines in the Egyptian deserts are said to have been worked, but it was to Asiatics that the Egyptians seem to have owed their first acquaintance with that metal.

The ancients credited the Phoenicians with the discovery of glass making, and beautiful tear bottles of glass are often found in Phoenician tombs; but here the Egyptians probably claim priority, for the Beni Hassan pictures represent glass blowing in the time of the 12th dynasty, and some even of the

glass found in Phœnicia seems to have come from Egypt, bearing the name of Thothmes III. in hieroglyphic characters.

With exception of iron the Egyptian names for metals do not seem to be of foreign origin. For gold the commonest words are *nub* and *sani*, though *ketem* also occurs, which is Semitic, but this is at a later period. Silver was called 'white gold,' *het nub*, which seems to indicate that it was only known later. Copper is *khomt*. Lead is *nes* in the ore or block, and *thet* or *tehet*. These metals therefore appear to have been independently discovered, and were not brought by traders from Asia. It is also remarkable that the Turanian, Aryan, and Semitic races had their own names for the various metals known to the ancients, and that with the possible exception of tin and gold (as shown by the Greek words for the metals), they do not appear to have derived their first knowledge of any of these articles of trade from one another. Indeed it is remarkable how little influence the Phœnician and Assyrian languages had on those of their neighbours, for although many Greek words are foreign, and seem to be non-Aryan, very few of these are derivable from Semitic sources.

The Turanians or Mongols—represented by the Akkadians—were civilized long before the Semitic tribes began to settle down to agriculture and to trading pursuits. They had their own words for all the metals—*kin* or *guskin* (the Tartar *kin*) for 'gold': *dimirsa* for iron: *anna* for tin (the Hungarian *on*): *urud* for copper (Basque *uraida*), *azag* for silver, *abar* (if correctly transcribed) for lead, and *zabar* for bronze—as at present transliterated. The language of Assyrians and Babylonians, and even of Hebrews and Phœnicians, borrowed many words from the older Akkadian, to denote civilised ideas, but the Akkadians had little or nothing to learn from the Semitic peoples, and such evidences as may be derived from philology, in the case of the Greeks, and of Asiatic vocabularies of the early Aryan tribes, seem rather to point to a trade with the Akkadians, as the first civilising influence encountered by the barbarians of Thrace and of Ionia, than to the exclusive teaching of Arameans or Phœnicians.

Our ideas as to the birth of civilised customs among the

Aryans in prehistoric times—for Aryan history begins some 2000 years later than that of the great races of Asia and Africa—are based mainly on the evidence of comparative philology; and special attention has been given by scholars to the subject of Aryan names for metals, and for other articles of trade, from which we may endeavour to discern the influences which were first brought to bear upon the various Aryan peoples. The results have been summarised in an interesting manner by Dr. O. Schrader,* although a more intimate acquaintance with Akkadian might perhaps have assisted him in some points of his subject.

Although it is believed that the earliest Aryans, before they spread from the Volga over Europe, had some knowledge of copper, yet the value of the metals was learned by the Mediterranean races from the older civilised peoples of Asia, and was by them transmitted to the peoples whom they conquered, or with whom they traded in the North. The term 'bronze age' of Europe beyond the Alps, is indeed a complete misnomer, for bronze appears in such regions suddenly developed in its latest proportions, and was obtained by trade with Phœnicians, Etruscans, and Romans. Its gradual perfecting, already noticed, can only be traced in Egypt and Chaldea, where the value of the alloy was first discovered. Indeed it would appear that iron may have been used by the Eastern Europeans before bronze, although this was not the case in Italy. The recent discovery of the history of bronze may profoundly affect the question of the antiquity of prehistoric remains among Celtic and Teutonic races. The earliest native culture of Aryans is believed to be represented by the lake dwellings of Switzerland and Umbria, and here, while iron and bronze are alike unknown, and stone extensively used for weapons, pure copper is found employed for daggers, fish-hooks, arrow heads, hammers, and axes. Some have supposed the existence of jade in these early settlements to betoken a trade with Central Asia, but jade is also found native in Europe,

* See *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*. English translation : London, 1890.

and the material is distributed over all parts of the earth's surface.

The value of gold appears to have been taught to the early Greeks by a Semitic race, for the common word χρῶδος is generally accepted as being the *khurasu* of the Assyrians. The Hebrews generally used another word, (*zahab*), but the Phœnicians called gold *kharas*, and the gold mines of Thasos were Phœnician. The Aryans nevertheless had a native word for gold as the 'yellow metal' which is recognisable in the Phrygian γλουρός and in Teutonic and other languages. The western Aryans very generally adopted the Latin name, which meant the 'glowing metal,' and this may have been due to the fact that Imperial Rome, while allowing its subjects to coin copper, and even silver in the case of favoured cities, reserved the gold coinage as the currency of the Empire, stamped only at the Capital. The Armenian Aryans appear to have adopted the old Akkadian word. The Finns took the German name for gold, and the Phœnicians in this instance influenced none save the Greeks. Gold was found in many parts of Europe, but its value was apparently little regarded, until civilisation penetrated from Asia, and from Italy towards the north.

For silver in like manner the names were numerous, but not derived from a Semitic source. The Ossetes, or Aryans of the Caucasus, seem to have taken an Akkadian name for the metal. The Akkadians called it *azag*, whence may be derived the Siberian words *ezis* or *azves*, and the Hungarian *ezüst*, which in Ossetic becomes *avzist*. Other Aryans in Asia used a word meaning the 'white metal,' and western Aryans had their own term of like significance. Armenia itself was rich in silver, but in Teutonic countries it was little known, save when imported, as Tacitus describes.

Copper in later times was called the 'Cyprian ore,' as being brought by the Phœnicians from Cyprus, but its common Semitic name was never used by Aryans. The old term *raudus* in Latin, has been thought to mean the 'red metal,' but is very similar to the Akkadian *urud* and Basque *urraida*, which would favour the supposition that a trade with Asiatic Mongols

preceded the Aryan trade with Phœnicia. There is much confusion in all the terms which denote copper and bronze, and the reason is clearly discoverable in the fact of the late and gradual evolution of the alloy.

As regards iron, the metal was known at least as early as 500 B.C. among the Scythians, and the inhabitants of Asia Minor were famous as miners of iron. Jeremiah (xv. 12) also speaks of iron coming from the north, but it does not appear that either the Semitic or Akkadian name for the metal was adopted by Aryans. In the north of Europe it was little known in early Roman times, but it has been found at Troy in ruins perhaps as old as the sixth century B.C. Tin and lead were sometimes confused by the ancients, though a knowledge of lead is shewn by the same Trojan remains; tin was probably an Akkadian discovery, and the Akkadian name of the metal was known to Greeks and Armenians, as well as the Semitic term which was also borrowed from Akkadian. Thus on the one hand we have the Greek *έσος*, which may be comparable with the Akkadian *anna* or *annag* for 'tin,' found also in the Armenian *anag* and Hungarian *on*; while on the other hand the Greek *κασσίτερος*, widely spread in Slavonic languages, and found in Sanscrit, appears to be the Assyrian *kasatirra*, from the Akkadian *ikasduru*. The Cassiterides were thus named perhaps by the Phœnicians themselves, but the old Akkadian name for tin was given to lead among the Hebrews, for tin was not found in any quantity in the mines of Syria.

Such an examination of the relations with the Aryans seems therefore to shew that the Egyptians did not trade with them at all, but received only Phœnician traders and knew their words for iron and gold; that the same hardy race brought gold and tin to Greece, but that an overland traffic with the East may have existed quite as early, which brought the Akkadian name of tin to Armenians and Greeks; that the Latins on the other hand had their own names for all the metals, and taught their use to northern tribes; that iron was an export of Asia Minor and Greece, exchanged for Cyprian copper; and that silver, though first shown to the Scythians and Caucasians by Akkadians, was independently known in Europe. The Phœ-

nician trade was a barter of art objects and woven stuffs, in exchange for the raw products of savage Aryan lands; but the Phœnicians were not the only Asiatic merchants with whom the Greeks and Scythians came in contact.

Turning our eyes to the East we next must seek to understand Assyrian trade. For although the early Assyrians were robbers, who carried away to their homes the riches of all surrounding countries, still there is evidence that they also had peaceful relations with their neighbours, along routes already explored by the civilised Mongolic population called Akkadian, who preceded them. Cappadocian texts, in an Assyrian dialect, seem to refer very early to such trade, and Herodotus (i. 1.) represents the Phœnicians as bringing to Argos both Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise. The slave trade was no doubt a source of revenue to Assyrians, as well as to Hittites and Phœnicians, and many slaves were kidnapped, or were taken captives in war, although the rude peoples of Asia Minor sold their own children, as did also the Thracians according to the father of history (v. 6.) At what period the Assyrians first came into direct relation with the tribes of the Indus valley is unknown, but certainly, as we have seen, they knew the Bactrian hounds, the elephant and the rhinoceros, in the ninth century B.C., while not impossibly the elephant had been imported as early as 1600 B.C. Teak from India is said to have been found in Assyrian palaces, but this would not give earlier evidence than that already noticed. The monkeys, pictured on the obelisk already mentioned, are apparently Indian, and were evidently unfamiliar, for they receive the name of *udumi* or 'human beings.'

In this connection the question whether silk was known as early as the time of Ezekiel, and whether the Sinites of Isaiah were dwellers on the borders of China, are important. F. Lenormant maintained that the Babylonians traded, not only to India but also to Little Thibet, while their routes also led to Armenia and Lydia, to Bactria and the Iaxartes (*Manuel* i. 496, ii. 203). It is at least clear that an overland trade existed from early days with Ionia, for the Assyrian standard of weight found its way thither as well as the Phœnician; but the evi-

dence of eastern commerce from Nineveh is at present less conclusive. The Hebrew word rendered silk in the Authorised Version (Ezekiel, xvi. 10-13,) appears to have been understood by Jerome as meaning some sort of gauze. The Greek gives *τρίχαπτον*, which Hesychius renders 'the web of the bombyx,' but the exact meaning of the word [*mesht*] is doubtful. The Roman knowledge of silk may be mentioned later.

Of the Babylonian home trade during the Persian period we have very complete information through the recovery of 2500 contract tablets of various ages, now in the British Museum. Most of them range from the time of Cyrus down to that of Artaxerxes I. (442 B.C.), but some are earlier. They are written in cuneiform, but docketed at times in Phœnician letters of the period, and some of the names suggest that the merchants and money-lenders were Jews. From these tablets we learn that houses fetched an annual rent of £2 to £4 of our money, and that the price of a ship was from £30 to £50. Female slaves ranged from £7 to £15, which is about the same price now paid in Egypt; and male slaves were sold for £5 or £10. These slaves were natives of the country, if we may judge by their names, and even daughters were so sold, as among the peasantry of Judea in the time of Nehemiah. Agreements for the transfer of property occur in this collection, and are believed to be as old as 2500 B.C.; and others of great antiquity refer to the loan of corn for seed. Usury was an early institution in Chaldea, and 15 per cent. interest was only accepted as a special favour, the more general demand being for 30 or 40 per cent. A field and plantation of palms sold for £140. Purple cloth for dresses is mentioned before the time of Cyrus. Women as well as men contracted for the sale of property and of slaves; and slaves were hired out and apprenticed for their master's benefit.

By the light of such enquiry into the relations of ancient nations we are better able to understand the conditions of Hebrew trade. It is a mark perhaps of the antiquity of the story of Joseph, that the exports carried by the Midianite caravan to Egypt, as therein described, are products of Syria itself, and not the Indian canes and gums and ivory which Ezekiel mentions later. It has also been noticed that, in the Law,

copper is mentioned 83 times to 4 notices of iron ; and this indicates also an early period, since iron was known at least in the fourteenth century B.C. in Egypt, at which time also Jabin had iron chariots. Iron was regarded as unholy (Deut. xxvii. 5), no doubt because of its use in war, and the word occurs more frequently in the later books of the Old Testament. A new word is also there used (Nah. ii. 4.) in describing the iron war chariots, and the Chaldee term in Daniel shews a dialectic variation from the older form in the Pentateuch (Dan. ii. 33 ; iv. 20 ; vii. 7.) of the Semitic name of iron.

The trade of Solomon's time has been already mentioned, with the Indian words for ivory, apes, and peacocks, which his sailors brought home ; and we have seen that Assyrian overland trade with India may perhaps date back several centuries earlier than Solomon's time, and was certainly established not much later. On the other hand there is little reason to believe that Spain had been discovered so early, or that Tarshish is to be identified with the Spanish Tartessus. Tarshish is always noticed in connection with Asia Minor, and Tarsus was a seaport as late as 30 B.C. It is also very generally recognised that Ophir was not in India, but as distinctly stated in Genesis (x. 59) is to be placed in Arabia near Hadramaut. The Indian objects might be there obtained from Arab or Babylonian traders, already coasting from the Persian Gulf to the Indus, just as in later times ivory was brought to Tyre by the inhabitants of the same region. The Biblical account, however, (1 Kings, x. 11,) speaks only of gold, incense trees, and precious stones as coming from Ophir, and (verse 22) of gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, as brought by the 'navy of Tarshish.' Some have suggested that these were African exports found in Spain, but the nomenclature of the far west, even if then known, is not likely to have been the same as that of India, for the words are not Hebrew or Phœnician, but Tamil or Sanskrit terms. The parallel passage in Chronicles (2 Chron. xx. 36,) shews that the later author regarded the trade as being with the East ; and perhaps the most probable view is that from Tarsus, the Phœnicians and Hebrews obtained the

products of the overland route through Assyria and Asia Minor.

The whole of this great commerce in Asia was carried on for many centuries without the use of stamped coins. Only about 700 B.C. at earliest, did coinage begin roughly to be represented by lumps of gold and silver alloy, stamped on one side; and though coins occur in Babylon shortly before Cyrus, it was the Persian *daric* which was the first currency of an Asiatic empire. In the Bible coins are not noticed till after the captivity, when the *daric* is mentioned. The earliest forms of barter with metal, mentioned in texts or shown in pictures, were rings and bars of gold and silver, or bricks of lead. The Carthaginians had leather coins, but this was in later days, when the Greek coinage was already perfected. The Assyrians, Hittites, and others had however standard weights, and so had the Hebrews in the times of their earlier kings. Only last year standard weights were found, for the first time, in Palestine, inscribed with ancient Hebrew letters. These were quarter shekels weighing 80 grains, and thus proving that the Hebrew and Assyrian standards, and that used by the Greeks at Naucratis in the sixth century B.C., were the same, namely, a shekel of 320 grains, which, as a silver coin, would have been worth about three shillings and sixpence. We are thus able to discover the value of chariots and horses in Solomon's time (1 Kings, x. 29,) when Hebrew merchants were bringing them from Egypt to Palestine, and to the Hittites and Syrian princes. A chariot horse cost £25, and a chariot an hundred guineas. In our own times such a price is rather high in Syria for a well bred Arab hackney.

The trading conditions of the ancient world were very little affected by the success of the Persians. The Phœnicians still flourished, and the road to India was not closed, but rather made safer by the conquest of intervening regions. The two events which revolutionised the conditions of commerce were the foundation of Alexandria, replacing the older Greek settlement of Naucratis, and the fall of Carthage, which transferred the Mediterranean trade to the Romans, who soon became masters of all the routes, after defeating the pirate fleets of

Mithridates. Antioch also arose at the same time, and became the great emporium of the overland route; but under Roman rule Alexandria enjoyed a monopoly down to the time of Hadrian, who put an end to it in the second century A.D.; after which the highway was restored to Syria, and Palmyra attained to its highest prosperity, during the period when Rome was at peace with the early Sassanid monarchs of Persia, whose strong rule restored tranquility on the great Indian highway.

The discovery of the monsoons made the fortune of the Alexandrians. About 50 A.D. Hippalus, the commander of a ship engaged in Indian trade, ventured, instead of coasting along the southern shores of Asia, to steer direct before the steady eastern wind, which experience taught him would serve his purpose, to Musiris on the Malabar coast, and his name was given afterwards to the wind he trusted. The route then established led by Coptos, in Upper Egypt, across the deserts to Berenice, near Kosseir, and by 100 A.D. Dion Chrysostom notices the presence of Indians (probably Buddhists) in Alexandria, side by side with Italians, Bactrians, Persians, and Scythians. The Jews had their ghetto in this cosmopolitan city from Alexander's time, and were scattered all over Western Asia, Africa, and Europe as traders. India was not unknown to the Romans, and Indian embassies were sent to Augustus, Claudius, and later Emperors, down to Justinian's time.* Not only was the history of Buddha known to Jerome, but the customs of Brahmins and Sramans were familiar to earlier Christian fathers. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 1) knew much about them; Porphyry speaks of the Buddhist tonsure and monastic life; Irenæus (*Lib.* iii.), even in Gaul, had heard of the Brahmins; and Clement of the topes in which Buddha's relics were adored. But it was not only India from which the Alexandrians derived their wealth. The caravans came down the Syrian coast, and at Gaza met the merchants who travelled west from Petra, and brought the products of Arabia to Egypt. The Arabs, in the 2nd century A.D., had

* *Indian Travels and Embassies.* O. de Beauvoir Priaulx. London, 1873.

sailed far south of Zanzibar to the Zambesi, and brought gold from its upper waters, leaving stone towns in Manica land, which later Portuguese found in ruins, and which Englishmen have recently photographed. The Romans levied tolls in the Red Sea, and Yemen was then famous for its wealth of gold and frankincense, its ivory and silver plate. The luxury of Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome, in and after the Augustan age, is almost unbelievable; and Roman geographical knowledge extended far beyond the east of India, through Turkistan and Thibet, to the borders of China. Virgil had already heard not only of Indian cotton, but also of the Seres, combing silk, as he believed, from the leaves of trees. The Chinese trade, which became more fully developed in Byzantine times, had already been founded in the Augustan period of peace.

On the west, also, through Gaul, the Romans brought their exports from Britain, and British trade across the Channel was older than Cæsar's invasion of Kent. Diodorus Siculus speaks of the route which led to Marseilles and Narbo (v. 22), and Cæsar found the merchants crossing from Dover and Deal. The exports, in Strabo's time, were of gold, iron, and silver, with cattle and dogs, fleeces and skins; the imports included pottery and salt, bronze implements, and cooking utensils, ivory and amber cups, drinking vessels, and gold chains, with bridles for horses. Such was the early British trade with Italy and Gaul.

Antiquaries once believed that China was early in communication with Egypt, on account of certain Chinese snuff-bottles found in Egyptian tombs. This assertion is still often made, but it has been shown to be fallacious through the researches of Sinologists. Similar bottles were found by Layard and Cesnola at Arban and in Cyprus, but the writing upon them is not only in a late character but also consists of quotations from Chinese poetry of known date; and other examples have been discovered in Canton dating from 584 A.D. The Egyptian examples date from 702 A.D. down to 1085 A.D., and were brought by the Arab traders, who were still visiting Canton as late as 1278 A.D. The characters and material alike

show that they are not earlier than the Han dynasty.* The condition of China was indeed not sufficiently civilised to allow of such an early commerce, and even in the Augustan age these regions were hardly known in the west, when silk was still believed to grow on trees. Pausanias (vi. 26) and Clement of Alexandria, in the second century, knew, however, that it was of insect origin, and a certain bombyx was already introduced at Ceos, though, according to Gibbon (ch. xl.) it was not the true silkworm; and Pliny, who knew of this manufacture, still regarded silk as derived from a plant. Ptolemy the geographer (about 150 B.C.) made maps which include Ireland and India, and reach from Britain to the Niger, but China still lies beyond their limits, though the country of the Seres is described to the sources of the Yellow River and the Lake of Koko-Nor. From this distant region silk was brought to Rome, and fetched twelve ounces of gold to the pound of weight, or about £48 per pound, which would be about thirty times the modern value. It was not apparently till the sixth century that the culture of silk began in the west. Two monks from Persia (Nestorian Christians) then succeeded in carrying the eggs from China, and silk has ever since been made in Syria. The earlier supply was by the caravan route—a journey of 243 days by Samarkand and Bokharah to Antioch; or by Thibet to the Ganges and the Indus, and thence by sea to Egypt. About the same time Chinese records speak of the people of the Western Empire as ‘tending silk worms’ (in 530 A.D.), and having their capital at *An-tu*, by which possibly Antioch is intended.†

The relations of the Chinese with the Romans, as noticed in their own accounts, have formed the subject of minute study by Dr. Edkins, T. W. Kingsmill, and other scholars, whose researches have been devoted to Sinology. The Chinese accounts are somewhat vague, and the exact meaning of *Ta-tsin*—the name given to a great Western empire—is disputed. It was a region where the lion was not unknown, and where

* Williams' *Middle Kingdom*, Vol. ii., p. 27.

† *Journal R. Asiatic Soc. N. China Branch*, xviii., p. 12.

the silkworm was, as stated, bred by the westerns; but it appears to be fairly certain that the Eastern or Asiatic dominion of the Roman Emperors is intended to be understood, and its ruler, *An-ton*, may have been one of the Antonine Emperors. According to the Chinese, he sent an embassy, bearing tortoise-shells and rhinoceros' horns, and travelling through Cochin China about 166 A.D.; and in the third century Romans (or westerns subject to Rome) penetrated to Nanking, while a further embassy or expedition arrived in 285 A.D. About this time the products of India, as the Chinese state, were regularly sent to the west, including coral, amber, and gold, sapphires, mother-of-pearl, and perfumes, as well as the cotton and silk already noticed.

The third century was the period of Palmyra's greatest prosperity as an emporium on the land route to the East. It still retained in native speech—as we learn from extant inscriptions—the old name of Tadmor, under which it is noticed in the Bible as founded by Solomon. Its civilisation was Greco-Roman, and Jews and Christians alike were found at Zenobia's court; but its native population was of the old Semitic stock, whose language and alphabet survive on Palmyrene inscriptions. The important position held by the merchants in this desert city is shown by one of the most interesting of the Greek texts there discovered, which speaks of a 'caravan leader' in 142 A.D., engaged in the trade with Vologesia near the Tigris, eighteen miles from Babylon, who was thought worthy of an honorary tablet. Worod, one of the rulers of the city in the third century, to whom a statue was erected, also bears the same title of 'caravan leader.'

Such, then, was the splendid heritage which later ages owed to the energy of Phoenicians, Assyrians, Jews, Arabs and Italians, and which was never lost by their children and successors. In Byzantine ages the road to the East remained still open, and the trade of the West increased. Under the Arab Khalifs Baghdad became the centre of a widespread commerce, and the Jews and Arabs still brought oriental precious things to Europe. In the eighth century the Nestorian monks from Persia had settled in China (as shewn by an inscription

in their own alphabet still extant), long before the famous mediæval journeys of the thirteenth century, when Plano Carpini and Rubuquis reached Mongolia, and Marco Polo wandered over China; and during the later century of Norman rule in Palestine, the trade in fur extended northwards to the dark regions of Siberia, whence squirrel skins were brought to Italy and France. The Constantinople trade, which was perhaps older than the days of the great change of capital which finally ruined the Roman Empire, can be traced in the ninth century, while the English had as yet hardly ventured to cross to the Netherlands to barter wool. From Pera the Genoese merchants passed along the south shores of the Black Sea, and crossed the Caspian, or went south to Baghdad. Rubuquis found not only Persians but Germans and other Europeans in the far distant capital of Mongolia at Karakorum; and when, after the great Mongol outbreak into Western Asia and Europe, the Genoese trade declined, the Venetians from Alexandria took up the sea route to India, and an Italian trade in Egypt has never ceased from that time.

Thus two centuries before Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope, which the Phœnicians had discovered 2000 years earlier, and before Columbus, or even the Greenlanders, had discovered the eastern shores of America, a steady commerce with India, China, and Siberia had prospered and become established. In the sixteenth century, when Queen Elizabeth had her Consuls in the Levant, and her fleet of boats on the Euphrates, English merchants were busy at Aleppo and Alexandretta, as well as in Italy and Greece; and the Levant Company was founded in 1583 A.D.

The lesson of history is, therefore, the same in all ages, since the Egyptians ventured to Punt, or the Phœnicians saw the mountains of Cyprus from the slopes of Lebanon, and dared to steer thither across the tideless sea. In a planet of which three-fourths are covered by water, riches and power belong to those who hold command of the sea. The Romans struggled with the Carthaginians for such command, and thus became the masters of the world. The Arab power decayed when Normans and Italians drove their traders from the

Mediterranean : the wealth and prosperity of Britain, in our own age, depend upon the power of our fleet, and on the daring of our merchant sailors.

C. R. CONDER.

ART. V.—A SUMMER SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY.

EVEN those who have lost faith in democracy can scarcely fail to be struck by the fact, that the extension of political power, especially in our century, has almost always been accompanied by a vigorous demand that the people at large should be allowed to enjoy a share not only of the material wealth but also of the intellectual culture which forms the fruit of our civilization. At first, indeed, the demand for popular education was modest enough ; it sought little beyond an elementary smattering of knowledge for most, and subsequently for all, children. Still there has always been, even in very aristocratic countries, more or less of a practical protest against this limitation. In all spheres of intellectual life there have usually been men strong enough 'to break their birth's invidious bar,' and to enter, as if they had been born, into the intellectual heritage of their time. This has been especially the case in those countries where the great mental revolution of the sixteenth century proceeded, as in Germany and Scotland, from the people. There the universities remained, what they gradually ceased to be in England, schools of higher learning for the people at large.

But in England, too, the popular demand has grown for increased opportunities of a higher education than that which is given in the common schools. This has not only led to the establishment of colleges for scientific and literary training at various centres of manufacture and commerce ; but it is to the credit of the old universities that, though their aristocratic character has limited the extent of their national influence, they have been the first universities in the world to break through the barriers of that exclusiveness which is apt at times to infect au

intellectual aristocracy as well as any other. If they have not invited the masses of the people within their halls, they have carried their resources down to the people all over the land. This extension of university work dates back in reality to a period a good many years prior to that at which the movement, now known by the name of University Extension, was inaugurated. For the first extension of university work to extra-academical classes was the Working Men's College started in London by Mr. Maurice, now well on to forty years ago. Other countries have been slow to follow the lead of England in this movement; and it is remarkable that the western side of the Atlantic, which is usually considered to be the natural home not only of democracy but of all sorts of novel experiments, should have lagged behind the Old World in the extension of university teaching beyond the walls of its universities. Little more than a year has passed since the first definite step in this direction was taken in the United States, though it is but fair to add that, with their characteristic energy, the Americans have in this short time formed an University Extension Society, established a periodical for the advocacy of the cause, and are throwing a great deal of enthusiasm into the work. In Canada, though the President of its Royal Society, the learned Abbé Laflamme, drew attention to the subject in his address last year, little of practical importance has yet been done.

But, though the Americans have been extremely conservative in regard to the scheme which usually goes by the name of University Extension, they have inaugurated other movements which, in their methods, are more revolutionary than anything attempted in the Old World. The nearest approach to these in England has been the Summer School in Oxford. It was a happy addition to the ordinary work of University Extension, to arrange courses of lectures to be delivered within the university itself during the summer vacation. The students, who had been attending the courses provided by the university throughout the country during the winter, were thus enabled for a few days or a few weeks to enjoy the prosecution of their studies amid all the advantages which cluster

about the university itself. Accordingly, all through the month of August last the venerable walls of the old university were brightened by the unwonted hues of ladies' summer dresses, for it appears that the vast majority of the students were of the gentler sex, who had been attracted to Oxford to take part in this novel form of university life. The experiment was apparently a complete success, and to an onlooker must have presented an interesting scene. An American gentleman, who was present, was heard to say that 'it would pay to translate this show to the other side.'

The author of this remark was probably not aware, that a 'show' of a similar kind, but a more complete departure from all customary methods of university work, might have been seen without leaving his own side of the Atlantic. For the truth is, that the Summer School is an American invention. Years ago some of the thinkers of New England were accustomed to meet at Concord during the summer for the reading of papers and the discussion of questions in Philosophy. After the Concord School had been abandoned, a meeting of a similar character was held for a few years at Farmington, in Connecticut. The Farmington School was conducted by a gentleman, Mr. Thomas Davidson, who is known to English philosophical readers as the exponent and translator of the Italian philosopher, Antonio Rosmini. Finding that Farmington was somewhat out of the way, and was perhaps for other reasons, not so successful as he expected in attracting those who are interested in summer studies, Mr. Davidson changed the locality of the school to a district which, within the past few years, has become a favourite resort of Americans who wish to escape from the artificial surroundings of city life into an easily accessible region where the inspirations of Nature can be felt in all their power.

The school is primarily intended to meet the wants of those who are interested not so much in an education that is economically useful, or in one that absorbs intellectual energy in the objects of external nature, but rather in those studies which aim at the highest culture of man himself, and find their sufficient reward in the attainment of this end. Its studies are

described as including 'all the Culture Sciences (as distinguished from the Natural Sciences)—Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, Ethics, Politics, Economics, their History, Theory, and Practice. The subject of culture,' the programme explains, 'is man's spiritual nature, his intelligence, his affections, his will, and the modes in which these express themselves. This culture includes a History, a Theory, and a Practice, a certain familiarity with which must be required by every person who seriously desires to know his relations to the world and to perform his part worthily in those relations. The aim of the school, therefore, will be twofold, (1) Scientific, (2) Practical. The former it will seek to reach by means of Lectures on the General Outlines of the History and Theory of the various Culture Sciences, and by Classes, Conversations, and carefully directed Private Study in regard to their details. The latter it will endeavour to realise by encouraging its members to conduct their life in accordance with the highest ascertainable laws of "plain living and high thinking," to discipline themselves in simplicity, kindliness, thoughtfulness, helpfulness, regularity, and promptness.'

For the purposes of such a school a locality was desirable, which should take its students away from the artificial luxuries of city life, and throw them for a time into the more natural environment of the country. Of course it may be said, that any rural scene with some amenity would have been sufficiently adapted for this, but to attain the highest success in the objects of the school, two further conditions were required:—it had to be sufficiently remote from urban influences to give the full flavour of country life, and it had to be placed amid scenery of such a character as to afford full scope for the most elevating influences which nature is capable of exerting over the mind. These conditions are best realised in a point situated near the verge of culture and in a mountainous country. Mountains have something to say to the spirit of man, while a flat country seems comparatively mute. The locality of this school, therefore, combines almost every feature that could have been desired for its purpose; it is situated in the very heart of the Adirondacks.

From whatever side the place is approached, the traveller has to pass through scenery which can be surpassed in but few countries upon earth. To those who are not familiar with the geography of North America, it may be worth while to put in a reminder that the Adirondacks form the western spur on the most northerly reach of the great Appalachian range, separated by Lake Champlain from the easterly spur—the Green Mountains running through the State, to which they give its name, Vermont—and from the more easterly spur of the White Mountains in the State of New Hampshire.

The Adirondacks are reached by the Delaware and Hudson Railroad; and it may be questioned whether there is a railway journey in the world which gives in one day a variety and splendour of landscape to equal that which is enjoyed by the traveller taking the morning express by this line between Montreal and New York. Starting from the former city, let us say, on one of those beautiful mornings with a cloudless, blue sky overhead, which are the rule rather than the exception in this climate all through the summer, he passes for an hour or two through the vast champaign of the St. Lawrence valley, and before he has time to grow weary of the monotonous repetition of flat fields and uninteresting villages, he catches the first foreshadowings of the huge mountain-ranges by which Lake Champlain is guarded on both sides. For nearly the whole length of the lake the railway keeps close to its western shore, being at many points cut out of the rock, which rises sometimes sheer out of the water up to a considerable height on the mountain side. Following thus most of the windings of the shore, the traveller is brought ever and anon with a pleasing surprise upon the most unexpected changes of view, taking in the beautiful waters of the lake, that run into every various form of bay, while on the right rise the gigantic forms of the Adirondacks, and far away across the lake melt into the blue haze of distance the mountains of Vermont.

This varying flash of scenery continues the entire length of more than a hundred miles, over which the lake extends. Towards the upper end of the lake, which is reached in the

early afternoon, the interest of the scenery is enhanced by an attraction somewhat rare in the New World—the associations of history and romance. For not only are many of the places along the route connected with some of the stirring incidents of the Revolutionary War, but they carry the memory back to the older struggle of France and England—of Latin and Teutonic culture—in directing the colonisation of America, while here and there a rapid glimpse is obtained of the scenery made familiar in its uncultivated state by the most popular of Cooper's romantic pictures of Indian life in *The Last of the Mohicans*.

If the traveller approaches the Adirondacks from New York, not only does he pass in the afternoon through the historical and romantic scenery which has just been described, but in the earlier part of the day his journey is brightened by a long succession of scenes with a similar charm. For he must come either by steamer on the Hudson River, or along its banks by train, and although the hilltops of the Hudson are not, like those of the Rhine, crowned with picturesque ruins of mediæval castles, yet in their natural features they are not without a beauty similar to that of the German river, and here and there a local name recalls either some incident of the Revolutionary War or some charming sketch of Washington Irving's pen. The noisy traffic of the Hudson River Railroad every hour of the day, now disturbs the drowsiness that clung of old to the village of Tarrytown when the most genial of American writers told the Legend of Sleepy Hollow, and there are spots among the crags and glens of the Katskill Mountains, where you might still fancy it possible, on a moonlit night, to see the ghostly figures of the plump little Dutchmen playing ninepins and drinking their stout keg of Hollands, or to stumble over Rip Van Winkle steeped in his long slumber.

From whatever side, therefore, the traveller reaches the Adirondacks, he has his mind already tuned into harmony with the glorious inspirations of their scenery. To reach Glenmore, the locality of the Summer School of Philosophy, you must leave the Delaware and Hudson Railroad at Westport—a village prettily situated on one of the upper reaches of Lake

Champlain. From that point the journey must be made by more primitive methods of conveyance on a road which makes an almost continuous ascent for a distance of some twenty miles. Most people find a pleasure at times in reverting to more primitive forms of life—a fact of which the evolutionist may give what interpretation he chooses; and this may constitute part of the zest we find now-a-days when we occasionally get a chance of travelling on the top of a stage-coach. The stage, which starts from Westport, is fitted to give the fullest enjoyment from this form of locomotion. It is a large coach drawn by six-in-hand, and conveniently supplied with steps so that even ladies, who are brave enough, can mount to the top. The driver amuses his passengers by an artifice which is probably an invention of his own. As the six horses draw in pairs, the leaders are too far off to be reached by his whip. Accordingly he lays in a stock of stones, apparently picked up from the roadway, and every now and then he shies one at the horse which requires stimulation. The skill with which he hits his mark shows that the art has been practised long.

The stage stops at a little place called Elisabethtown, which, though a mere village in point of population, yet offers the attraction of two or three good hotels, which are well patronised during the summer months by tourists among the mountains. Here the journey may be relieved for an hour by dinner at one of the hotels; and the remainder, which is little more than half, of the road can be taken later in the day. As one ascends from Elisabethtown, the area of cultivation gradually narrows, being confined to the easier slopes of the valley through which the road runs; and the road itself, by the absence of traffic, and the luxuriant grass and bushes growing close to the wheels, begins to lose all appearance of a public thoroughfare. Just when you expect to see the road terminating in a field or at some impracticable crag, you come upon the scattered buildings on the farm of Glenmore, which are used for the Summer School of Philosophy.

On reaching the place you find that you have risen some 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, and a glance around

opens up one of the most magnificent panoramas over which the eye can sweep. Nor does the first glance by any means exhaust the endless variety of hill and dale, of cultivated field and undisturbed forest, that are comprehended in the view. A few days' residence, giving opportunities for more minute acquaintance with the locality, soon confirms the first impression of its admirable adaptation for the purpose for which it has been selected. Even in the immediate neighbourhood there are innumerable attractions—paths up the glen or through the woods where you can enjoy a quiet ramble, with many a shady nook to which you may retire for study or conversation. The fact also that Glenmore lies at the north end of Keene valley is, to those acquainted with the topography of the Adirondacks, a sufficient indication that some of the most glorious scenery of the mountain-range can be visited without being away from the school more than a few hours.

Such is the natural environment by which the Summer School of Philosophy is surrounded. The artificial arrangements for the purposes of the school are of the simplest description. Besides the original farm-house of Glenmore, several unpretentious buildings, all of wood, have been erected. Among these is a dining-room, adjoining the old house, where those who choose may obtain board at a moderate rate. Further up the hill there is another new building, with a hall, in which the lectures of the school are delivered. Then in the immediate neighbourhood a number of cottages, some of them very small, have been put up for the accommodation of those attending the school; but a few are satisfied with tents, which are pitched at various sheltered spots over the grounds. Some of the visitors, it may be added, prefer to live about half a mile off, at a country inn, which within the past year, and partly under the attractions of the school, has developed into a respectable hotel.

The general life at the school may be pictured by the plan of a single day. In the morning the *reveille* is sounded, not by a bell, but by a horn; and, though its sound is not exactly the musical note of a bugle-call, it seems to serve as a sufficient summons to all in the neighbourhood. This call is sounded at

half-past seven, and immediately thereafter signs of activity begin to appear. For it is a feature of the 'plain living,' if not of the 'high thinking,' which characterises the school, that, beyond getting food at the common dining-room, scarcely any enjoy the luxury of a servant to attend to their wants; and therefore, as soon as life is astir, ladies and gentlemen may be seen in morning costume issuing from houses and tents with buckets in hand to bring in a supply of water for the ablutions of the day; while a few are hurrying to enjoy the more vigorous tonic of a dip in one of the pools of the brook that tumbles down the glen. By eight o'clock, however, all are seen, in answer to a second call from the horn, making their way to the dining-room.

This room, as already stated, is in a plain building of rough boards; but the bareness of the inside walls is somewhat relieved by a number of interesting engravings—a simple artistic expedient which is also adopted to give a certain attractiveness to the otherwise bare walls of the lecture-room. There is no attempt at anything like decorative display on the tables; but the cloth at the head of the table where the Dean of the school sat bore the characteristic device: "Ἀρεὺ φίλων οὐδέ τις ἐλοιτ' ἂν ζῆν, ἔχων τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντα.* This sentiment seemed to form a strong principle in the relations which the members of the school maintained to each other. Notwithstanding the great variety of character represented, there was obviously a gratifying spirit of toleration that allowed great freedom in the expression of individual opinion without fear of giving offence. This gave a peculiar zest to the conversation at the tables, which kept singularly free from the dreary common-places and insipid frivolities that make a fashionable dinner-party so often an intolerable weariness. Probably outside the dining-hall of university dous it would not be easy to find a table spiced with so strong a flavour of Attic salt. The formality of saying grace is dispensed with at meals; but there is an admirable substitute, which has been often adopted before

* 'Without friends no man would chose to live, even if he had all the other blessings of life.' Aristotle's *Eth. Nicom.*, VIII. 1.

in cenobitic societies with a moral aim, and might still be preferred in many cases where the old form has become meaningless at least, if not positively irreverent. As soon as all are seated, the Dean reads for two or three minutes a passage from an edifying book. The work he used last summer was Martineau's *Study of Religion*, and by any one familiar with the work it will readily be understood that its noble thoughts were generally very impressive.

For an hour after breakfast groups may generally be seen in the neighbourhood of the dining-room or lecture-room, engaged in conversation, which is often continued during the greater part of the forenoon. For lectures do not begin till half-past nine; and, as all are allowed to select those they prefer, while scarcely any, perhaps none, take all the courses, most have a good deal of time for informal conversation. Those, again, who have no scholastic engagements in the morning spend it at times in reading or private study, for which, as already stated, there is many an inviting nook.

The lectures are limited to three each day, two in the morning and one in the evening. Each lecture lasts about an hour, but it is always understood that the lecture is to be followed by half-an-hour's discussion of questions on the subject raised by any of the audience. There is never any lack of material for discussion, questions being usually proposed as soon as the lecture closes. In fact, the discussions thus originated often assumed a most lively and interesting character, being in many cases quite as stimulating as the lectures by which they were suggested.

The subjects of the lectures were always known from a weekly list which was posted every Monday morning in several convenient places. As a specimen may be taken the following from the first week in August:—

PROGRAMME.—August 3rd—8th.

HOURS.	LECTURERS.	SUBJECTS.
(MONDAY.)		
9.30	MR. DAVIDSON.	Comparative History of Religion.
11.00	PROF. GRIGGS.	Spenser's <i>Faerie Queene</i> .
8.00	PROF. DEWEY.	Hegel's <i>Philosophy of Spirit</i> .

(TUESDAY.)

9.30	MR. WESTON.	Aristotle's <i>Politics</i> .
11.00	MR. DAVIDSON.	Tennyson's <i>In Memoriam</i> .
8.00	PROF. SCHURMAN.	The Will <i>psychologically</i> considered.

(WEDNESDAY.)

9.30	PROF. DEWEY.	Hegel's <i>Aesthetics</i> .
11.00	PROF. GRIGGS.	Spenser's <i>Faerie Queene</i> .
8.00	MR. DAVIDSON.	Aristotle's <i>Metaphysics</i> .

(THURSDAY.)

9.30	PROF. SCHURMAN.	The Will <i>ethically</i> considered.
11.00	MR. DAVIDSON.	Tennyson's <i>In Memoriam</i> .
8.00	PROF. GRIGGS.	Early English Literature.

(FRIDAY.)

9.30	MR. WESTON.	Aristotle's <i>Politics</i> .
11.00	PROF. GRIGGS.	Spenser's <i>Faerie Queene</i> .
8.00	PROF. SCHURMAN.	The Will <i>metaphysically</i> considered.

MR. DAVIDSON'S Italian Class will meet on Wednesday and Friday at
11. A.M.

From this specimen alone it must be evident that the work of the school is carried on in no spirit of idle dilettantism, and any one who had an opportunity of seeing into the work going on could easily be satisfied that it was characterised by a great deal of earnest and thorough study. It is not to be supposed that the lectures mentioned were merely isolated expositions of a popular nature. They were instalments of courses extending in some cases over the whole session, and involving independent study of the subjects with which they dealt. If students are induced for some weeks to follow a course of lectures on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* or *Politics*, on Hegel's *Aesthetics* or *Philosophy of Spirit*, on *In Memoriam*, or *The Faerie Queene*, there is something more required than a mere wish to hear some superficial commonplaces *about* these subjects, there must be something of earnest resolve to know the subjects themselves.

The programme given above forms a fair type of the work done in this School of Philosophy from week to week. The session lasts for the two months of July and August, though

the school is open from the middle of May to the middle of October for any who wish to take a long summer's study in the country, and arrangements are made for their direction. But during the two months a considerable field is travelled over. Portions of the field taken up last summer have been indicated in the above programme. It was seen that Professor Davidson himself gave a course of lectures on the Comparative History of Religion, and another on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. The programme also includes the courses by Professor Dewey, of the University of Michigan, on Hegel's *Aesthetics* and *Philosophy of Spirit*. Mr. Stephen F. Weston is represented as lecturing on Aristotle's *Politics*, but he also gave a course on Civil Society and the Individual. Dr. Harris, who has long been known as one of the earliest and ablest expositors of Hegelianism in the English language, and who is now head of the Bureau of Education in Washington, lectured on the theological doctrines of Hegel compared with those of Thomas Aquinas, and on Hegel's Logic compared with that of Aristotle. Professor Schurman, the Dean of the School of Philosophy in Cornell University, we have seen, lectured on the Will; and there were several other courses on philosophical and literary subjects, while conversational and reading lessons were given all through the summer in French, German, and Italian.

It must not be supposed, however, that the studies of the school interfere with the recreations of a summer vacation. The afternoons, from half-past twelve to eight, are free every day, and on Saturday there are no lectures at all. Every afternoon, therefore, unless the weather proves unfavourable, parties are to be seen either seeking some retired spot for quiet conversation, or starting on a longer tramp for some of the numerous points, from which a pleasing surprise is gained in an unexpected view of a landscape that had been seen with a different beauty from other points before. One afternoon in August last, at the period of full moon, a party of ladies and gentlemen went off to Mount Hurricane, one of the hills at the foot of which Glenmore lies. They were provided with blankets, so that they might spend the night on the top, and see both the sunset and the sunrise. It

would be difficult to exaggerate the impression produced upon the soul, while, as you look out from this unusual point of vantage,

“ The sun is dying like a cloven king
In his own blood ; the while the distant moon,
Like a pale prophetess, whom he has wronged,
Leans eager forward, with most hungry eyes,
Watching him bleed to death, and, as he faints,
She brightens and dilates ; revenge complete,
She walks in lonely triumph through the night.”

Such an experience is an epoch in the history of a human soul's relation to nature, and furnishes material for memory and imagination all through life. For it is not merely a Pagan superstition, nor even a mere fiction of religious fancy, but there is a sound psychological foundation for the sentiment, that the finite spirit of man is brought into a peculiarly intimate communion with the Infinite Spirit of the Universe amid the intense silence and solitude of a mountain top.

On Saturday there are generally parties formed for longer excursions, for which carriages can be easily procured in the neighbourhood. I shall not soon forget one trip I took with a few friends to the Ausable Lakes, which are about ten miles off at the opposite end of Keene Valley. These lakes form the headwaters of the Ausable River which, after brawling northward for many a mile over the gravelly bed that gives it its name, turns down the famous Ausable Chasm into Lake Champlain. Being at the source of one of the most important rivers of the Adirondacks, these lakes occupy an elevated site of nearly 2000 feet above the level of the sea ; but at a great elevation above them rise the mountains on every side,—one, Mount Marcy, to the height of 5000 feet ; so that, high though the lakes are above the sea, they seem deeply sunk among their own hills. One of these hills is peculiarly striking ; for, as you approach it from the north, you catch at once the likeness, from which it takes its name, to an Indian's Head looking down in motionless calm as the eternal guardian of the waters. At the foot of the lower lake there is a scene which is admirably calculated to charm at the time, and to form a delightful picture for reflection in after years. At the head of a gorge, running about half a mile up from the

shore, there is a cataract known as the Rainbow Falls. The gorge is so narrow, that the direct rays of the sun can penetrate only when it is in the zenith; and therefore it is merely for a short time about mid-day that the spray of the fall produces the prismatic effect indicated by its name. But the narrowness of the gorge has another result. The spray of the tiny brooklet precipitated over the western side is dashed not only over to the other side but some distance up and down; so that the rocky cliffs, which rise more than a hundred feet from the bottom of the gorge, are clothed with mosses of that exquisite greenness which is gained only by perpetual drenching with the finest rain.

The work, therefore, of the Summer School of Philosophy may be regarded as serving mainly to fill up what might otherwise for many be the monotonous vacancy of a vacation. And those who are attracted to the school, whether as lecturers or auditors, evidently make no pretence of introducing any element out of harmony with the enjoyments that rural life brings to those who seek it as a relief from the artificial usages imposed on the residents in a city. Even the dress, of women and men alike, is such as need not make any one shrink from an encounter with any of the roughnesses that must at times be faced by 'life in the bush.' The learned gentlemen, who carry on the educational work of the school, are not expected to observe any of the established proprieties of academical or professional costume. No one feels the least surprise on seeing a professor take the lecturer's chair with the linen of urban dress conspicuous by its absence, looking perfectly at his ease in the comfortable flannel shirt and loose jacket in which he had gone to his morning bath, or to his afternoon tramp over the hills. One of the lecturers in fact—a Northern Scot by birth—generally appeared in the garb which is characteristic of the Scottish Highlanders, made of one of the less glaring tartans, but not without a prominent *spleuchan*. As the arrangements of the place put private entertainments out of the question, there is no opportunity for a form of vulgar display, in which a large portion of urban wealth and life is unhappily wasted. But the truth is, that there is obviously no desire for indulgences of that nature. It would probably be difficult to light upon a circle of people accustomed to city life,

among whom you could feel so secure of avoiding all that is most offensive in city fashions to one fond of rural simplicities.

Yet it must not be supposed that the company at Glenmore run into the opposite extreme of an offensive pedantry. The whole atmosphere, indeed, which the work of the place creates, raises the conversation into a higher range than is common among the class of people who gather in the country for a summer vacation ; and the variety of opinions represented in the school makes intercourse among its members peculiarly stimulating and interesting, especially to those who are desirous of becoming acquainted with the various directions of earnest thought on the great problems of the day. But the intellectual labour that is done evidently imposes no load upon the mind that is not readily shaken off ; in fact it may be questioned whether the brief strain of the lectures does not often produce a natural rebound into the lighter moods of thought and feeling. At all events it was currently reported that occasionally ladies, who had been deep in Hegel's Aesthetics, might be heard a few minutes afterwards seeking a concrete embodiment of their abstract speculations in a discussion over a charming novelty in hats. Generally, also, the whole company gathers on Saturday evening in the lecture hall for a concert, in which the comic lyrical vein is certainly by no means excluded ; and often after dark outside a less formal gathering may be seen around a bonfire, indulging in impromptu songs of varied tone, and forming a cheerful little circle of light and life amid the impenetrable gloom of the surrounding woods.

Altogether the Summer School of Philosophy is calculated to solve a problem which is not a little perplexing for many with regard to the enjoyment of a rural retreat. Some there are, indeed, who can retire into an almost complete solitude, or who, in any society, find sufficient resources within themselves to make them independent of their social surroundings. But these are the few ; and for the great majority of mankind it is not desirable to cultivate such a disposition. Accordingly they have often to choose between a solitude which does not draw them out of themselves into a healthy objectivity of life, and the crowds of a fashionable hotel or a popular watering-place with the intellec-

tual inanity that too frequently characterises these. The Summer School gathers a society of a different type, and creates by its work an atmosphere as refreshing to the intellectual life as the mountain air of its locality is to bodily health.

J. CLARK MURRAY.

ART. VI.—TRANSLATED GREEK OFFICE-BOOKS.

THE revisers of the English New Testament of 1881, though they paid little regard generally to the time-honoured labours of their predecessors in the so-called Authorised Version of 1611, had the magnanimity to express their admiration for the ‘simplicity, dignity, power, happy turns of expression, general accuracy, music of cadences, and felicities of rhythm’ of that version. This warm admiration of the result does not, however, exclude very strong dislike for a leading principle of the translators of 1611. They (of 1611) are said to ‘profess to have studiously adopted a variety of expression which would now be deemed hardly consistent with the requirements of faithful translation,’ and in consequence ‘the studied avoidance of uniformity in the rendering of the same words, even when recurring in the same context, is one of the blemishes in their work.’ The revisers, on the other hand, profess to take a more literal and consistent line, though they elsewhere tell us that ‘the frequent inversions of the strict order of the words, which add much to the strength and variety of the Authorised Version, and give an archaic colour to many felicities of diction, have been seldom modified.’ Yet their modifications have been so numerous and so important, chiefly in consequence of their altered Greek text, that their work is quite mis-named a *Revision*, it is in truth a new translation.

But literalists though the revisers profess to be in comparison with their predecessors, and great violence though they have done to many accepted English phrases consecrated by

time, occasionally they are found not to have had the courage of their convictions, since they permit the 'archaic colour' and the 'felicities of diction' to remain where they could have been well spared. Thus, once only of the fifteen times that the English phrase, 'GOD forbid' (a phrase unknown to the Greek text) occurs in the Authorised Version, have the revisers dared to oppose the oft-quoted phrase, or (as it stands) deprecatory oath, by a true rendering. Happily that once is the best-known instance in which the phrase occurs (Galatians, vi. 14): 'But far from me be it to glory, save in the Cross of our LORD JESUS CHRIST.' Γενηθήτω φῶς in the Septuagint, is strong enough to express the Almighty fiat in Genesis i. 3; surely Μὴ γένοιτο, 'Be it not so,' is strong enough for us in deprecation of any of the hypothetical queries of St. Paul in his epistle to the Romans and elsewhere, without taking the Sacred Name in vain unwarrantably and inexcusably. 'Be it not so' is given twice by the revisers in the margin as the proper Greek reading, in Luke xx. 16, and Rom. iii. 4.

We see, then, that there are two classes of translators: the one consisting of those who may be styled 'paraphrasers,' but whose 'happy turns of expression' may consist with 'general accuracy;' the other of those who may be styled 'literalists,' but who can be elastic enough on occasion, when it suits them. Unfortunately for the Christian world, these two classes, represented by the Authorised and the Revisers, have such a fundamental difference of ground in the New Testament on which to wage their battle, in consequence of the serious variations in the Greek text, that nothing but the magnitude of the task and the expense of printing, prevent us from being flooded with new and emended editions of these Holy Scriptures. Even as it is, the editions are not few.

This great difference of treatment on the part of the two classes of translators may be, perhaps is, excused in the matter of the Holy Scriptures on the ground of the great differences already alluded to in the original text. 'Why,' they may ask, 'demand consistency from us in the work of translating into another language, when the copies in the original tongue from which we translate are so inconsistent with them-

selves and with each other?' This question, whether it possesses cogency or not, whether it deserves answer or not, must, however, be restricted among translators of 'Greek Office-books' to those who take in hand the New Testament, since in all other portions of the Divine service of the Greek Church the language is one and uncontested. So, for the matter of that, is the language of the New Testament also, as used by her, for she contents herself with the ordinary *Textus receptus*, and considers, as does Dean Burgon, that the old copies, relied on by the new school of textual critics, are ancient corruptions condemned by her, and that the very fact of the existence of a few copies at this day proves that they were never in use in the Church. Copies in use in early times have, naturally, long ago perished in the using. This was strongly impressed by the ecclesiastical authorities on the writer when first examining the Sinaitic Codex at St. Petersburg shortly after its discovery by Herr Tischendorf.

Yet even in the 'Greek Office-books' outside the New Testament, which possess a form of language fixed and uncontested (scholars will not permit us to say incontestable), the same two classes of translators abound, and puzzle ordinary readers: the one by their verbosity, the other by their sometimes scanty and difficult phraseology. We desire to pass no hard and fast judgment upon either class. It is certain both honestly desire to make plain what before was obscure, and seek to render familiar important secrets locked up in another tongue. We may be thankful for their labours even when we feel compelled to dissent from them.

I. It may be asserted, without fear of contradiction from any person well informed on the subject, that the father of modern English literature on the Greek Church is the Rev. John Glen King, D.D. His valuable quarto, dedicated to King George III. within a few years of His Majesty's accession, is now a scarce book,* and is likely to become scarcer, being bought

* *The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*; containing an Account of its Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline. By JOHN GLEN KING, D.D., Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, and Chaplain to the

up at every opportunity on American account. Dr. King candidly tells us that he is not the first in the field, but for all that he is the first to whom the English reader of to-day is under obligation. Numbers of English readers owe their information immediately to Dr. Neale's various works on the Greek Church, but comparatively few of them know how largely Dr. Neale is himself indebted to Dr. King. One ground of superiority Dr. King possesses over Dr. Neale is that he acquired his information on the spot, being long resident in Russia, and so writes at first hand; while Dr. Neale never even visited Russia or the Levant. His closest contact with the Greek Church was on occasion of a short holiday trip with our mutual friend, Dr. Oldknow of Birmingham, when they visited the Austrian Adriatic ports, and extended their journey to Cettinge, the capital of Montenegro. Dr. King's predecessors, whom he consulted, may be cited and dismissed in his own words: 'This method [the method of his own book, to be hereinafter discussed,] appeared to me most eligible, from observing the difficulty there is to comprehend the description of the offices in Goar's *Euchologion* ;* in order to which it is necessary to have a previous knowledge of many particular parts, if not a general idea of the whole: whereas the intention of the following pages is to explain these things to persons who want to be informed of them, and to be a sort of introduction to ecclesiastical antiquities. As almost all succeeding writers have drawn the greatest information on this subject from Goar, it is necessary to remark that he sometimes deviates from exactness, by endeavouring to make all the Oriental ceremonies square with those of the Western Church, he having been one of the missionaries sent by the society *de propaganda fide* into the east,' etc. 'Some assistance I have likewise had from the laborious researches of the learned Dr.

British Factory at St. Petersburg. London: printed for W. Owen in Fleet Street; J. Dodsley in Pall Mall; J. Rivington in St. Paul's Church-yard; and T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt in the Strand. MDCCLXXII.

* *Ευχολογιον*. Sive Rituale Græcorum a Goar. [Dr. King's own reference.]

Covel;* but as he wrote with a particular view, to enquire into the doctrine of transubstantiation in the Eastern Church, his plan was more confined than my own. Mr. Smith's *Account of the Greek Church*,† though sufficiently exact as far as it goes, is much too short, and too confused in its method, to have been of great use.' 'To these must be added a treatise by the celebrated Father Plato, preceptor for religion and the Latin tongue to the Grand Duke [afterwards the Emperor Paul, great-grandfather of the present Emperor], archimandrite of the Trinity monastery, and member of the Holy Synod, published in the year one thousand, seven hundred, and sixty-five, and entitled *Orthodox Learning*, or, *A Summary of Christian Divinity*,‡ which he wrote for the use of His Imperial Highness: a most rational and ingenious performance, worthy the distinguished talents and erudition of its author.' (*Preface*, pp. ix.-xii.) From this extract it will be seen that the worthy doctor, like most ordinary mortals, deals out his praise and blame very much according as he is pleased or otherwise. Of Father Plato he immediately goes on to say: 'To this gentleman I have particular obligations for the information and assistance he has at all times given me in the prosecution of my work.' With Father Goar he was evidently not on such cordial terms.

* *An Account of the present Greek Church*: with Reflections on their present Doctrine and Discipline, particularly in the Eucharist. [Dr. King's own reference. Covel published his work in 1772.]

† *An Account of the Greek Church as to its Doctrines and Rites of Worship*: with several Historical Remarks interspersed relating thereto. To which is added an account of the state of the Greek Church under Cyrillus Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople, with a relation of his sufferings and death. By THO. SMITH, B.D., and Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College. Oxon. London: printed by Miles Flesher for Richard Davis in Oxford. MDCLXXX.

‡ (a) *The Present State of the Greek Church in Russia*: or, A Summary of Christian Divinity. By PLATON, late Metropolitan of Moscow. Translated from the Slavonian by ROBERT PINKERTON. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Waugh, & Innes. 1814.

(b) Another translation of the same work. *The Orthodox Doctrine of the Apostolic Eastern Church*: or, A Compendium of Christian Theology. Translated from the Greek [by G. POTESARO]. London: Whittaker & Co.

Of each of the above-quoted writers' works, excepting Goar's, which has not been translated into English, we intend to say a few words after paying our respects to Dr. King.

Dr. King laid out his work in the most methodical manner. He well knew, from its being insisted on so incessantly by Russian divines, how important pictorial art is as a teacher, assisting us materially in drawing mental images, without which learning is not. Accordingly he gives us twelve full-page copperplate engravings (one of the two copies before us possesses thirteen, having an extra full-length portrait of the Empress Catherine), and an engraved title-page containing 'a Medal of Her Imperial Majesty, with a Church on the reverse.' The engravings embrace the architectural features and other details of the Russian churches, and an almost complete set of ecclesiastical costumes. The curious in such subjects may find a reduced copy of plates 7 and 10, 'an Archimandrite as he goes to church,' and 'a Bishop giving the benediction,' in page 8 of Vol. xi. of the Christian Knowledge Society's publication, *The Saturday Magazine*. After short historical, doctrinal, and ecclesiological essays covering forty pages, Dr. King approaches the service matter or offices of the Greek Church, and, to do him justice, it must be said that he evinces no impatience of his subject, but puts himself to considerable trouble to explain obscurities. In this, though, with all his trouble, he does not entirely succeed, the fault is only what a person not in career is always liable to. The list of translated offices is really surprising for the period when the book was published. Besides the nine services which may be said any day, and which always are said on festival days, we have the regulation of the Liturgy of the Presanctified for week-day use in Lent; the Churching, Baptismal, and Confirmation services; the Confessional, Matrimonial, and Ordination services; the Prayer-oil, Burial, and Monastic profession services; the Benediction of the Waters on January 6th; the Communion service on 1st Sunday of Lent; the Feet-washing service on Maunday Thursday; and the Consecration of the Holy Chrism on the same day, with an account of its preparation on the three previous days. These services, which

occupy 384 pages, being ended, the remaining 61 pages are devoted to the consideration of local matters concerning the discipline of the Russian Church, and what was then comparatively its new form of government under the National Synod, the Patriarchate of Moscow having been abolished by Peter the Great.

Dr. King's peculiarities of diction throughout his work have left their mark on all subsequent translators. In his rendering of the *Trisagion*, "Ἄγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ἄγιος Ἰσχυρὸς, ἄγιος Ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, he uses the three vocative O's:—‘O Holy GOD, O Holy Mighty, O Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us,’ which we think has been followed once only, and then with very unliteral accompaniments:—‘O Holy GOD, O Holy Strong *One*, O Holy Immortal *One*, have,’* etc. This latter we think equally un-rhythmical and undesirable with ‘Holy GOD, Holy Mighty *One*, Holy Immortal *One*, have,’† etc., and both are worse than Dr. Neale's interpolated form:—‘Holy GOD, Holy *and* Mighty, Holy *and* Immortal, have,’ etc., which again is far inferior to Dr. King's. The most generally accepted translation is:—‘Holy GOD, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us,’‡ which is Dr. King's form minus the three O's. The next peculiarity we will notice is his habit of rendering the thrice repeated conjunction *καί* (in Slavonic long *e*) in the second half of the lesser Doxology or *Gloria Patri* by three English words:

* Page 5 of *The Divine and Sacred Liturgies* of our Fathers among the Saints John Chrysostom and Basil the Great. Edited, with an English translation, by J. N. W. B. ROBERTSON. London: David Nutt, 1886.

† Page 14 of *Euchology: a Manual of Prayers* of the Holy Orthodox Church. Done into English by G. V. SHANN. No publisher's name. 1891.

‡ Page 5 of *The Divine Liturgy* of our Father among the Saints John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople. Done into English, with some Prefatory notes, and the original Greek of the open parts. London: Joseph Masters. 1866.

Also page 1 of *Synopsis: or a Synoptical Collection of the Daily Prayers, the Liturgy, and Principal Offices of the Greek Orthodox Church of the East*. Translated, with assistance, from the original, and edited by KATHERINE, Lady LECHMERE. With an Introduction by J. GENNADIUS, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H.M. the King of the Hellenes, at the Court of St. James. London: Gilbert and Rivington. 1891.

'Both now, and for ever, even unto ages of ages.' Of the five succeeding translators above quoted no one cares to take all three words. Mr. Robertson * gives us, 'Both now, and ever, and unto,' etc.; Mr. Shann,† Dr. Neale, and the anonymous Joseph Masters' translator‡ give us, 'Both now, and ever, and to,' etc.; while Lady Lechmere§ is very bold in the cause of unity, and decapitates the phrase rather than have a second English rendering of the *καί*, treating us to 'Now, and ever, and to,' etc. That there should be no article before the two instances of the word 'ages' in this clause is natural, as Dr. King tells us he translates direct from the Slavonic, which possesses no article. In his case 'unto ages of ages' is quite consistent. So perhaps also in the case of Shann, with his 'to ages of ages.' But Neale, and Lady Lechmere, who profess to follow the original, have no right to the articleless phrase of Dr. King, 'to ages of ages.' The anonymous Joseph Masters' translator was the first to raise the warning cry, and succeeded in half rebuilding the edifice, giving us 'to the ages of ages;' while Robertson, following another anonymous translator of 1865, rises to the height of the argument, and gives us the phrase in full—'unto the ages of the ages,' *eis tous aiōnas τῶν αἰώνων*. The epithet applied to the Triune Deity—*Παναγία Τριάς*, 'All-holy Trinity,' is rendered into the Slavonic by *Presviatahyah Troitsa*, or as Dr. King gives it—'O most holy Trinity.' In this he is followed by Shann,|| his imitator from the Slavonic. Also by Neale and Lady Lechmere,¶ who have no right to this any more than to the last instance of the Slavonic form. Robertson ** has the correct Greek form, 'O all-holy Trinity;' so also has the anonymous Joseph Masters' translator,†† minus the vocative 'O.' The well-known phrase *Κύριε ἐλέησον*, in Slavonic *Hospodi pomilui*, Dr. King always renders 'LORD, have mercy upon us.' Had he made use of his vocative 'O' of the *Trisagion* it would have been far more acceptable than his unwarranted addition 'upon us.' In this addition he has had no followers. In the same connection we may mention (what in translating from the Slavonic is no fault,

* Page 5.

† Page 2.

‡ Page 5.

§ Page 1.

|| Page 14.

¶ Page 2.

** Page 5.

†† Page 6.

the fault being a mistranslation in the Slavonic itself) that the genitive phrase in the Diaconal bidding prayer *Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν*, 'Of the LORD let us pray,' is always given by Dr. King in the dative, as in the Slavonic *Hospodou pomolimsia*, 'Let us pray unto the LORD.' Robertson* and Lady Lechmere† avoid the preposition altogether, 'Let us beseech the LORD,' and 'Let us supplicate the LORD,' thus gratifying or offending neither Greek nor Russian; Shann‡ and Neale follow Dr. King in the dative, 'Let us pray to the LORD,' and 'Let us make our supplications to the LORD;' the anonymous Joseph Masters' translator§ alone gives us the true genitive, as in the Greek, 'Let us supplicate of the Lord.' In the Vesper hymn *φῶς ἱλαρόν*, now so well known to all Protestant congregations, Presbyterian as well as Episcopal, from the metrical translation, by the Rev. John Keble, beginning 'Hail, gladd'ning Light,' Dr. King gives, for the two Greek words, 'Thou most gentle light.' From *ἱλαρός*, *α*, *όν*, we have the adjectives 'hilarious' (joyful, mirthful, merry), and 'exhilarant' (tending to joy, mirth, or pleasure). Mr. Keble's 'Hail, gladd'ning Light,' is not so far from the mark as either King's four worded rendering, Shann's 'Tranquil Light,'|| or Lady Lechmere's 'O quiet Light.'¶ Neale gives us the true word, 'O joyful Light,' and it is greatly to be regretted that his admirers have not been content to follow him. In the curious phrase uttered by the Deacon just previous to his reading of the Gospel in any service, *Σοφία, ὀρθοί, ἀκούσωμεν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου*, there is ample room for the controversy which has long raged, and which most probably will continue to rage. Dr. King was evidently puzzled by the phrase, for the Slavonic *Premoudrost, prosti*, etc., does not explain itself any more than does the Greek. At first the doctor gave us, at the Morning Gospel on page 110, the following:—'Let us stand upright, and hear the Wisdom and the Gospel.' But by the time he had reached the Liturgy Gospel on page 159, he had evidently come to the conclusion that this would not do, and had evolved the phrase 'Wisdom, stand up. Let us hear the Gospel.' In

* Page 19.

† Page 258.

‡ Page 141.

§ Page 10.

|| Page 8.

¶ Page 53.

this emended phrase he has been followed by Neale and Shann,* with the addition of the word 'holy' before 'Gospel.' Dr. King's omission of 'holy' in both his instances is clearly an oversight, as the word exists in the Slavonic. Robertson† has 'Wisdom! upright! let us hear the holy Gospel;' the anonymous Joseph Masters' translator‡ has 'Wisdom—upright all—let us hear the holy Gospel;' and Lady Lechmere§ has 'Wisdom. Attend. Let us hear the holy Gospel.' There is here a charming variety, but the variations are not exhausted. A small tract published in America, 'Papers of the Russo-Greek Committee, No. 6,' has 'Wisdom! give heed: let us hear the holy Gospel.' The phrase 'give heed' no doubt suggested the Lechmerean 'Attend.' On that phrase the American editor remarks:—'*Give heed*,' *ὁρῶν*. This has been generally translated *stand up*, but manifestly incorrectly, for the people are already standing, as they never sit during worship. It refers to the *mind* here, and signifies, 'Be high-minded, firm, excited, full of expectation, corresponding with the Latin *spe* or *metu erectus*.' Who this American writer may be we know not, but his words are well worthy of attention. Our readers are aware of the great importance attached in the Greek Church to *The Cherubic Hymn* and its accompanying ceremonial. Though the latest of her great hymns in point of date, and poetically by far the least fine, it can boast considerable antiquity, and is calculated to excite the devotion of the worshippers. Dr. King again takes the lead, while others follow, as may be seen by comparison:—

KING.	NEALE.	AN. J. M.'s TR.	LECHMERE. ¶
Let us who mystically represent the cherubim, and sing the Thrice-holy hymn to the life-giving Trinity, at this time lay aside all worldly care, that we may receive the King of all, invisibly attended by the angelic orders. Alleluiah, allelujah, allelujah.	Let us, who mystically represent the cherubim, and sing the holy hymn to the quickening Trinity, lay by at this time all worldly cares; that we may receive the King of glory, invisibly attended by the angelic orders. Alleluia. Alleluia. Alleluia.	Let us, the cherubim mystically imaging, and to the life-giving Trinity the hymn Trisagion singing, all care of life lay aside: as about to receive the King of all, by the angelic orders invisibly attended. Alleluia. Alleluia. Alleluia.	Let us who mystically image the cherubim, and to the life-giving Trinity, the hymn Trisagion sing, all cares of life lay aside. As about to receive the King of all by angelic legions invisibly attended. [The Alleluias are omitted.]

* Page 28. † Page 75. ‡ Page 39. § Page 260. || Page 50. ¶ Page 264.

It takes very little scrutiny to discover that pretty much as Neale follows King, so does Lady Lechmere follow the anonymous Joseph Masters' translator. Where both copyists differ from their chosen model, they alter for the worse. Neale is wrong in substituting 'King of glory' for 'King of all;' and his 'holy hymn' is a poor reflex of the 'Thrice-holy hymn' or 'hymn Trisagion.' Lady Lechmere errs in putting 'angelic legions' for 'angelic orders.' Robertson strikes out a new initial phrase; while Shann follows word for word a form first published in the anonymous translation of 1865 before referred to.

ROBERTSON.*

Being such as mystically represent the cherubim, and sing to the life-giving Trinity the hymn of the Trisagion, let us put away the cares of this life: since we are about to receive the King of all, invisibly attended by the angelic orders. Alleluia. Alleluia. Alleluia.

SHANN.†

We, who the cherubim represent in mystery, and to the life-giving Trinity offer in song the hymn Thrice-holy, should now put away all cares of life, to receive the King of all, invisibly attended by the angelic orders. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.

We will turn now to a peculiarity of Dr. King's book, a peculiarity so fundamental as to be considered almost a first principle in its construction. We will describe it in his own words:—'My design is to present him [the reader] with the service of one entire day, though it cannot be exactly the same but when the same day of the year falls upon the same day of the week, and the service of the same voice is used.' . . . 'I have chosen a day when the service is as simple as it can well be, to give a just representation of it; yet the trouble of collecting it from different books is very considerable; of which some idea will be had by reflecting that, besides a great number of ceremonies continued upon the authority of oral tradition only, the several books containing the Church service are more than twenty volumes in folio, and one large volume, called *The Regulation*, is taken up with directions how to use the rest.' (Pages 41-2). The day chosen has been 'Sunday, Oct. 3. St. Dionysius. Voice V.' Later on, at pages 115 and 118, we have the *Exaposteilarion* and *Heothinon* of the Sunday of the fifth Morning Gospel.

* Page 87.

† Page 150.

Now it is very interesting to have a Sunday service of one particular Voice or Tone, because a certain unity of idea pervades the whole. One particular Sunday Morning Gospel with its *Exaposteilarion* and *Heothinon* does not, however, teach us much: the whole eleven would have been a very considerable addition to a fairly large quarto volume. A specimen Saint's day service is also to be appreciated, though it might have been thought that a more prominent personage would be chosen as a sample commemoration. But when Dr. King attempts to blend those three elements (1) a Sunday of the fifth Tone, with (2) a Sunday of the fifth Morning Gospel, giving them (3) the hagiological flavour of October 3rd, derived from St. Dionysius the Areopagite, he attempts an impossibility. He may well tell us that 'it cannot be exactly the same [as his model service], but when the same day of the year falls upon the same day of the week, and the service of the same voice is used,' for that day will never come. We are very certain that this arrangement could not have been made with the knowledge or sanction of the distinguished Archimandrite Plato, afterwards Metropolitan of Moscow. Dr. King worked up his materials for the press when living in London in 1772, and Moscow was at that time a very far cry. October 3rd may be a Sunday of the first, second, third, seventh, or eighth Tones, but it can never occur as a Sunday of the fifth Tone, as that fact would necessitate Easter Day (from after which the eight tones begin to count) to fall on March 14th, eight days before it can possibly happen. October 3rd may, at some conceivable time, have the fifth Morning Gospel, *Exaposteilariou* and *Heothinon*, when Easter Day falls on April 25th, and Pentecost (from after which the eleven Morning Gospels with their *Exaposteilaria* and *Heothina* begin to count) falls on June 13th, but this contingency is so rare in the old-style Kalendar that it does not occur once in the Paschalia for the ninety-six years from 1852 to 1947 printed in the Greek office-books. Our readers may remember that Easter Day in the new-style occurred on April 25th in the year 1886, and was regarded as quite phenomenal. If, then, October 3rd cannot occur on a Sunday of the fifth Tone, and

all but certainly not on a Sunday of the fifth Morning Gospel, the concurrence of the two Nos. 5 on that date, as in Dr. King, is clearly impossible. The only Sunday in the year when the two Nos. 5 concur is the thirty-eighth Sunday after Pentecost, which must fall between January 31st and March 6th, a different season of the year to October 3rd. It is but simple justice to apply to Dr. King the measure meted out by him to Father Goar, and 'remark that he sometimes deviates from exactness, by endeavouring to make all the Oriental ceremonies square,' not 'with the Western Church,' which was surely laudable in M. Goar, knowing as he did that originally the Churches were one, but 'with his imperfect knowledge thereof.' The last five words in quotation marks are supposed to represent the judgment of the reader when the nature of Dr. King's mistake is fully realised. We deeply regret being obliged to make these reluctant remarks, for we respect Dr. King's kindly labours far beyond our poor powers of expression.

II. The Rev. Thomas Smith, B.D., whose work, of 1680, entitled *An Account of the Greek Church*, was alluded to by Dr. King, was Chaplain to the English Embassy at Constantinople for some time previous to 1670, when he ceased foreign service and returned to England. Dr. King says of his work that it 'is much too short,' though it has the merit of being 'sufficiently exact as far as it goes.' This is high praise, but it is fairly well deserved. Mr. Smith's tone of commiseration for the poor Eastern Christians of two centuries and a quarter ago is indeed most touching. Modern Greeks little think how much they are indebted for their present privileges to the prayers of pious persons of bygone days external to their communion. The following prayer has perhaps a little too much of the political in it to suit present tastes, and it is fortunately not now needed. Mr. Smith remarking upon the religious strife that had been waged since the Reformation, thinks that 'Certainly it is a more innocent and Christian wish, that there were a happy end put to the differences now on foot, which disturb the quiet and peace of Christendom; that so some of the powerfull Princes of it may turn their forces Eastward, upon the great enemy of their Faith and Saviour, and restore

the poor oppressed Christians there to their ease and liberty. This, indeed, is too great a good to be hoped for at present; and as things now stand, not to be effected without a miracle. And may this miracle be wrought in our days! *O Christ, hear us. Amen.** And again, 'What a glorious design would it be, and how much for the honour of our religion, if the Christian Princes would unite and enter upon a *Holy War*, and redeem the Oriental Christians from the burthen of this intolerable tyranny and slavery! But, alas! there is little hope of such an Union in this great declension of Christianity, when the life and spirit of it seem to be lost in those horrid feuds and factions that disturb the peace of Christendom,' etc.† But in the following there is nothing political:—'They go to Church always betimes in the morning, . . . and this they doe that the people may be present at the entire service, and dismiss in good time to attend and look after their concerns: but chiefly, that they may perform their devotions more securely, and be less disturbed and molested by the Turks. If I may judge of others by my self, I am perswaded that no Christian, of what communion soever, can be present at their religious worship, but he will melt into tears and sighs, and find great strugglings and yearnings in his bowels, and put up a hearty prayer to CHRIST our common Saviour, that He would be pleased to deliver His poor distressed suppliants out of the hands of these proud and insulting Infidels, the enemies of His Cross, and despisers of His Godhead.'‡ And again, when alluding to the internal dissensions and intrigues among the Greeks themselves, which occurred whenever a Patriarch was elected or ejected, he adds, 'While I reflect upon these revolutions and changes, I am filled at the same time with amazement and pity: and cannot but put up this hearty prayer to Almighty GOD (and I doubt not, but that whosoever shall cast his eyes upon these papers, will joyn with me as heartily in it,) that He would be pleased to inspire the Grecian Bishops with sober and peaceable counsels, that, laying aside all partiality,

* Smith's close of the unpagged preliminary address 'To the Reader.'

† Smith, p. 13.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

and the consideration of base worldly interest, they may study the good and quiet of their Church, and see at last in this day of their most severe Visitation, the things which belong to their peace, before they be hid from their eyes, and before their name and religion be quite lost and extinguisht. To which sad doom these horrid differences seem fatally to enclose them.* Let us trust that these prayers have availed, and that in consequence their name and religion is not quite lost and extinguished.

The Greeks of to-day are loud in boasting of two things: (1) that they never propagate their religion, and do not desire proselytes; and (2) that they themselves never change their religion. The first boast is unhappily too true: they have, indeed, little of the love for souls which led their ancestors, not in the first, third, or fifth, but so late as the tenth century, to brave the terrors of the wilds of Scythia, and harvest a nation numbering to-day nearly one-hundred millions. But their second boast, if true, is only the result of their altered circumstances since Mr. Smith wrote. At that time, he tells us, 'Tis sad to consider the great number of wretched people who turn Turks: some out of meer desperation, being not able to support the burthen of slavery, and to avoid the revilings and insultings of the Infidels; some out of a wanton light humour, to put themselves into a condition of domineering and insulting over others, or of wearing a pair of yellow shoes, which is the peculiar finery and gallantry of the Musulmans, the Christians or Jews wearing either red or black; some to avoid the penalties and inflictions due to their heinous crimes, and to enjoy the brutish liberties that Mahomet consecrated by his own example, and recommended to his followers. These are the great and tempting arguments and motives of their Apostacy, meer considerations of ease, pleasure, and prosperity, or else of vanity and guilt: for it cannot be presumed that any through conviction of mind should be wrought upon to embrace the dotages and impostures of Turcisme. By these accessions the Turkish Em-

* *Ibid.*, p. 83.

pire and Religion are chiefly supported, the Renegado Christians being to be met with everywhere: the natural Turks, not having such numerous issues as in the ages past, would sensibly diminish but for these supplies.* But is this second boast of the modern Greeks strictly true of to-day? Certainly no Greek lady or gentleman in Western Europe thinks of turning Moslem. It would be a difficult process. They find it easier to adapt themselves to the religion of their neighbours if they have strong convictions, and easier still to lapse into indifference or unbelief without leaving their own Church. But in Turkey the boast does not apply. We are told—‘Only this year [1868] there has issued from the Imperial Press at Constantinople a controversial work of very great ability, attacking the fundamental doctrines of our common faith, and maintaining the doctrine of the Koran and the divine mission of Mohammed by entirely new arguments, sometimes of exceeding plausibility. This book, entitled *Izhar-el-Hakk*, (The Demonstration of the Truth) is circulated under Government sanction, and sold publicly in the bazaars. What havoc such a work is calculated to make among the sheep of CHRIST’S flock in the East must be known to its Chief Pastors, and has been already proved, to some extent, by the apostasy of a few.† This was twenty-three years ago. Is *Izhar-el-Hakk* dead, and have the ‘few’ apostates declined in number? We hope so, as we would rather that the second modern Greek boast should be true than otherwise.

Mr. Smith is rather a narrator of events and a describer of services than an office-book translator. Indeed, he tell us as much. He half apologises for transcribing at length the hymn *φῶς λαμπρόν* in the Vesper service; ‘which,’ says he, ‘I only here

* *Ibid*, p. 15.

† Pages liii.-iv. of *The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century*: being the Correspondence between the Eastern Patriarchs and the Non-juring Bishops. With an Introduction on various projects of Re-union between the Eastern Church and the Anglican Communion. By GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D., Senior Fellow of King’s College, Cambridge. London: Rivingtons, 1868.

put down for the antiquity of it: it not being my business to transcribe their Offices, which the learned and pious reader may consult at large to his great satisfaction and advantage.* As we gave a comparison earlier in this paper of the different translations of the first two words only, we will now give the whole hymn, comparing King, the father of translators, with Smith, the grandfather. We will only remark that the initial words furnish us with a sixth variety.

SMITH.

Pleasant Brightness of the holy glory of the immortal, heavenly, holy, blessed FATHER, JESU CHRIST: we having arrived to Sun-set, and seeing the evening light, praise the FATHER, SON, and Holy SPIRIT of GOD. Thou, O SON of GOD, giver of life, art worthy to be praised always with holy voices. Wherefore the world glorifies Thee.

KING.

O JESUS, Thou most gentle Light of the sacred glory of the immortal, heavenly, holy, blessed FATHER! we being now come to the setting of the sun, and seeing the evening light, sing the FATHER, the SON, and the Holy GHOST, GOD. Thou art worthy at all times to be praised by the voices of the pious, O SON of GOD: therefore the world glorifieth Thee.

In the *Trisagion* we have also a sixth variety, in which we see the origin of Dr. Neale's twice interpolated 'and':—'Holy GOD, Holy *and* Powerfull, Holy *and* Immortall, have mercy upon us.†' In the second half of the *Gloria Patri* we have a sixth and a seventh variety: 'Both now, and always, and for ever,' and 'Both now, and always, and to eternal ages.' Our views on these additional readings may be gathered from the discussion on the previous varieties.

III. The Rev. John Covell, D.D., whose work also, of 1722, entitled *Some Account of the Greek Church*, was alluded to by Dr. King, was Mr. Smith's successor as Chaplain to the English Embassy at Constantinople for the seven years from 1670 onward. Dr. King gives us in a nutshell the great end and aim of Covell's work, and we had almost said of his life, seeing that his publication was delayed for forty-five years after his return from Constantinople, thus:—'He wrote with a particular view, to enquire into the doctrine of transubstantiation.' If Goar is to be reprehended for 'endeavouring to make all the Oriental ceremonies [things of outward observance] square with those

* Smith, p. 229.

† *Ibid.*, p. 132.

of the Western Church,' Covell can scarcely be held free from blame for endeavouring to make all the Oriental *doctrines* [things of spiritual import] square with those of the Calvinian party in the English Church. It is not that there is no consistency or even beauty in the mere spiritual views on the Eucharist credited to the great reformer Calvin: what we claim is, those views are not the views of the Greek Church, and any attempt to 'square' differing views must involve, on the one side or the other, sacrifice or deceit. The late Rev. George Williams, a well known lover of the Greek Church, formerly English Chaplain at Jerusalem, though anxious to put the best face on matters, says:—'It must, however, be admitted that his [Covell's] intercourse with the Greeks was prompted rather by curiosity than by higher motives, as he himself is foremost to proclaim.* We will give one instance of Covell's 'squaring,' admitted by himself. 'In the Catalogue of Oxford graduates† appears the name of "The Most Reverend and Honourable the Metropolitan of Philippopolis, Exarch of all Thrace and Drovogia, ‡ created D.D., Sept. 1, 1701," and those of "Athanasius, Archdeacon; Neophytus, Archimandrite; and Gregorius, Protosyncellus," all made M.A. at the same date; while we are further informed, by a letter written by E. Thwaites to Dr. Charlett, on the following day, that "his Physician was made D. Med." The writer of this letter says: "'twas a mighty show, and the solemnity was very decent. . . The concourse was soe great, I have not seen it greater, except the Act. . . . His Grace made us a very excellent speech, all in plain proper hellenistick Greek,"' etc. § 'His visit to Cambridge was equally successful. He was specially recommended to Covell's attentions, who was then master of Christ's College, by Archbishop Tenison, who afterwards wrote to express his satisfaction at the Metropolitan's reception, and his

* Williams, page xii.

† Page 519. He was Neophytus, whose visit to England, and oration in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, are recorded by Le Quien. *Or. Ch.* Tom. i. col. 1162. (Williams' note *in loco*).

‡ *Ἀπαρροβία* of the Notitia. [Williams' note *in loco*.]

§ Williams, page xxii.

thanks to Covel.* Archbishop Tenison wrote a very warm commendation of the Greek Metropolitan, backed by 'my Lord Paget, Mr. Collier, Ambassadour for the Dutch at the Port, . . . my Lord Manchester, . . . the Duke of Somerset, . . . and divers others,'† to Dr. Covel, and nowhere hints at poverty as a constraining motive for the visit. Indeed, they appear to be quite an aristocratic party, worthy of all the honour they receive. Yet more than thirteen years later, when another Greek Metropolitan and party arrived in England, this time ostensibly for alms, Covel wrote to a friend, Humfrey Wanley, the following shameful admission:—'Christ's College, Cambridge, December 13, 1714. Kind Sr. I long to know whether ever you tryed Arsenius, your Metropolitane of Thebais, and his associate Gennadius, about their belief of *μετουσίωσις*, Transubstantiation. I make no great doubt, but that for reward, they would both declare directly against it, as *Philippopoli did when lately here with me.*'‡ Covel herein tells us that he had squared the Metropolitan of Philippopolis, and was equally anxious to square the Metropolitan of Thebais and his associate. But happily, these poor men, who are said by Mr. Wanley, in his reply to Covel, to be 'extremely necessitous, and live in much misery and want,' could not be 'squared,' to their honour be it said. They insisted on the assertion that 'they believe as those Saints [Basil and Chrysostom] did,' and refused 'to declare against the *μετουσίωσις* in their certificate.'§ So much for the Rev. John Covel, D.D., sometime chaplain at Constantinople.

IV. The two authors last treated of, Messrs. Smith and Covel, antedate Dr. King, and are alluded to by him. Another English writer on the subject of the Greek Church who preceded Dr. King is Col. Lodvel. The work attributed to him is one of the most important in the ample Oriental ecclesiastical library. Dr. King alludes to the original of the work, and to three translations, but seems to know nothing of the English translation, though its publication had a ten years' start of his

* *Ibid.*, page xxiii.

† *Ibid.*, page lx.

‡ *Ibid.*, page lix.

§ *Ibid.*, page lxi.

book. He says of it in page 18, 'There is a book called "A Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith of the Greeks and Russians, i.e., of the whole Eastern or Greek Church." * This was the work of Peter Mogilas, Metropolitan of Kioff in the Ukraine, and drawn up by him originally for the use of his own diocese: it was afterwards revised and confirmed by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and several other bishops and divines, on the 11th of March, one thousand six hundred and forty-three; who declared that it faithfully followed the doctrine of the Church of CHRIST, and agreed entirely with the holy canons.' The title of the copy of the English translation before us is given in a note below.† After the word 'originals,' in the title page, there is, in a clear old-fashioned handwriting, the addition, 'of *Nectarius*, Patriarch of Jerusalem; *Parthenius*, Patriarch of Constantinople; and the Catechism of *Petr. Mogilaw*, Archbishop of Kiow.' And afterwards, with a coarser pen and inferior ink, 'By Col. Lodvel, father to Mrs. Paradise.' Mrs. Paradise is most likely the wife of John Paradise, Esq., D.C.L. of Oxford, the friend of Dr. Johnson in the latter portion of his life. Mr. Croker, in his edition of *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, at his first reference to the word 'Paradise,' tells us that that gentleman 'was of Greek extraction, the son of the English consul at Salonica, where he was born: he was educated at Padua, but resided the greater part of his life in London; in the literary circles of which he was generally known and highly esteemed.' He was present at Dr. Johnson's funeral. But who was Col. Lodvel, this or some other Mr. Paradise's father-in-law? Some of our Scottish readers, versed in the particulars of the Stuart risings, may be able to confirm or confute a theory we have long conceived, that the Colonel was possibly 'out' in 1745, and afterwards found safety in the service of some foreign state, most probably Muscovy, then

* An edition of this work in Greek, Latin, and German, was printed at Breslaw, A.D. 1751. [King's note, *in loco*].

† *The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church*: faithfully translated from the originals. London: Printed A.D. MDCCLXII.

busily occupied in perfecting her military system. That he was there, as he styles it, 'converted,' and married to a Russian lady; and years after, when all fear of vengeance was past, was restored to his country, where he printed his book with the most pious intentions, and did what he could to justify his doctrinal position. The registers of the Russian Church in London contain records of his communicating in the sacrament there with his daughter, and also of his death, and burial in Bow churchyard in the same vault with some well-known Jacobite clergyman. It is this last fact which first gave us the notion that the Colonel was himself a Jacobite in politics.

The Orthodox Confession consists of, as the Œcumenical Patriarch of that day, Parthenius I., tells us, 'a threefold division, of Faith, of Hope, and of Charity: so that *Faith* is set forth in the Twelve articles of faith, or the holy Nicene Creed; *Hope* in the LORD'S Prayer, and the nine sacred evangelical Beatitudes; *Charity* in the Ten Commandments, and in the holy and divinely inspired Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, which show what is necessary to be believed. We find the said book to be set in the footsteps of the Church of CHRIST, and to be agreeable to the holy canons,' etc. To show the liberality which obtained then, as still, in noble and pious minds, the Patriarch closes with the announcement:— 'These copies are to be given, and presented *gratis*, to all pious Christians, for the benefit of the soul of the most illustrious and eloquent Lord, the Lord Panagiota.*' Second in interest only to the book itself is the translator's beautiful Dedication, which we transcribe in full:—

'The Translator to the Devout Christian Reader. Dearly beloved Brother in our LORD, and GOD, and Saviour JESUS CHRIST: Be pleased to accept this Labour of Love, of thine unworthy fellow-servant, who, mindful of the Command "When thou art converted, strengthen thy Brethren," presenteth, with all humility, these his endeavours for thine Attainment of the Truth, and everlasting Salvation: and, in return, assist him with thy prayers to the Throne of Grace and Mercy, that, while he offereth instruction to others, he may so take

* Panagiota was the Grand Dragoman of the Ottoman Empire, or the Sultan's Mouth-piece in dealing with all his Greek Christian subjects.

heed unto himself, that he become not a cast-away. "Thus saith the LORD, Stand ye in the Ways, and see, and ask for the *old Paths* where is the *good Way*, and walk therein, and ye shall find Rest for your souls." Jerem. vi. 16. "Unto you that fear my Name, shall the Sun of Righteousness arise with healing in His Wings." Mal. iv. 2.'

We forbear further quotation where all is so alike excellent.

V. Mr. Robert Pinkerton, the first writer of importance in this particular literary field subsequent to Dr. King, who translated from the Slavonian, and published in 1814, the *Summary of Christian Divinity*, by the Metropolitan Platon of Moscow (Dr. King's Father Plato), was in his day a well-known agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and rendered important aid in the establishment of the Russian branch of that Society, under the patronage of the Emperor Alexander I. He traversed a great portion of Russia, and gave the world very lively accounts of his various journeys, prepared, no doubt, from his official reports. Mr. Pinkerton tells us that the *Summary* translated by him was 'strongly recommended to him by some of the first dignitaries of the Russian Church, as containing a just view of the doctrines believed and taught in their communion.' A 'preliminary memoir' of 36 pages gives 'a concise view of the present state of the ecclesiastical establishment in Russia;' and an 'Appendix' of 61 pages 'contains an account of the origin and present condition of the Russian dissenters, derived from the best Russian publications, as well as from personal observation and enquiry.' We reserve any further remarks until we reach the other translation coupled with this in a previous footnote.

VI. Of the Rev. J. M. Neale, D.D., and his many labours from 1847 onward to make the Greek Church known to English readers, which, though we have in this paper quoted, we have not referred to by page or title, we have here little occasion to write, as we gave an opinion and quotations at fair length in our *Review* of April, 1890, when discussing Egyptian Church affairs. Some of his friends may think we were unnecessarily severe on that occasion, but we fail to see it. Had Dr. Neale told us that Greek churchmen are not, any of them, nearly so good as they ought to be, and were outrun in

Christian zeal by all other communions, and stood self-condemned by the first-hand truths they professed, even as the Jews of old did, he would have been listened to with respect, and honoured for his candour. But when he charges the Constantinopolitan Church with Sabellianism, and proposes that she accept a condemned formula which he admits to be 'heretical,' and strives to explain away an Œcumenical Council by a line of reasoning which no Eastern child past nursery age could accept, the 'candid friend' is felt to have carried it a little too far. We were obliged in our previous article to point out some mistakes in Dr. Neale's version of the Coptic Liturgy. But we did not say of his work what is said in Butler's *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, page x.—'Neale's *Eastern Church* (a book full of errors).'

VII. The Metropolitan Platon's treatise found, in 1857, another translator in the person of Mr. George Potessaro, then of Manchester. It was the first and, until one of the two most recent publications we shall notice, the only attempt made by any member of the Greek colonies in England to remove the popular misapprehensions which up till lately prevailed respecting their Church. 'Tell me,' said an English lady in society to a Greek gentleman to whom she had been introduced, 'tell me what is your Greek Church like? Is it anything like the Turkish religion?' Poor lady! It is presumable that she knew as much, or as little, of the Turkish religion as her Turkish sisters do who profess it. Mr. Potessaro must therefore be thanked for answering the enquiries of such as this lady, and for having the moral courage to do what his countrymen generally care not to do. And thanked he has been by numberless English readers during the last thirty-four years. Dr. King's and Mr. Pinkerton's *Summary of Christian Divinity* becomes in Mr. Potessaro's hands a *Compendium of Christian Theology*: the same meaning in other words. Mr. Potessaro, being a Greek, translates from the authorised Greek translation, and prefixes an 'Historical and explanatory Essay on General Catechism,' by the learned Dr. Coray; and closes with 'A Treatise on Melchisedec,' by the principal author, Platon. There is only one way of showing the respective merits of the translators, and that is by a comparison of some

particular passage from both. We select the following, the reasoning of which is familiar to every well-grounded Greek churchman :—

PINKERTON.*

'Our Greeko-Russian Church proves its genuineness by incontestible evidences; for, from the very time of the Apostles to the present day, it has preserved inviolate the faith preached by them, and the ancient traditions of the first Churches. Greece was converted to the faith by the Apostle Paul himself, and the truth which she received from him she preserved inviolate throughout all the succeeding ages; and if there happened to be sometimes heretical and pernicious doctrines taught, yet they were always condemned in the General and particular Councils. With this faith, thus preserved in all its purity, it pleased God at last to enlighten Russia. And as in Greece, so in Russia, there never has taken place any change in the faith; . . . yet amongst those who hold to our Church there may exist a certain kind of superstition and abuse; but our Church does not justify such improprieties; she rather mourns over them, reproves and corrects them. And the erroneous opinions of a few, founded on ignorance of the truth, can never, in justice, be imputed to the whole Church. Hence, it is evident, that our orthodox Church is not only the true Church, but that it is one and the same from the very foundation of the world. From the very foundation of the world, I say; because it agrees with the Greek Church, and the Greek Church never departed from the primitive Apostolical Church. Again, the Apostolical Church was not different in the essence of faith from the Old Testament Church; and the old Testament Church was founded upon the saving truth which, with steadfast faith, was held both before and after the flood by the holy patriarchs, even from the very foundation of the world. Hence the evangelical orthodox faith of our Church refers for its foundation to the very beginning of the world, and shall remain, as the Holy GHOST hath assured us, to the end of time.'

POTESSARO.†

'The truth of our Orthodox Eastern Church is founded on incontrovertible proofs; since from the days of the Apostles until the present time, it has preserved intact not only the faith declared by them, but also the traditions of the primitive Church. Greece was taught the Christian faith of Paul, and kept its truth untainted during the succeeding ages, having uprooted, by Ecumenic and local Synods, all the deceitful heresies that strove for admittance. With this pure and unspotted doctrine GOD vouchsafed in time to enlighten Russia. The doctrine of this Church has never changed, neither in Greece nor in Russia; . . . and although in some of our communions we may trace superstitious tenets, and even abuses, our Church does not encourage such absurdities, but pities, reproves, and corrects those that are so minded. Nor can the infatuation of a few individuals, ignorant of the truth, be attributed to the whole Church. We therefore infer from this that our orthodox Church is not only the true one, but that it is the only one, and the same from the foundation of the world. It is, then, such as it agrees with the Greek, and the Greek Church was never separated from the primitive Apostolic Church; and the Apostolic Church was the same with the Jewish of the Old Testament, as regarding the substance of the faith; and the Church of the Old Testament is founded on the truth of the redemption of mankind, which all the patriarchs, both before and after the deluge, have steadfastly believed. Consequently, our orthodox and evangelical Church has its origin in the very origin of the world, and shall remain, according to the authority of the Scripture, unto the end.‡'

* Pages 163-4.

† Pages 135-6.

‡ It is proper to say that, until he read the proof-sheets of this article, Mr. Potessaro had no knowledge of Mr. Pinkerton's translation.

We make no comment on these extracts, except to express what we think will be a common verdict, that the foreigner does not greatly suffer in the lingual competition.

VIII. The beautifully printed anonymous translation of *The Divine Liturgy* of St. Chrysostom, published by Joseph Masters in 1866, is commonly attributed to a noble Marquess, whose contributions frequently adorn the pages of this *Review*. If there be truth underlying this superstition, it is evident that this is not the time or place to canvass the labour of one of our Editor's colleagues, as the charge of partiality is so easily brought against a reviewer. Nor is there any great need to do so, as we have discussed several items of the translation on their merits earlier in this paper. One thing we may mention: that a clergyman of the Greek Church possessing a translation of his own in print, who had occasion sometimes to make the service in English, always used the present work in preference to his own. There is only one thing to regret in this edition, that it is now out of print. We hope the evil is not incurable.

IX. The translation of *The Divine and Sacred Liturgies* of SS. Chrysostom and Basil, 1886, by Mr. J. N. W. B. Robertson, who is, we believe, a member of the Latin Church, sets an example of a more perfect start than has been before attempted. The opening phrase addressed by the Deacon to the Priest, 'Εὐλόγησον Δέσποτα, has been variously rendered, by, 'Give the benediction, Sir' (King); 'Sir, give the blessing' (Neale); 'Bless, my lord' * (anon. J. M.'s tr.); and 'Master, give the blessing' † (Shann). Lady Lechmere has been the first to take advantage of Mr. Robertson's excellent initiative, and copy his 'Bless, Master.' ‡ Mr. Robertson's publisher, David Nutt of the Strand, employed a very tasteful printer, whose manner of rubricating could not well be excelled in correctness or neatness. The one point of superiority this edition possesses over VIII., the work last mentioned, is, that it contains St. Basil's Liturgy in addition to St. Chrysostom's.

X. This, and the work which follows it, respectively the *Synopsis* and the *Euchology*, previously quoted, the simul-

* Page 5.

† Page 131.

‡ Page 248.

taneous appearance of which at the present moment is not without significance so soon after the reception into the Greek Church of two grand-daughters of our Sovereign, bear evidence to the growing taste for Liturgical studies among the laity. That the worthy Dame of the well-known banker, Sir E. A. Lechmere, Bart., M.P., should kindly step forward to 'make the beautiful offices of the Greek Church better known to her countrymen and countrywomen of all classes,' (preliminary circular, page ii.) is of itself a sufficiently notable fact: but that a distinguished Ambassador, a member of that sphinx-like confederation 'the diplomatic corps,' should burst his ceremonies, and furnish us, who are not his 'countrymen and countrywomen' with most important aid in this difficult but attractive study, is cause both for wonder and gratitude. Messrs. Gilbert and Rivington have produced a comely pocket volume, which will, no doubt, prove very acceptable to ladies. It is a pity that greater supervision was not exercised in the suggestive and delicate work of rubrication. Had the printer been entrusted with a Greek office-book of any kind, he would have at once seen what to rubricate, and what not. As it is, the bi-colour result is of a private judgment character, not at all satisfactory. We think objection can also be taken to the title given by Lady Lechmere,—*Synopsis: or a Synoptical Collection*. Why 'Synoptical Collection' after we are told it is a 'Synopsis?' Why would not *Synopsis: or a Collection of the Daily Prayers*, etc., do? His Excellency, M. Gennadius, tells us that 'a second and more leisurely edition, which, no doubt, will soon be called for, will offer the opportunity for additions and emendations': and it is with this prospect in view that we venture on the present remarks, which have a constructive rather than any other aim.

The great fault of this new translation is the uncertainty caused by the same Greek words having several English meanings; and contrariwise, by the same English words having several Greek originals. This double fault runs throughout the 451 pages. We give, at random, a specimen of each class. Thus, in the first four instances of the Thursday *Apolytikion*, common to festivals of the Apostles, where

the Greek says, *Πρόσβευε τῷ ἐλεήμονι Θεῷ, ἵνα πταισμάτων ἄφεσιν, παράσχῃ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν*, we have the four following renderings, which, we hesitate not to say, are each of them incorrect.

PAGE 19.	PAGE 162.	PAGE 163.	PAGE 168.
Pray to the merciful God, that He may grant to our souls remission of sins.	Intercede with the most merciful God, that He may grant forgiveness for the transgression of our souls.	Intercede with a merciful God, that by thy mediation He may pardon our sins.	Intercede with a merciful God, that He may pardon our sins, and save our souls,

On the other hand, we have the phrase ‘Giver of life’ from Dr. King, and the Anglican Common Prayer Book respectively, proffered in pages 1 and 5 as the synonym of *Ζωῆς Χορηγός* and *Τὸ Ζωοποιεῖν*, and we again assert the inadequacy of the English equivalent for both and either of the Greek phrases. We also assert the third time that Lady Lechmere has no right to Dr. King’s Slavonian translations where they vary from the Greek, as she claims to translate ‘from the original.’ We commend to her the astute advice of the Ambassador, and hope soon to see ‘a second and more *leisurely* edition.’ Haste and hurry are the prolific parents of many evils.

XI. Mr. G. V. Shann’s privately issued *Euchology* must not be confounded with the Greek sacerdotal office-book *Εὐχολόγιον*, as it is laid down upon quite other lines. It is a slightly amplified ‘Synopsis,’ and in phraseology so frequently resembles its rival noticed above at X. as to suggest a common prototypal translation followed in both volumes. With the principle of this we thoroughly agree. The number of English translations of the same Greek offices is now so great, and their variations are so bewildering, that it is a satisfaction to see two such books proceed together for however short a distance. Mr. Shann is good enough to tell us, in page viii., that the materials of his book are ‘arranged in lucid order.’ This is gratifying, as readers might not otherwise have discovered it. Mr. Matthew Arnold has said that ‘lucidity’ is one of the things authors are most deficient in. Mr. Shann lays claim to this virtue, and must be a happy man in contemplating his superiority in this respect over most authors.

What, as it strikes us, most distinguishes his volume, is the

evident desire to produce Russian effects. Some proofs thereof have been given earlier in this paper. We notice also an entire absence of the word *Theotokos*, which Lady Lechmere sometimes uses, as at 'Synopsis,' page 9. This word comes to us on the authority of the 3rd Œcumenical Council, and is accepted by all the un-reformed Churches, orthodox and heretical, excepting, perhaps, among the latter, the few scattered Nestorians. Mr. Shaun prefers the phrase, 'Mother of GOD,' which must be very offensive to the protestant episcopal clergy, by whose subscriptions the book was principally promoted. Yet even in the use of this word and phrase, the two-fold fault, complained of in the previous volume, is visible. Thus, in the well-known short hymn Ἀξιὸν ἐστίν, page 61, and many other places, where we have the Greek word Θεοτόκον twice, it is rendered by 'Holy Virgini' as well as 'Mother of GOD'; and where the English phrase 'Mother of GOD' occurs twice, the original is Μητέρα τοῦ Θεοῦ as well as Θεοτόκον. This may suit Mr. Shaun's idea of 'lucidity,' but it is scarcely good enough for ordinary readers. Unfortunately, there is no hope held out of 'a second and more leisurely edition.'

S. G. HATHERLY,

*Proto-priester of the Patriarchal Œcumenical
Throne of Constantinople.*

P.S.—Since the above was in type we have received the undermentioned book of Dr. Neale's * from Mr. J. T. Hayes, who has retired from the publishing business after a long and honourable career. This little book contains six Liturgies, of which five are from the Greek. St. Chrysostom, Dr. Neale tells us, is 'slightly altered from my [his] Introduction' to the *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, from which we have above frequently quoted. We have not time to make search for the passages said to be 'slightly altered.'

* *The Liturgies of SS. Mark, James, Clement, Chrysostom, and Basil, and the Church of Malabar.* Translated, with Introduction and Appendices, by the Rev. J. M. Neale, D.D., and the Rev. R. F. Littledale, LL.D. Sixth edition. London: Griffith, Farran, & Co.

ART. VII.—BRITISH THOUGHT AND MODERN SPECULATION.

1. *Locke*. By ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER, Hon. D.C.L., Oxon., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. William Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London. 1890.
2. *Selections from Berkeley, with an Introduction and Notes*. By the same. Fourth Edition. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1891.

PROFESSOR CAMPBELL FRASER'S recent resignation of his Chair at Edinburgh is an event of far more than passing interest. The long period throughout which his professional career has extended has been rendered remarkable by many momentous changes in the characteristics of British speculation. The star of Hamilton, completely in the ascendant thirty-five years ago, has now greatly waned. First Mill and his followers, aided doubtless by political conditions, had supremacy. Then the enunciation of the principle of physical evolution was followed by the rise of a new school, destined ultimately to transcend and include that of Mill. While, more recently, under the influence of Kant and Hegel, British thought lost not a little of its insularity, and the national tendency to nominalism found itself supplanted by the desire to possess a systematic theory of the universe. As a result of these movements, it may be fairly said that to-day no one can fail to observe that the old controversy between nominalism and realism has not yet come to an end. But amid all the changes which have been taking place in the current of our national philosophy, Professor Fraser has consistently maintained his original position. By holding to Berkeley he has largely corrected the too exclusive individualism of Locke, and has, in certain aspects, forestalled the Platonising speculation of the English Hegelians. At the same time, his familiarity and sympathy with the traditional methods of British thought has led him to protest against the present tendency to

exalt categories at the expense of things, or immanent principle to the exclusion of transitive personality.* His two recent works furnish an epitome of the doctrines underlying his entire teaching, and at the present juncture consideration of this cannot but be fraught with deep interest to the large numbers who have come under his influence.

British speculation, from the publication of the *Essay on the Human Understanding* to that of the *Treatise on Human Nature*, is often called the Lockian epoch. During this period nearly all systematic thinking was determined by the methods and aims of Locke's famous work.† Here Locke proposed to discuss the contents, and especially the limits, of human faculty in a 'plain historical way.' He prepared himself to take experience very much as he found it; and he desired to submit it to an analysis which would exhibit its principal parts, rather than to transform its meaning or elucidate its final import. To lay hold upon obvious facts, to arrive at tolerably assured conclusions—these were his ideals.‡ There was no effort to construct a system. Indeed, so far was he from attempting anything of the sort, that he deliberately set in the background two of the main subjects which are integral portions of a complete philosophical whole. Of ultimate problems relative to the material universe, as of high questions concerning Deity, he has little to say except by implication. § Man alone, and in particular man's intellectual power, engages his close attention. His method, therefore, tended towards a species of nominalism: the individual interested him much more than the universal. His strange lack of historical imagination—in which he may be compared with Schopenhauer—fostered this tendency. One has only to contrast his *Treatise on Government* || with any modern work on the subject to be impressed by this. In the Fourth Book of the *Essay* also, where the all important question of relation is discussed, this distrust of the universal appears very strongly. ¶ The individual

* Cf. Locke, pp. 99, 130.

† Locke, *Preface*, v.

‡ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 105 sq.

§ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 190.

|| Cf. Locke, part ii., chap. ii., *passim*.

¶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 167.

mind is conversant about ideas, which are its immediate objects, it is plainly not so familiar with the relations between these ideas.

But, evidently, if this be the case, Locke can only take us a very little way towards the explanation even of that limited experience which he proposed to analyse. Somehow or other single ideas must be brought into relation, otherwise the unity called experience could not exist. Accordingly, he unconsciously resiles from his early positions in the First Book, where he admits a certain kind of intuition and a modicum, if nothing more, of causal reference. Without wish to frame a synthetic scheme, but anxious to dissect the intellectual powers, he assumed the system and discussed the individual mind as he found it existing in this sphere. When he has fully considered ideas, in the Second and Third Books, then, and in a sense then only, he begins to get into difficulties; and the difficulties are occasioned precisely by his attempt to regard these identical ideas in a somewhat less abstract way by bringing them into relation with reality. The moment he moves away from the sure ground, that all concepts can be analysed either into 'qualities of external things,' or into 'operations of our own minds,' he is in straits. For he has previously displayed neither concern as to what matter is, nor curiosity regarding the means whereby qualities inherent in matter can come to be ideas of a mind, nor yet care as to the manner in which consciousness passes over into self-consciousness.* And it cannot be denied that his doctrine of substance is one of those convenient inventions which help him over difficulties half felt in the earlier portions of the *Essay*, and clearly prominent in the latter part. The *dicta* concerning substance and phenomena, in the Fourth Book, are of a piece with the analyses of the 'complex idea of Substance' in the early Books. Ideas or qualities are known; they are not self-supporting; they must therefore be referred to *something* which holds them together in a unity—to an *existing* 'something.' But existence external to the mind has already been assumed; therefore the reference must be to some external substance lying behind the qualities and in which they inhere. Berkeley's acute mind immediately took

* Locke, part ii., chapters iii., iv. and v.

in the philosophical situation.* ‘We are miserably bantered by our senses, and amused only with the outside and show of things.’† His lasting importance in the history of philosophy is that he demanded, if, unlike Hegel, he did not finally accomplish, the dismissal of that metaphysical Brocken-spectre, the Unknowable.

Berkeley differs from Locke mainly in that, while retaining the nominalism of the latter in his own first period, he corrects it more and more by the introduction of realism in the second and third phases of his philosophic development. Like Kant, Berkeley is not to be regarded in one aspect of his work only.‡ No doubt, as with the father of criticism, so with our author, the first stage was the most important, in the sense that the later and more constructive speculation presupposes it. In the same manner as his successors, Berkeley at the outset had perforce to pass the assumptions of others in review by means of a species of criticism. The ‘New Question’ was, in the circumstances, just as critical in the best sense of the word, as was the inquiry about ‘synthetic *a priori* judgments.’ On the bare statement, that external matter exists, Locke and other forerunners of Berkeley had straightway busied themselves to lead proof that what they did not know possessed actual being. This, as Berkeley made it his first great task to show, was a ridiculous proceeding. It was not enough for him to be told of this unknowable substratum; he must needs get behind the assumption to ask what rational meaning was implied in the simple existence of substance. He conceived it his business, in short, to point out that, were substance properly understood, the so called proof of its existence would *ipse facto* be rendered wholly superfluous. ‘Nothing,’ he says, in striking the key note of his investigation, ‘seems of more importance towards erecting a firm system of sound and real knowledge, which may be proof against the assaults of Scepticism, than to lay the beginning in a distinct explication of *what is* meant by THING, REALITY, EXISTENCE; for in vain shall we dispute concerning the ‘real existence’ of things, or pretend to any knowledge thereof,

* Cf. *Locke*, p. 189.

† *Selections*, p. 114.

‡ *Selections*, Introduction, pp., xxxvii., sq.

so long as we have not fixed the meaning of these words. THING or BEING is the most general name of all ; it comprehends under it two entirely distinct and heterogeneous, and which have nothing in common but the name, viz., SPIRITS and IDEAS.* And as Professor Fraser's explanatory annotation runs, 'This throws light on Berkeley's purpose, which was not to *prove* the reality of the material world, but—by showing what its 'reality' involves, i.e., what we are entitled to *mean* when we say that an external thing 'exists'—to make proof superfluous.'† In order to do this, however, Berkeley had no recourse but to initiate and carry out a certain destructive process. This process, alike in conception and scope, is formulated by him, almost as an *obiter dictum*, in the phrase *esse est percipi*. Objects are ideas, he in effect proves, and there is an end of the discussion. The whole range of metaphysical inquiry was thus altered at a stroke as it were. No need longer to enlarge upon the actuality of sense-objects, nor to trace their manifestations as affecting the percipient ; but every need, because sense-objects exist, to discover the ultimate import of reality. Causes are now to be investigated to the exclusion of qualities. But in order to bring about this reversal, it was necessary to resolve the latter into ideas, and in the course of this resolution Berkeley inevitably took several steps which rendered his thought, for the time being, not unlike that of Hume.‡ To isolate the phrase, *esse est percipi*, more particularly if the *percipi* be held to imply exclusively the perception of a single individual through the medium of his senses only, is undoubtedly to go far towards enunciating a method which leads to conclusions that 'admit of no answer, but produce no conviction.' Yet, this is to eviscerate Berkeley ; and Hume, as a Neo-Berkeleyan, to coin a word, has in one aspect of it no more right to his philosophical position than F. A. Lange and his Neo-Kantians. Extreme nominalism, which is certainly a prominent factor in Berkeley's first period, gradually disappears, as he progresses, into the shadow land of inane abstractions. To Berkeley, as read by

* *Selections*, pp. 105-6.

† *Ibid.*, p. 106, note 1.

‡ *Selections*, Introduction, p. xxxix.

Hume, hardly any import conceivable by the human mind can be attached.

At the same time, the *Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge* contains a very clearly marked negative element.* Nevertheless, it can be shown that this critical tendency, if properly viewed in relation to other points, possesses no little significance. It is evinced principally in Berkeley's attack upon 'abstract ideas.' Like Bacon, he displayed the strongest objection to the substitution of General Terms for individual realities, and freely expressed himself, often somewhat unguardedly, in discussing the question. His procedure was indispensable to the task which the state of philosophy, and his own bent of mind, set him. Need was to be rid of Locke's non-existent, but much 'proved,' Substance, and Berkeley's was the type of thought by which this abstraction was to be destroyed. He altered the trend of speculation, and in a manner renewed philosophy, by pointing out, first, that the only self-sustained existence in this world, of the nature usually accredited to substance, is a percipient mind; and second, that the only cause of phenomena, in the widest sense of the term, is also a mind, now, however, revealing itself in volition.† The whole tenor of previous presumptions respecting existence was thus changed. The really concrete—Mind *quâ* your mind and my mind—stood in place of the imagined abstraction, Substance; perceived ideas were substituted for imperceptible substrata. The so-called causes operative in outer nature were brought back from their absolute externality, and organically connected with mind's experience of Mind, or of mental activity in the guise of Notions. In order to work such transformation on philosophy, Berkeley had, no doubt, to insist upon his doctrines with considerable force; and in this insistence is to be found the distinct leaning towards nominalism—towards Humian scepticism—which characterises this period of his development. On the other side, it is to be remembered that this tendency of his was not without intrinsic value. His faithfulness to experience, regarded in the broad sense, is

* *Selections*, pp. 4 *sq.*

† *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xxxvi., and pp. 335, *sq.*

remarkable. His thought, on this account, conforms to one of the chief tests to which every metaphysical system must submit. Single given circumstances receive most patient attention. They are not confronted with a formula that compels them to come in ; rather, careful investigation is employed to coax them, as it were, into explaining themselves. This is the significant feature of Berkeley's nominalism, as it is of every philosophy which has legitimate, not to say indispensable, nominalistic leanings. For, 'to awaken intelligent response in individual minds to the rational judgments and spiritual convictions on which human life ought to rest is the chief aim of philosophical education.'*

But this furnishes only one aspect of the [entire truth. Berkeley has often been accused of what is tantamount to lunacy. 'When Berkeley said there was no matter, it was no matter what he said.' This is a Dogberry's view of idealism. For, although insisting that the *esse* of things is their *percipi*, our author sticks so closely to experience that his position is not unlike Reid's—*pace* Dr. Hutchison Stirling.† Matter, in the shape of the unknowable external 'something' peculiar to Descartes and Locke, has certainly been dismissed. But it has been reinstated in another, and more intelligible, form. The mere present possession of one, or of several, perceptions, goes a small way towards explaining experience as we know it. Berkeley, by means of the introduction of 'judgments of suggestion,' and of the celebrated 'visual language,' supplies the matter about which Dr. Johnson was so certain. He was not the fool his critics would have had him ; he knew as well as they that, by simply turning his back on the outstretched landscape, he did not thereby annihilate it. Nay, he knew a great deal better than they what was implied in the bare statement that the scene constituted a landscape, and was not simply a fortuitous collection of heterogeneous particulars.

If, then, this be a true estimate of the positive value of Berkeley's nominalistic tendency, of his evisceration of abstract ideas,

* *Selections*, Introduction, p. xlix.

† Cf. *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, Vol. VII., pp. 12, sq.

of his insistence upon the vital importance of individual percipient minds, criticism of these, his early doctrines, must be sought in another direction. His 'dualism' consists in his conviction that every possible factor of experience can be brought under one of four great classes. It cannot but be either a perceiving mind or an idea perceived by such a mind; either a willing 'spirit' or something willed by this spirit. This is conspicuous in the *Treatise* and we find it re-echoed in the Preface to *Hylas*.* Strange as it may seem, Berkeley's idealism is practically a realism. For the 'representative idea,' of which Reid made so much, is, on inspection, found to be not representative—there is nothing of which it can be the representation. Here his theory is defective. He does not attempt any satisfactory explanation of the manner in which, on his premisses, the universe comes to be a rational concatenated whole. His interest in present experience—his nominalism—appears for the moment to leave no room for the equally legitimate and necessary discussion of universals. He advances the readily understood proposition that the 'material world is a system of interpretable signs.' But of the origin and present maintenance of this system, as of the reason for the interpretability of the signs, he has little or nothing to tell.† Expectation, the essential feature of the 'judgment of suggestion,' has no absolute guarantee. That is to say, the principles on which this expectation relies have not been brought to light. They have perhaps been assumed—they have certainly not been subjected to criticism. Of course, after a fashion, the theory of causality favoured by Berkeley supplies this want. Nevertheless, there can be no question that this theory was at first favoured merely and not sufficiently elaborated. Indeed, we are inclined to think that Berkeley never brought himself to very clear consciousness regarding it. Thus it may be said, by way of summing up, that while Berkeley, in his early nominalistic stage, did magnificent service to philosophy, by disposing of abstract ideas and of representative perceptions, he was also, by the very fact of this nominalism, too ready to concur in Locke's conclusion that

* Cf. *Works*, Vol. I., pp. 258-60 (Fraser's edition).

† Cf. *Selections*, pp. 159, sq.

'experience' and 'knowledge' are, when closely examined, convertible terms. It was necessary to correct this half-view by the introduction of another, and Berkeley's later work to some extent provided for, if it did not execute, this all important change. It is this aspect of his thought which Professor Fraser has emphasized with such signal success and significance.

If at first Berkeley was scarcely conscious that an isolated 'thing' is as great an absurdity as Locke's substance, he came in the end to formulate this truth with remarkable insight. We are the more able to give prominence to this aspect of his work that our present purpose is, not so much to consider his historical influence, as to notice the different strands in his philosophy which may possibly afford guidance in present difficulties. There are several famous passages * in *Siris* to the effect that knowledge of a thing depends upon understanding, not upon sense. 'The mind may use sense and fancy as means whereby to arrive at knowledge, yet sense or soul, so far forth as sensitive, knoweth nothing.' Thirty-four years before these brave words were written, however, Berkeley had placed on record, in his works on Vision, the first thoughts by which he was at last led so far afield from his earliest principles. Indeed, it might be argued with much fairness that two years prior even to this time he had arrived, in *Alciphron*,† at a conception of the universal element from which his youthful nominalism could derive correction. In answer to the question, Why is immediate perception interpretable mediately, he pointed out that the significance attendant upon sight, in regions beyond sight, depends on the unnoted circumstance that man's spiritual nature informs him of an actively maintained and rational correspondence between the seen and the tangible. Resistance, extension, and the like, cannot be seen, yet by sight they appeal to us. How so? Because we believe that every perception implies more than it perceptively intimates. The smallest visible object carries with it an intimation of divine order in the universe. Here we are slowly approaching Berkeley's realism, and this is his first constructive,

* *Selections*, pp. 350-1, 375.

† *Cf. Life and Letters of Berkeley*, pp. 195, sq. (Fraser's edition).

as distinguished from his negative, work. At this stage, as before, little attempt is made to rationalise the implied presupposition. The curious doctrine of the arbitrariness of the connection between suggestion and the suggested is still favoured, probably as a protest against prevalent necessarianism. The reasons for the fact that perception is practically interpretation, are accordingly not thought out, nor is any adequate explanation of the divine plan provided. But the Platonising tendency here observable—though not so clearly in one aspect as in *Alciphron*—finds its consummation and reaches its most definite development in *Siris*.

The inner bonds which weld the perceived universe into a rational whole are now made subjects of reflection. By implication Berkeley points out that the things of sense, so prominent in the *Principles of Human Knowledge*, are but the veil behind which ultimate realities lie. In them these realities are revealed to man. Some portions of *Siris*, as Professor Fraser constantly insists, are of great significance in connection with problems now under discussion. For example, in Sections 308-9,* which conclude with the words 'mind, knowledge, and actions, either in habit or in act, always go together,' Berkeley contemplates, perhaps not with any full consciousness, that union of nominalism with realism which, amid modern perplexities, many are seeking. If his earliest work be full of significance, because in it he explodes the absurdities of abstract ideas, and in so doing practises that faithfulness to experience which is the pre-condition of all satisfactory philosophy, he here departs from his first emphasizing of individualised perception, and seems to assert that all men share with Deity in a common reason—a circumstance that accounts at once for the unity of knowledge, for the rationality or interpretability of the universe, and for the earnest faith in which, after it has pushed reason to the uttermost verge, philosophy cannot but culminate.† This, Berkeley's final universalistic idealism, no matter how little systematised it may be, points to a synthesis in which the inter-relation of thought and

* *Selections*, pp. 307-8.

† Cf. Berkeley, A. C. Fraser, pp. 229, *sq.*

being may be set forth without prejudice to the positive existence of either element. Such a theory would not appear simply as an initial assumption, at once startling and unsatisfactory, but would come as the natural inference from a faithful study of the concrete. In short, the present value of Berkeley's philosophy, taken as a whole, is that it supplies a practical exposure of the fallacy, minted for contemporary currency by Pessimism, that things and principles are identical, have no individual persistence of their own, because they happen to be related to one another.

But, if Berkeley thus laid hold upon personality and its ultimacy with wonderful acuteness,* he did not formulate his conception of the connection between human spirits and the Divine Being. Although he vigorously pressed the truth, 'no object without a subject,' he did not elucidate the question regarding the place of rational principles in the constitution of knowledge. Although he set aside abstract matter, and substituted for it a cosmos governed by reason, he had but little to tell regarding the manner and method of this government. In other words, he did not attempt an explanation of the constitutive principles present alike in thought and things. He rather made it his business to emphasize the indispensableness of thought, and to set forth the implicit rationality of the world,—to confute the materialists, to repel scepticism, and to set at nought believers in chance. The instruction which may to-day be derived from the inner tendencies of Berkeley's speculation was missed by his contemporaries and successors. Hume, in historical fact, came to be his universally acknowledged, if illegitimate, descendant. From consideration of the *Principles of Human Knowledge* alone proceeded scepticism; *Siris* is the foundation of a relative, because theistic, idealism. The latter must be regarded as more important than the former. For, while Hume attempted to take away from Berkeley even that which he at first had, others have tried more recently to theorise absolutely problems which he merely suggested. Yet, notwithstanding its supreme moment in certain directions, this last movement has been in some ways as partial as

* Cf. *Selections*, pp. 140-1, 256.

its sceptical predecessor. The pessimistic accompaniments of current philosophy force this conclusion irresistibly upon us.

Berkeley's philosophical development furnishes another confirmation of the truism, that psychological study of individual experience, like other forms of scientific research, implies certain metaphysical presuppositions. By the elucidation of these, the import, if not the scope, of knowledge may be largely altered. To this discussion modern speculation, in the direct line from Kant, has been devoted with some exclusiveness. For Berkeley's elevation of the conscious subject to what may be aptly called a position of independence, like his explanation of experience by reference to indwelling Deity, was the result rather of a bare statement than of an articulated scheme. The scheme, the whole scheme, and nothing but the scheme, has since been the main quest of systematic thinkers. Where Berkeley had left an unbridged gap—a dualism between finite minds and the Infinite Mind—Kant attempted to construct a unity from the side of the finite, and furnished only with its scant resources. He had at first a dim perception, more clearly expressed no doubt in the second edition of the *Kritik*, and brought at last to full consciousness in Fichte and Hegel, that the mechanical category of action and re-action, employed by Berkeley to describe the connection between the Divine Mind and finite intelligences, must be transcended. The implications of such a relationship had, in short, to be unravelled by a fresh analysis of mental action, and, in particular, by a reconsideration of the part played by mind in the constitution of ordinary experience. The realistic tendency, implicit in the Critical philosophy and explicit in Hegelianism, was afterwards pushed to extremes by Schopenhauer, in whose view the world *must* be theorised by reference to a single principle which, while itself remaining one, subsumes all differences. A redaction of experience is undertaken in the interests of the principle. The world is declared to be 'my representation;' to say that an object exists 'on its own account' apart from any thought is an absurdity. Reality is completely conditioned by, if not identified with, this relation. Objects, in other words, have been deprived of their self-containedness and substantiality, and have been transformed into products of a certain relation. Or, to put it otherwise, an

abstract principle has been saddled with the responsibility for the existence of realities. But to become possessed of the secret involved in the ultimate nature of this principle is, at the same time, to be placed in a position to dictate terms to the external world. 'The world is my representation,' yet not mine only; for, 'one who believes that he alone exists is not to be found out of bedlam.' Accordingly, while the law of causality is merely a mental necessity indispensable to our *representation* of a concatenated world to ourselves, it at once leads beyond the representation to *real* forces, or to some single force, which controls the universe. Leagued with this power the philosopher, if he be so minded, can easily 'remove mountains and set them in the midst of the sea.' Schopenhauer's system, and all its kind, however, have a certain positive value. They serve to illustrate the grave defect of a method that exalts synthesis at the expense of analysis. In view of the vast extension of the field of knowledge in recent times, it is more than ever necessary to insist upon the analytic side of philosophic discipline. New materials are continually being found in the sphere of concrete fact by the special sciences and by the distinctively analytic departments of philosophy. To appreciate, much more to appraise, these, a nominalistic attitude must be adopted. On the other hand, all these facts imply specific first principles. These are brought into prominence when the thinker applies synthetic processes to the facts in an attempt to spell out rational order. This, in turn, is the realistic element. Neither avails without the other. In English thought the former has predominated, in Kant and modern speculation the latter, while in Berkeley, as we have tried to show, both are present in a species of *implicit* unity. His interest for us at the present juncture is that he tries to rationalise the facts on their own terms.

Proceeding to gather up the strands of this limited discussion, it may be said that not a little can be learned, for present use, from the historical development, after Berkeley, through Kant to Schopenhauer. A few points may be instanced at a venture. As opposed to later tendencies, Berkeley's first philosophical efforts brace the individual to regard himself as possessed of an

imperishable personality all his own.* He is not to be reduced to a mechanism for the fixing of sensations, nor to a series of relations emanating from an absolute process, nor to a simple incident in the insatiable striving of a blind will. Egoity † is neither a phenomenon nor an idea. Individuality is not an accident nor an illusion, but the condition of every act of knowledge. It is more than a mere accompaniment of objective consciousness, and therefore is capable of being known definitely, not, as Kant sometimes leads us to suppose, only with a certain vagueness. Berkeley will not have personality exploited either by association or by an interpenetrative principle void of individuality. His doctrine of causality, accordingly, to take an example, is exactly the reverse of Schopenhauer's. Causality is not of phenomena only, but is a *real* result of noumenal action. No object of sense is capable of rising to the dignity of a cause; it must, by its own nature, ever be an effect. 'The material world contains substances and causes only in a figurative way.‡ If Berkeley does not work out his theory fully, if he assumes too much, and attaches undue importance to the revelation contained in this assumption, he is, at the same time, proceeding in the right direction. Causality is not a bare category immanent in the mind, nor is it a simple form. It is closely connected with ultimate reality as such. The fundamental mistake respecting Berkeley, which so many later thinkers have made—not excepting his learned German editor—consists in a misapprehension of his conception of cause, and of its bearing upon his theory of matter.

He is not a representationist, like Schopenhauer, as some few would have us suppose. He does not declare that we can possess a knowledge only of states of our own consciousness. But he points out, that in virtue of the operation of noumena *quod* cause or causes, our ideas of a cosmos, with their causal references, become possible. Ueberweg's question about the Herculean MSS.§ is not germane to the discussion. For 'things' are not dependent upon our imperfect conceptions, but *are*, and are themselves interdependent parts of our world, because they ever

* Cf. *Selections*, pp. 38-9.

† Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-41.

‡ *Selections*, pp. 59-60, note 2.

§ *Selections*, p. 76, note 3.

bear a meaning for our perception, which is itself derived from some noumenal personality. This last is the realistic element in Berkeley. Certainly, in his pronounced early nominalism, of which he never shook himself entirely free, he renders the noumenal conclusion difficult of demonstration.* His frequent polemic against 'abstract' as distinct from 'perceived' ideas, limits him in a certain manner. But this only renders more impressive the lesson to be learned from him. What he hinted at—an organic relation between the nominalistic and the realistic elements—is now a chief, if not the chief, *desideratum* of philosophy. His very deficiencies on the realistic side show us this. The ethical defect of Berkeleyanism, which does not furnish adequate ground for the supremacy of God in moral judgment; its inability to say plainly how 'things exist in the eternal mind'; and, above all, perhaps, its imperfect presentation of the rational order of knowledge—these leave half-formulated, and almost wholly unanswered, just those problems to which speculation has been addressing itself since Kant. But, while he only points the way here, Berkeley has elsewhere given guidance which has not been laid to heart. His nominalistic tendencies, combined with what may be called his realistic aspirations, contain, not merely a problem, but also hints of a method. The task of philosophy pre-eminently is, while remaining faithful to the facts (sensations), to account for, explain, in short, to rationalise the laws in obedience to which these sensations become the ordered universe of thoughts and things. It is hardly sufficient to declare either that mind arrives at a 'full chaos' provided with certain forms, and by their aid cuts off a part from chaos for behoof of cosmos, or that a blind principle fashions by its blundering the universe of our knowledge. It cannot be admitted that facts are flung out by a machinery of principles. The world must be allowed to speak for itself, as, according to Berkeley's method, it always is. At the same time, and on the other side, his acceptance of the Leibnitian formula has to be remembered. He lays stress on the *nisi intellectus ipse*; 'in which

* Cf. e.g., *Essay towards a New Theory of Vision*, Sects. 122-3; *Selections*, pp. 221-2.

the universals of reason are recognised as constituents of knowledge, and of which modern German philosophy is a development.' The *tabula rasa** of Aristotle is not inconsistent with the *potential* existence of his forms.

Further, there is a sense, in which it may be learned from Berkeley, that a 'presuppositionless' philosophy is out of the question. The thinker believes, to use Lotze's phrase, in 'the existence in the world at large of a "truth," which affords a sure object for cognition,' and no amount of subtle jugglery with words will ever take him behind this belief. Man, by the very fact that he philosophises, approves his own reason. And one part of philosophical method consists in a painstaking and patient analysis of the concrete things which go to constitute the 'truth' immediately apprehended by reason. Philosophy, if it is to have its feet upon the solid earth, cannot but attempt to reaffirm the convictions of the 'ordinary consciousness' by experimental treatment of the external order. This is indispensable to the end that the postulate of the general 'rightness' of reason may be proved to have foundation in *reality*. By analysis, philosophy is bound to give an exhaustive account of that 'common sense,' which is 'common,' because possessed by all men, and which is 'sense,' because accepted by all as conclusive evidence. It has to 'dissect out,' as it were, the factual truths, and the relations to universal law, which lie imbedded in the experience of 'the man in the street.' And here the second presupposition of metaphysical procedure emerges. To the being of a metaphysical scheme, conviction of the substantial unity of the universe is necessary. The principle that the thinker seeks to find by a synthesis, which he superimposes upon his analysis, is not a mere thing in the air. It is a principle of rationality in the ultimate reality of which he believes. Otherwise he would not set forth on his quest. No system has ever fully presented the nature of this principle. But this does not alter the circumstance that no system would ever have been brought to birth were the existence of ultimate reality not constituted the presupposition. It is not within the bounds of possibility to start from 'pure thought.'

* *Selections*, p. 377.

The world and the things thereof form the path along which the thinker must travel to the verification, partial and largely tentative, of that conviction of unity in the universe with which he inevitably sets out. It will not suffice to substitute belief in unity for the actual fact. But the ideal of faith, as informed by an intuition characteristic of the very being of reason, has to be gradually built into experienced reality by a synthetic grasping of concrete elements, over which mastery has been gained in the process of analytical treatment, that is, on their own terms. The *right* which the philosopher can thus claim has little in common with the dogmatic imposition of a cast-iron system. He can only ask time for analysis, and demand absolute freedom to investigate all matters for himself. This is what remains to us of the Kantian theory. Schopenhauer has proved to demonstration that there has been too much playing at making worlds. Because man is a 'divided being,' his reflection cannot but be rational as well as empirical, yet empirical as well as speculative. Philosophy may be, and may always have been, a 'science of concepts.' But concepts are generalisations from intuitions of concrete reality. In this is summed, so to speak, the double method essential to progress. Berkeley's main want, probably, was method; but even thus he hinted at it in many ways. More recent thought, particularly in certain schools, has been cursed with too much method. There is now need that industry should be set in place of ingenuity. The sciences to-day solicit, and the historical course of philosophy enforces, a kind of reflection which will satisfactorily approach towards an acceptable synthesis of the truths ascertained both in the realistic sphere of the outer world, and in the ideal realms of the moral and religious consciousness.

Monism, in one form or another, is, doubtless, the goal of modern thought. But it has already been tried, and its results have proved sufficiently disastrous. Why, then, do we tend to adopt it? It is to be borne in mind, with Berkeley, that, whatever our theories or methods, the problem of philosophy is the Absolute. To see all things in relation to God and as connected with God's moral government of the universe is the ideal. There is a large measure of faith in philosophising. For, although

many questions defy our best efforts and although the attempted rebuilding of the universe to our own souls is always inadequate, the very fact that the problems exist, and the very truth that there is a universe—not a chaos—irresistibly brings home certain convictions. Taking life at its highest worth for me as a person, accepting the ‘music of the spheres’ as musical for me, I must invariably, if in the widest sense, declare, *Credo ut intelligam*. This faith indeed it is which causes the mutual recriminations too common among thinkers. The truth is that, as it becomes wider, so the world of persons and things discloses deeper meaning; and as this meaning is, by care and faithfulness, more fully fathomed, so conviction receives ampler justification. So intimately is this faith of reason bound up with speculation, that it may be dogmatically said, if a man be uncertain about God he cannot be sure about anything. Psychology itself, which forms the necessary prelude to philosophical investigation, bears witness to this. For it implies, not simply self-reflection and experiment upon the bodily organism, but also appreciation of the past, belief in what mental activity has already accomplished. It presupposes, that is, an order ruled by mind, which is not of individual creation, nay, in such an order is the pledge of its existence no less than the voucher for its value. The problem of thought cannot be attacked to-day from the standpoint of a person or even of an epoch. By self-scrutiny, corrected by the study of other selves, both past and present, the thinker must ever endeavour to universalise his conclusions. In proportion as they are thus universalised, as they are the possible results of mental faculty or of moral nature, they will satisfy the faith which demands, if not a philosophy ‘in one piece,’ then a philosophy which perceives fragments of distinctively mental and moral creation shaping themselves to ends alike in kind though different in degree.

The most remarkable characteristic of Professor Fraser’s works is the skill with which doctrines avowedly peculiar to British thought are thus universalised, and thus brought into close contact with the questions raised by the most recent speculation. In this respect his books are not only in the highest degree instructive, they also afford strong stimulus to fresh thought. They prove to demonstration that the tendencies of our national philosophy

have not been suppressed despite evolution and transcendentalism. There is no break in the continuity from Locke downwards, but the elements incident to past systems are taken up and used to form an integral portion of a higher and more flexible philosophy. The extremes favoured by some are carefully avoided; the *via media* between the halting prosaicness of Locke and the vaulting ambition of absolutism is chosen. Nor is this choice dictated by any desire to achieve a cheap popularity by the quasi-invention of startling theories. A firm grasp is maintained upon the historical progress of thought, especially in Berkeley, Hume, and Reid, with the result that there are plentiful indications of what may be termed a new departure in Scottish philosophy—a departure controlled by the best traditions of the past, and yet alive to the problems at present in course of discussion. For, the emphasis which Professor Fraser has so justly laid upon Berkeley's later thought is not a simple accident of taste that one may note and then pass on. The finger of criticism has, in fact, been laid, by implication, upon the weakness of all British metaphysic in the past. Excessive anxiety to be practical, and to keep well within the presumed limits of human faculty, circumscribed Locke's outlook; and, for a time at least, analogous considerations hampered Berkeley, as they were afterwards to mislead Hume and, in a measure, Reid. But far more than the others, Berkeley freed himself from these trammels. 'When we compare *Siris* with the *Principles of Human Knowledge*, we find important differences between Berkeley's philosophy when he was sixty and when he was twenty-five. The universals of reason here overshadow the perishable phenomena of Sense and the Suggestions of sensuous Imagination. Sensible things are looked at as adumbrations of a reality above and beyond Nature, which reflective philosophy helps us to recognise. The objects of sense-perception are here called *phenomena*, instead of "sense-ideas" or "sensations"; while Ideas (not in Locke's vague meaning, and in Berkeley's early meaning of the term *idea*, but in Plato's) are recognised as the proper objects of thought, involved in the ultimate explanation of things. . . . The antithesis of self and the phenomena present in Sense is prominent in Berkeley's *Principles of Human*

Knowledge; the ultimate unity of the Universe in Reason is prominent in *Siris*, which enforces the harmony of physical causation and science with the constant agency of supernatural Reason and Will. Natural causation is thus the physical aspect of the supreme moral or spiritual Agent who is manifested in the natural world,—immanent in yet transcending all so-called physical causes.* Professor Fraser, moved by this intuitive

* *Selections*, pp. 335-7.

idealism of Berkeley's, has so contrived as to bring us continually into contact with those ultimate speculative problems which it has been contemporary fashion to regard as the private property of a single school. But throughout this work, his cautious and critical spirit has prevented him from being led captive by any of the shibboleths in which current thought deals so extensively. In one who respects Berkeley's profound piety, agnosticism can find no response, while, on the other side, appreciation of Locke's wholesome estimate of the insignificance of human faculty shows the egotistical pantheism of some German thinkers in all its naked absurdity.

By focussing these influences of British thought, and by causing one to correct the other, Professor Fraser has indicated at once the necessity for a fresh standpoint, and some of the conditions under which successful speculation may be undertaken therefrom. Any one who inwardly marks the works before us will find that they afford ample aid in the rebuilding of the world to his own soul. No inflexible system is thrust upon the student, but at every turn he is invited to consider certain problems, and from many quarters new lights are cast upon these questions. It needs no insistence to show that the spirit of the true teacher is here. The method employed is such as to cause all who can think to become thoughtful. And to have raised a seed of thinkers ready to grapple with the momentous issues which the present generation cannot avoid, is, for the teacher, an infinitely greater triumph than to have constructed a laborious system for daws to peck at.

We know that we only re-echo the wish of many—some now distinguished, and others as yet unknown to fame—who have come under Professor Fraser's influence, when we say that it will be a

further service still to the regeneration of our national philosophy should his well-earned leisure enable him to produce an edition of Locke's *Essay*, or better, of his entire works, equipped by the same loving care to take rank with his own classical volumes of the 'pious, ingenious, and meditative Berkeley.'

R. M. WENLEY.

ART. VIII.—ORGANIZATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND.

THE question of the organization of secondary instruction in Scotland has reached a crisis, and it would be difficult to exaggerate the confusion that prevails. The groping County Councillor may be taken as typical of the nation as a whole.

The passing of the Elementary School Education Act in 1872, set the mind of the country free to consider the subject of secondary or higher schools in Scotland. It was not, however, thought advisable to take any step in the direction of further provision for secondary instruction until the Act of 1872 had completed its work, and until the Endowed Schools (Colebrooke) Commission, appointed in the same year, had finished its task. The Report of that Commission showed that there was a necessity for the readjustment of the educational foundations of Scotland and this, (in so far as the original trust-deeds made it possible,) in the interests of secondary instruction, inasmuch as the defects in the department of elementary education had been fully met by the Act of 1872. The Colebrooke Commission reported in 1876, and laid before Parliament a great mass of information regarding the endowments of Scotland and the state of secondary education generally—concluding with recommendations as to the necessary reforms. Immediately after the conclusion of the labours of that Commission, an 'Association for the promotion of Secondary Education in Scotland' was formed. This association, by its

conferences, printed reports and circulars, evoked a considerable amount of attention among politicians and others, prepared the way for Lord Watson's Act of 1878, and was the chief instrument in securing the appointment of two successive Commissions to deal with endowments—the first under Lord Moncrieff in 1878, which sent in its final report in 1880, the second under Lord Balfour of Burleigh in 1882, which completed its labours in 1889. In their concluding Report the Commissioners quote the recommendations of the Colebrooke Commission, and justly take credit to themselves for having given effect to them: and this they did, it may be said, with the general approval of the country.

These three Commissions gave an impulse to secondary instruction, and led to the organization or development of secondary schools or departments of schools in every important district of Scotland. The only great foundation which effected reforms of a large kind outside the action of the Commissions was that of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, which obtained an Act of its own as early as 1869, and set an example of progressiveness which was imitated elsewhere.

In 1879 the Association for promoting Secondary Education had come to the conclusion that their wisest course was to suspend all activity until it was seen to what extent the reform of Endowments met the needs of the country, and to what extent School Boards in towns were disposed to give effect to Lord Watson's Act of 1878. For, by Section 18 of that Act, School Boards were empowered not only to maintain existing High School buildings out of the School Fund, but to meet 'such other expenses for the promotion of efficient education as are not provided for by the revenues stated in Section 62 of the principal Act' (1872), provided the sanction of the Education Department was obtained. This clause, we are aware, has been interpreted (we think mistakenly) to refer solely to buildings, repairs, etc., but we should be much surprised to learn that the Court of Session would, in face both of the intention and phraseology, have interfered with any Board desirous to act on it in its larger meaning.

Notwithstanding the discreditable indisposition of School

Boards to take full advantage of these new powers, the section of the Act which we have quoted has not been wholly in-operative, while, as the result of the reform of endowments to the general impulse which the reform gave, we find secondary education available for the middle, and especially the lower-middle, classes of the country who are resident in large centres of population, to an extent previously unknown in the history of Scotland. At no period, indeed, was the secondary instruction of Scotland at once so wide-spread and at so high a level as at the present moment. Indeed, it may be said that it was this larger diffusion of secondary education which led to the movement for University reform begun in 1885, and crowned with success by the appointment of the Universities' Commission in 1889, presided over by Lord Kinnear. It was felt that the secondary education movement was obstructed by the absence of a standard of admission to the universities.

Meanwhile, the institution of a Schools' Leaving Examination by the Education Department (which thus gave its seal of approval to the University Local Examinations, and proceeded very much on the lines already laid down by the universities) fixed a standard of secondary school attainment, and has done much during the last three years to stimulate secondary schools and also to direct their activity.

The action of the same Department, however, in almost destroying the higher education in rural schools in the very teeth of the Act, (while the representatives of Scotland looked on indifferent) by means of what was known as the Revised Code, did a great deal more harm than the Leaving Examination has yet done good. The Code is now altered, and a new epoch of primary instruction has been inaugurated, of which we may have the highest expectations. The recent freeing of education in Scotland up to the age of fourteen will of itself do much to restore instruction in rural schools up to that age—instruction which will necessarily be of a secondary character, though it may not always be of a kind to prepare for the universities—a matter, however, of minor importance. It is clear that to give a boy in a country

parish a right to free education up to fourteen, and then *not to provide it*, is a state of things which cannot last long. We would direct special attention to this because it has, in Scotland, a very direct bearing on the general organization of secondary instruction, of which we shall shortly speak.

A movement begun by Sir Lyon Playfair in 1851 for the technical instruction of skilled artisans has grown in volume, and this movement has doubtless been largely aided by the sowing broadcast over the country of science and art capitation grants for a knowledge of subjects not previously assigned a place in the curriculum of secondary schools. This technical instruction movement has led to the institution of many technical schools and colleges, and it reached the dignity of formal Parliamentary recognition in an English Technical Instruction Act in 1889, supplemented by an Amending Act in 1891, and in the Technical Schools (Scotland) Act 1887—Acts, however, which have been, at least in Scotland, substantially a dead letter. By the Scotch Act, School Boards were empowered separately or in combination to establish technical schools to which only those who had satisfied the compulsory clauses of the Education Code in respect of elementary education should be admitted. The new schools, or departments of existing schools, contemplated by the Scottish Act, were to be under the control of the Education Department in the same manner as ordinary Board Schools, and to be managed by Boards as they manage higher class schools under the Act of 1878; but, in so far as they might claim grants from the Science and Art Department, they were to be subject to its regulations—an unhappy illustration of dual control. A difficulty early arose as to the definition of a ‘technical’ school arising partly from the fact that instruction having special reference to commerce seemed to have as strong a claim to State recognition as subjects bearing on production. The difficulty was overcome or evaded by a clause of the Act which defined ‘technical’ instruction to be instruction in subjects ‘approved of by the Scotch Education Department’ in addition to those branches of science and art for which the Science and Art Department made grants.

Now, in addition to Drawing in all its forms, the Science subjects are :—Practical Plane and Solid Geometry, Machine Construction and Drawing, Building Construction, Naval Architecture, Mathematics, Theoretical Mechanics, Applied Mechanics, Sound, Light, and Heat,* Magnetism and Electricity,* Inorganic Chemistry [Theoretical], Inorganic Chemistry [Practical], Organic Chemistry [Theoretical], Organic Chemistry [Practical], Geology,* Mineralogy, Animal Physiology,* Botany,* Biology, including Animal and Vegetable Morphology and Physiology,* Principles of Mining, Metallurgy [Theoretical], Metallurgy [Practical], Navigation, Nautical Astronomy,* Steam, Physiography, Principles of Agriculture, Hygiene.

Add to this list Cookery, Manual Instruction, the Technological subjects of the City and Guilds of London Institute, and the Commercial Subjects, which may be held to include English, Modern Tongues, Geography, History and Economics, and it is at once evident that there is no subject belonging to secondary instruction omitted save Latin and Greek. The Education Department has to give its approval and that is all. By the English Act (section 8) these commercial subjects are formally all included: and the Scotch Department will doubtless follow the English precedent. An amending Act will probably be needed. This wide range of (so called) technical instruction has a very direct bearing on what follows.

In 1889 the proceeds of the Probate Duty were assigned by Parliament to the County Councils in Scotland, and it was resolved to apply this sum to the freeing of elementary education. (It was called 'assisting' but this is a trivial point.) When the time came for conferring the same (supposed) boon on England, Scotland had an equitable claim to a sum equal to that which it had already allocated to the freeing of elementary schools, and accordingly a sum estimated at about £260,000 was assigned. The question arose, and is still unde-

* Each subject is divided into three Stages or courses—the Elementary, the Advanced, and Honours—except Mathematics, which is subdivided into seven stages, with 'Honours' in three groups of stages.

cided, how this money is to be applied ; but it is generally understood that a large portion (we hope it is not a devout imagination to expect about £100,000) will be set apart for secondary and university education combined.

But this is not all: in 1890 the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act was passed, which gave to Scotland a sum of £40,000 for the completion of free education, and also gave power to County Councils to assign any residue under the Act to technical instruction within the meaning of the Act of 1887. The residue has been paid and puts a considerable sum in the hands of the Councils; in the County of the City of Edinburgh, *e.g.*, £4,200, and in the County of Midlothian over £2,000, and for Scotland as a whole about £40,000. The powers given, however, are open to various interpretations. In England we find County Councils giving grants to old Grammar Schools to help a 'modern side,' and to the University of Cambridge for Agricultural Readerships. It is evident that some regulation of the action of County Councils is wanted both north and south of the Tweed.

Observe now the position in which we find ourselves as regards secondary education generally:—

1. We have free education up to the age of 14, involving a certain amount of secondary instruction in elementary schools under School Boards, but not provided.

2. We have the Act of 1878 giving power to School Boards to impose rates for existing High Schools, but not operative.

3. We have, in consequence of the Endowed Schools Commission, a large number of bursaries for secondary education which demand revision in the event of the further organization of secondary schools, because the freeing of primary education to the age of 14 has made them to a great extent unnecessary.

4. We have a Technical Schools Act, empowering Boards to erect and maintain secondary schools which *may* include every subject except Latin and Greek ; *but practically a dead letter.*

5. We have State Leaving-Examinations for secondary schools ; but these as yet are of an unsatisfactory, and confessedly tentative, character.

6. We have a residue in the hands of County Councils under the Local Taxation Act, capable of accomplishing all that is *locally* needed for secondary education in Scotland (if supplemented by a grant from a central authority), *which County Councils do not know how to utilize.*

7. We have the large sum to be set apart for secondary education (not restricted to technical) next year, more than enough to accomplish all that is needed, with the help of County co-operation.

8. We have the training of secondary schoolmasters (including technical instruction masters,) still awaiting legislation, but ripe for it, a Select Committee of Parliament having already reported in terms generally favourable. And hovering round all, and of dubious benefit and sporadic incidence, we have the Capitation Grants of the Science and Art Department.

Taking all these facts into joint consideration, can it be said that the expression used in the beginning of this paper is too strong, *viz.*, that it would be impossible to exaggerate the present confusion? A great opportunity of putting the secondary education of Scotland on a permanent basis will be lost if we commit ourselves to unwise or premature activity. The whole question is ripe, and, with money at last available, has now to be carefully re-considered. What should be done?

First of all, we think this: the County Councils, in so far as as they use the 'Local Taxation Residue' now in their hands, should not commit themselves to continue grants beyond the current year, however plausible the scheme may be which is laid before them. Grants for agricultural teaching and cooking are all very well in their way, and through these subjects, especially the former, if scientifically taught by a *scientific* man, much education may be given. But the fitting of men for the general work of the world—an education in the art of living, which transcends immeasurably in its effects on a nation's practical efficiency any possible fragmentary instruction in the arts of gaining a living—has to be first of all considered. Every instrument in the advanced education of the pupils who have left Board Schools has to be assigned its fit place. In short, technical education ought to be organized as part of the

secondary education of the country, and not as a substitute for it. We must not allow ourselves to be led astray by the technical instruction boom: with a nation as with an individual, it is moral energy and intellectual vigour which make it and bring all arts in their train. The Shorter Catechism has done more to make Scotland efficient in the world's work than mathematics and chemistry can ever do. These are truisms; but we must not be too proud to utter them, for half the argumentative battle of life is the continual re-affirming of that which has been already affirmed.

As to technical education itself, nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the loose talk we still get from platforms on this subject. The sum of the knowledge of those who know what they are talking about may be thus briefly put: In education up to the age of 13 there can be no technical instruction; and if it were possible it would be undesirable. But a little manual instruction, drawing and object-lessons are all possible, and they are also in themselves desirable, as elements in the general education of the young mind. Even after the age of 13 up to 16 or 17 the elements of science and draughtsmanship can be taught with fair success, though they are a poor substitute at that age for linguistic and literary training. After 16 or 17, boys already engaged in their apprenticeship may advantageously receive technical instruction in the strict sense in evening classes. These should be free to all. Further, a fit technical course, in any adequate sense, can be got only in institutions or departments of institutions specially organized for the purpose at industrial centres, and adapted to these centres. In agricultural principles very much, we grant, may be done parochially, if the teacher be competent. This is due to the fact that every rustic student already *knows* the thing which he desires to have explained. A well-devised introduction to the science of agriculture is in rural parishes a big object-lesson—the parish being the object—and may be an initiation to a wide range of physical and natural science. Teacher and pupil are both planted in the midst of their laboratory.

Secondly.—An Executive Commission, we believe, should be appointed to take the whole situation into consideration. A Committee of each County Council, assisted by representatives of chairmen of School Boards within the County, and two members elected respectively by the Educational Institute and the Universities might then be appointed to co-operate with the Commission. Combined, they would enquire into the wants of each county in respect of secondary instruction (including technical), and formulate a scheme *for each county*, according to its wants, and even its wishes.

Thirdly.—When the Executive Commission had done its work, the above representative Committee in each county should manage its own secondary education, subject to such general regulations as the Commission might have laid down without interfering with existing Proprietary and Endowed Schools. (In *burgh* counties, representatives of the School Board and the County Council would act as a committee). The permanent education fund of these County bodies would be, in addition to present endowments, the Customs' residue and a contribution paid out of the windfall of the 'Equivalent Grant.' This should be paid in a slump sum to the Council Committee or Board, and not to individual schools and teachers.

Fourthly.—The Education Department (failing a permanent Scottish Executive with a representative Education Council in Scotland) would of course be empowered to see that the general regulations of the Executive Commission were carried out, without interfering with the actual education given, except, perhaps, by means of a re-organized Leaving Examination.

Fifthly.—The County Managing Body should be required to report annually to the Department, and have its accounts audited.

These suggestions are based on the conviction that there is sufficient intelligence and public spirit in the counties to manage their own educational affairs. Those who believe only in centralized officialism will be disturbed at the amount of independence which we propose to give to the Councils. Why this alarm? In the interests of the country or of officialism?

Is Scotland incompetent to administer its own Parliamentary Acts? I am not now proposing to decentralize by transferring the Education Department to Scotland, although that must come in due time. All I ask is that each county shall be allowed to administer its own secondary education under a mild general supervision exercised by a central authority, situated if possible in Scotland.

Is it not degrading to have to advocate the right of Scotland to the management of its own education within its own borders? Imagine English education managed from Edinburgh as its centre! Let us turn our eyes for a moment to Ireland and Wales. Ireland has a Secondary Education Act (1878). A body of Commissioners and assistant Commissioners in Dublin conduct a scheme of examinations suited to the possible acquirements of boys and girls under eighteen, and prizes, exhibitions, and what are called result-fees, are paid to the schools in which they have been taught. Theoretically this is a system which must fail to promote sound education, but it was, we suppose, forced on the Government by the divisions of opinions in Ireland; it seemed the only way out of a difficult situation. The work is carried on with a revenue derived from about a million of money paid to the Commission out of the Irish Church surplus. Whatever may be said of the system, this at least is certain, it is administered by Irishmen for Ireland within Ireland.

Wales, too, has got its Secondary School Act, and I would point to it as establishing a precedent for both England and Scotland. This Act was passed in 1889. By it a County Council appoints *three* representatives, and the Lord President of the Privy Council *two*, who constitute what is called a 'Joint Education Committee' for the county. A scheme for each county must be drawn up by this Committee, taking into account all existing means of secondary education and all endowments within the county. This scheme has to be submitted to the Charity Commissioners, and with such amendments as they may suggest, the scheme then is treated as a Scheme under the Endowed Schools Act, 1889—power of appeal to the Queen in Council, and to present a

petition that the scheme be laid before Parliament, being reserved to the County Council and the Joint Education Committee. The County Council is empowered to impose a rate for secondary education, not exceeding a $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the £, and the Treasury pays a sum, annually, not exceeding the sum raised by the County assessment. This is (passing by details) a general outline of the Intermediate Act for Wales. The Joint Committee authorized by the Act is temporary in its character, but at conferences held last year it was resolved to have a permanent Educational Council for each County, and the question of a central Welsh administration was also discussed. This educational renaissance among the Welsh shows what can be done if we throw responsibilities on localities, and lend help from an authoritative body, like the Charity Commissioners, without undue interference. Here, again, we see that Wales is allowed to regulate its own secondary education, subject to the mild control of the Treasury after the Charity Commissioners have done their work of supervision, and not in any way tied by a Code to the English Education Department.

Now, in Scotland, we do not want Treasury grants and the consequent Treasury regulations, if we get the money allocated as an equivalent for the English free education vote. We may or may not require a county rate, but the Councils should be empowered to impose one if necessary. We say we may not require a county rate, because the County Councils have in their hands the customs residue, of which I have already spoken, and this would probably suffice instead of a rate.

We do not urge that each County Council in Scotland should be entirely free from control. After an Executive Commission had settled the scheme for each county, some authority is required to see that the scheme and regulations approved by the Commission are given effect to. And this authority would naturally be, as I have already indicated, the Education Department at Dover House, until that is removed to Scotland. But the Department should not be entitled to interfere further than to see that the initiatory regulations are carried out; and the County Education Board, we hope, would be sufficiently

strong to resist any attempt to place the schools under a Code, which means placing every detail of the school work in the hands of permanent officials in London. Surely Scotland is as capable of managing its educational affairs as Ireland or Wales.

Such proposals as these will of course be hateful to those who are enamoured of bureaucratic centralization. There are periods, all will admit, in the history of every people when centralization is necessary to the progress, and even the existence, of the nation. But as the education of the country progresses, we can promote the growth of a strong free people only by engaging them in local self-government. Citizens so trained can be relied on, when a national stress comes, to support the central authority with the vigour and whole-heartedness which a chronic sense of independence and of local responsibility can alone nourish. Is it not a fact worth noting that the only part of the British Empire whose educational administration lies outside its own borders is Scotland? Jamaica and Ceylon can be trusted; but not Scotland.

There must always, we freely grant, be a certain amount of centralized administration. But it is certainly not desirable that centralization should in any department of the national life be pushed further than may be absolutely necessary. In the opinion of many statesmen it is already overdone, and the current of political action ought rather now to run in the opposite direction. It is a sound position that whatever can be administered locally with effect should be administered locally, if we are to preserve the spontaneity, independence, and vigour of the citizens, and extend their interests beyond the narrow area of the shop and the household. If decentralization be desirable in the administration of merely material concerns, such as the poor law and sanitation, how much more in matters that affect the thought and moral life of a community! In truth, thought and moral life truly exist only in so far as they are local, individual, free and spontaneous. Adaptation of a man's opinions and acts to the thought of others and obedience to the precepts of his masters, are doubtless acts of intelligence, and suit perhaps the majority of mankind; but the genuine life and

progress of a great community are possible only through the individuality and free mental activity of the citizens. It is dangerous, moreover, to popular liberty to allow the education of a country to fall into the hands of a central bureau. It gives the workers of the state machinery too much power. With one stroke of the pen they can alter the curriculum of education; by their over-dominating supervision they can crush out all initiative, and with this, all progressive life. Bureaucracy is quite as much opposed to the genius of a free race as is absolutism. A bureaucrat is almost of necessity a doctrinaire. Official minds are apt, with a view to simplicity in administration, to ignore provincial feelings, habits, and peculiarities, oblivious of the fact that difference is essential to vitality. It is the dead level of uniformity which charms. At present, in the case of primary instruction, the local authorities are in point of fact, merely channels for conveying the stream of power which has its source in Whitehall. The liberty of school boards is the liberty to acquiesce. We believe this to be still necessary in primary instruction, although it might be well to relax the bonds somewhat even here, as it is not wholesome for the country.

Then, we would ask, is it not a narrow view which confines the influence of an educational system in elevating the mind of a nation to the children for whom it is in the first instance designed? Nothing helps so much to educate the adult as thinking about the education of those who are to succeed him in citizenship, and being called upon to aid in their public training. All this is foregone in a stringently bureaucratized system.

We are fully alive to the fact that education for education's sake is a new idea to the ordinary British farmer, and in fact to the majority of mankind, and many stupid things, consequently, will be done by county authorities. But with gentle guidance, not control, from a competent Commission, enlightened views would gradually prevail. The discussions in the Welsh conferences of the past year forcibly illustrate the proposition that we educate the adult by engaging him in educational work. They are most instructive reading. Almost

all the questions now open were freely and ably debated. No man could have attended these conferences and not gone home with his views of education, and consequently of human life and the conditions of national prosperity, widened, and his interest in social problems deepened. But apart from these larger considerations of public polity, we believe that the work would be better done by local authorities working under an easy and restricted central supervision, than by any central bureau however enlightened. Not that we have any strong expectation of seeing a decentralized system, even to the extent of having an Educational Council in Scotland which would be in touch with the needs and susceptibilities of the country. There is a good deal of sentimental patriotism in the Scottish nation—a good deal of ‘Prince Charleyism’ and ‘Scots wha haeism’—but our conviction is that there is very little sound national feeling, and still less of imperial idea. The earnestness which unquestionably belongs to the Scottish character is too often devoted to the service of narrow and sectarian ‘notions,’ and works itself off in this way. There is a narrow parochialism of mind also, which would sacrifice national feeling in the interests of petty intercivic jealousies. Can any proposition be more reasonable than that every Scottish Act should be administered within Scotland?

The training of teachers for secondary schools is another question which arises in connection with the forthcoming organization of secondary education, and which an Executive Commission would deal with. More and more it is being recognized everywhere that buildings, apparatus, codes and boards will not educate the people. It is the personality of the teacher to which we have to look in the long run. Let us send out young men who have been taught to think about their work in its principles, aims and methods, and who have had some practical preparation, and then, any sort of machinery will work well. Without this, the results will be always disappointing. The nation has affirmed that the teaching of all children whose parents are below the income-tax level must be trained; but for children of the well-to-do, training is not yet demanded. Why? It would be difficult for the advocates of

laissez-faire in this matter to give the question a satisfactory answer. One grows tired, as the years go on, of constantly harping on the same string; and were it not that we constantly see the results of years of apparently hopeless discussion suddenly and unexpectedly take the form of an Act of Parliament, the reiteration of argument would be too great a strain on the patience of both writer and reader. Secondary schoolmasters, as a body, have not themselves pushed for a professional qualification as they ought to have done. Reforms seldom come from within. A master in a secondary school may be excused for feeling that to argue for a professional qualification is to condemn himself, who has had none. On the other hand, a large number of the more advanced among secondary schoolmasters in England have come to sound views on this question, and even the Association of Secondary Schoolmasters in Scotland is beginning to move. This is certain, that all the contemporary activity in the direction of science and technical instruction will fail of effect, unless we have teachers who know the subjects they profess to teach, and also *how* to teach them. The Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee last spring has brought the whole question of training within the sphere of practical politics, and we may almost begin to hope that the Registration of Schoolmasters may yet beat in the race the movement for the Registration of Plumbers.

The difficulties in which Scotland finds itself in the sphere of secondary education will shortly be aggravated by the passing into law of the Ordinances of the Universities' Commission. These ordinances, by requiring a higher entrance qualification for graduating classes, will still further widen the growing gulf between the rural population and the higher education. An Executive Commission acting along with the County Authorities would meet this new difficulty by the institution of higher-grade elementary schools in accessible parts of the country.

As members of Parliament and even of the Government have been asking ostentatiously for guidance, we may be excused for offering these views on the whole question. We will conclude by directing their attention to a blue book in

their own hands—which many seem to have forgotten. We refer to the Report of the Departmental Committee, of which Mr. Parker was Chairman, and which gave in its Recommendations on the 20th June, 1888, [C.—5425]. Among these Recommendations we find the following :

‘That for secondary education the country should look mainly to schools specially appropriated to that work.’

But

‘That grant-aided primary schools with Higher Departments should be encouraged, but should not be allowed to compete merely with secondary schools.’

‘That . . . there should be Parliamentary grants for Higher Education . . . in public secondary schools.’

‘That in thinly-peopled districts [where a higher department in every parish could not be looked for] there should be local centres with secondary schools.’

‘That when County Local Government is organised, Boards or Committees should be formed to take charge of higher education,’ etc.

These Recommendations are signed not only by Mr. Parker but by Mr. Finlay, M.P., and by Dr. Cochran Patrick, the permanent Secretary for Scotland, and are further evidence that the country, while not, we fear, prepared for a detailed Secondary School Act, is yet ripe for an Executive Commission, working under such general directions as are usually embodied in Acts appointing Commissions with executive powers.

To interpose an Inquiry Commission would cause unnecessary delay: the Executive Commission we recommend could proceed by the machinery of Provisional Orders.*

* In the course of the discussion, in February last, on Mr. Parker's resolution in the House of Commons, the Lord Advocate said—‘The subject is one upon which there is general agreement—that is to say, that public money may well be spent upon secondary education, and some effective means may be adopted for carrying out that general desire.’ And again—‘We (the Government) have not abstained from coming to close quarters with this question. We have had the subject under direct and anxious consideration; and plans are under the consideration of the Government, from which in due time we shall be able to make a selection.’

ART. IX.—PRESBYTERIAN REUNION AND A NATIONAL CHURCH.

“**I**NDUSTRY, Liberty, Religion,” that is the history of England,’ once said a great statesman. Reversing the order, we find a correct epitome of the history of Scotland. Religion, alike personal, public, and polemical, has been the dominating note of Scottish life and Scottish controversy. Ecclesiastical questions above all others have stirred the minds of the Scottish people and been closely interwoven with the thread of their national life. The tenacity of the national character in matters of church is shown by the survival in Highland glens and in ‘the Gordon country’ of a Roman Catholic stock, by the support continuously found by the church of the later Stuarts among the ‘howes of Buchan’ and along the rugged north-eastern coast, and by the isolated independence in the moors and villages of the west of a remnant still called by the name of Richard Cameron. The abiding bent of the national conviction is clearly written in the history of the national church, whether in persecution or triumph, secession or reunion, disruption or development; in the determination with which the Revolution settlement was maintained at the Union, and the resolution with which each band of conscientious men went its own way at the Disruption.

It is an interesting question whether church questions are retaining their fascination for the Scottish mind. There are not a few signs that there is a great change passing over the body of the people in this respect. The objects which really influence the action that forms public life are now material rather than ecclesiastical or religious; the influence of the minister is failing beside the counter attractions of the demagogue, and it is to be feared that his neighbour’s goods have monopolized much of the zeal formerly shown by the Scottish peasant for orthodoxy of doctrine and the prosperity of Zion. There have grown up a cultured class, a class of men of affairs,

of business and of society, and a class of artizans and daily workers in our great cities, to whom the old watchwords have no charm, and whose attitude towards church questions is one of contemptuous criticism, and of the nineteenth century dislike to clericalism, whether in the form of priest or presbyter. There is a mass of population which really is as alien to the ecclesiastical life of the nation as if it was in India or Mashonaland,—like the Gibeonites of old, ‘scarce members of the commonwealth though born in the country.’

To what is this to be traced? Mainly to the burst of industrial development which has distanced the old church agencies; to the spirit of scepticism that is abroad; to the great extent to which material success has been made the object of life in all ranks and classes of the community; to the fact that foreign influences, anti-Christian, revolutionary, and destructive, have permeated British society of late years to a degree hitherto unknown. But also in very large degree to the divisions of the churches; to the application to mere ecclesiastical competition and assaults upon envied neighbours of energies that should be devoted to the common cause, and are all required to deal patiently, wisely and successfully with the broader responsibilities and graver problems that confront both Church and State. Can there be anything more miserable than the wrangles of churches and the rivalries of sects in the face of a growing population drifting from the churches, or never overtaken by religious agencies, and at a time when assaults upon the Christian faith are more insidious as well as more powerful and confident than ever? Is there anything more calculated to procure the indifference of sensible men, and to alienate uneducated men, than the spectacle of embittered agitation and political alliances entered into by churches for the object of reducing a rival and crippling her resources. There is only one feature that can increase the irony of the situation, and that is when the assailant hastens to sacrifice her own principles, to abandon her own lofty claim, to break with her own great past, and to imperil the tenure of her own property, in order to burke accommodation, reject negotiation, and prolong a feud.

The increasing intelligence of the mass of the population is not likely calmly to accept this state of things. Those who cannot agree among themselves when the divergencies are to an outside eye so slight, are not likely to commend the mighty interests of which they are the stewards and trustees, to men who do not realize the gravity of those interests. The proclamation of the Gospel of peace is still neutralized by the practical exhibition of 'How these Christians love one another.' There is a growing tendency to become impatient of the ecclesiastical element in the life of the country, and the leaders of the churches must look well to their own conduct toward one another if they are to receive the respect and command the hearts of the Scottish people, whether they be the mass without church connection, or a large proportion of those nominally within the pale.

So far we have only glanced at one side of the shield. We must not forget the other, the marvellous recuperation and development of the Established Church, the wonderful energy and growth of the Free Church, the good service of others, and the many religious and social agencies that have come into being with the needs of the time. But success in a cause, whether good or bad, is not to those who do much, but to those who do most, who make fewest mistakes, and above all, who avoid the gravest mistake of all—division among the supporters of a common cause. It is often said that competition is the life of trade, and that more has been done for the provision of religious ordinances in Scotland than would otherwise have been the case, owing to the independent existence of the Free Church. But what might have been done with consolidated resources! It is certain that their application would have been at all events better regulated. Religion is not trade, and whatever may have been the case in the past, a new principle is now required, and co-operation should succeed to competition.

The time has come when the Church question must again engage the attention of the Scottish people. They are now formally invited to terminate the connection between their Church and their country, to break violently with their past

history, and to thrust aside all hopes of a reconciliation between the Established and non-Established branches of the historic Scottish Kirk. Is it to be 'the end of an auld sang?' The signal for the attack has been given in terms about which there can be no mistake; the assailant has broken down his bridges and burnt his boats. He has taken 'a step which is irrevocable and irretrievable,' and to sound the recall would be to confess defeat, and invite mutiny and disaster. The declaration of war has been made in terms of defiance and insult, and if they had been deliberately chosen to wound the sentiments and national pride of Scotsmen, they could not have been harsher or more contemptuous. The 'long period of doubt and suspense, of carefully balanced ambiguities and cunningly devised equivocations,' has been succeeded by a moment which summarily demolished all previous promises and suggestions of a 'fair trial.' '40,000,000 of people inhabiting these islands'—it was sarcastically exclaimed—'are to elect a new Parliament and grant a new lease of power for seven years, in order to determine whether in a country in which the voluntary system is more perfectly organized than in any other country, except perhaps America, 18,000 people are or are not to continue to enjoy £200,000 or £300,000 a year.' Such is the conception of the interests and the associations involved now held by him who half a century ago wrote, 'For this State we may feel and we tremble at the very thought of the degradation she would undergo, should she in an evil hour repudiate her ancient strength, the principle of a national religion,' and who asked, 'Can the world supply a case of funds more purely and effectively applied in support of an ecclesiastical system than that of the Scotch Church, a case where more results are produced from equal means, absolutely or proportionably, a case where less of evil motive mingles in the system of management?'

We have been told in incautious words that have burnt into the hearts and minds of many Scotsmen, both within and without the Establishment, that 'the question of the manse and fabric is the only one known to me with respect to which even the difficulty of a couple of hours discussion would be entailed in order to determine what should be done.'

Manse and fabrics have many associations, and even £200,000 or £300,000 a year is a Naboth's vineyard of which the owners have their rights. But the main question is not of endowments, it is of the National Recognition of Religion, to which the Free Church and the Seceders have 'borne an even more powerful, because a thoroughly disinterested testimony' than the Establishment. The treatment of the endowments is a question not of magnitude but of important principle, wholly subsidiary to the larger issues involved in the surrender of the national principle, the foreclosure of the Free Church ideal, and the permanent division of Scottish Presbyterianism into two embittered and hostile camps.

The response to Mr. Gladstone's declaration does not promise well for the success of the policy to which he has committed himself and his party. The dignified and energetic attitude taken up in the General Assembly by those who are directly charged with the duty of defending the Church, has been followed by a detailed organisation throughout the country. The proper anxiety of the Church defenders to be wholly independent of party, has in some cases been sincerely though curiously manifested by language and action directly injurious to the political party, the vast majority of whose members support the National Recognition of Religion upon principle, and whose candidates are safe to be found in the proper lobby when divisions come. It is certain that in 1885, the influence of the Church question was at the moment of the polls distinctly prejudicial to the Conservative party, and only the most obtuse or the most wilfully blind of politicians can at present accuse the Church defenders of being a Unionist electioneering organisation. The pronouncement in favour of Disestablishment, while it has not detached more than a stray Unionist, has alienated not a few who place Church before party.

The most remarkable answer to the challenge, however, has been the early formation of the Laymen's League, of which the membership is already over 200,000, counting among them many thousands of Free Churchmen and United Presbyterians, and which is an embodiment of the wide-spread desire and re-

solution to meet the policy of destruction by a policy of construction. The League has been formed upon the basis of the following statement of objects :—

1. To declare against Disestablishment and the Secularising of the Endowments of the Church of Scotland, and to secure that no measure for these purposes shall pass the Legislature without a distinct appeal to the Scottish people.
2. To promote Re-union among the Presbyterians of Scotland.
3. To promote any legislation that may appear to be necessary to remove obstacles to such Re-union.

It has taken an active share in organizing in view of the first appeal to the people, it has issued a large amount of literature, and under its auspices meetings have been held in many parts of Scotland, which have been specially interesting on account of the Free Church and United Presbyterian office-bearers and members who have come forward to repudiate the aggressive policy of their ecclesiastical chiefs, and to advocate a re-union upon the historic lines on which alone it can be successfully secured. For the first time the laity of Scotland have made an independent effort, to come to the aid of the Churches, and in the interests of the whole country and all the Churches, to promote a rearrangement which is to the benefit of all, and to place National Religion on an assured and durable basis. It may seem, looking to the tenacity with which in Scotland we keep up our feuds, and the special pertinacity of our ecclesiastical controversies, that this is but a 'devout imagination,' but it is at all events an ideal well worthy of earnest efforts to realize it. The aim in view and the problem to be dealt with is both to preserve connection with the past, and provide more satisfactorily and efficiently for the progress of the future, to prevent a great wrong and to promote a great good, to restore all that is best in the common past, and at the same time to carry out a beneficent and far-reaching reform. That this could be done, and done with ease, there is not the slightest doubt, if there were on the part of the majorities in the Free

Church and United Presbyterian official bodies, a sincere desire for a re-union and consolidation of the Scottish Church. The conviction is steadily growing that present ecclesiastical arrangements cannot, and ought not to be permanent. It is certain that much of the best opinion in the non-Established Churches, which has come to favour Disestablishment, owes its conclusions to the conviction that the existing relations are intolerable, and that the only way out is by Disestablishment. The United Presbyterian Church originally drifted into the tacit acceptance of the voluntary principle, which is not embodied in its constitutional standards, and the majority of the Free Church have sunk into adherence to practical voluntaryism, owing in both cases to the circumstances of their position alongside, and apparently irrevocably divided from, an existing Establishment. But no individual United Presbyterian is necessarily a voluntary: no Free Churchman can be so and retain his historic identity. The 'I am a voluntary' ebullition in the Assembly of a Professor who occasionally expatiates elsewhere, may be dismissed as an illustration that there are in the ecclesiastical world also, exceptional beings who occasionally remind us of the great biographer, whose own biographer declares that 'he had really good social and moral and religious instincts, but that in process of time he, as it were, gave himself a letter of license as a privileged person, pleading the weakness of the flesh, and could preach morality and talk of his own vices in the same breath.' It is undoubtedly the case that while the clerical agitation may owe its prosecution in high quarters to a shrewd sense of defensive policy, its backbone throughout the country is to be found in social jealousy.

The problem to which the Laymens' League has set itself is,—Is it too late to remove the stones of offence, to take away the need for any defence that requires to be aggressive, and to place all on a common platform. The convictions in the minds of thinking and patriotic Scotsmen which have led to its formation are, I think, mainly these,—That the wranglings of Churches in the face of the foe are a scandal and a shame; that the arrangement of agencies overlapping here and inade-

quate there calls urgently for reform ; that the ancient religious endowments must, both as matter of right and of policy, be preserved for the religious uses of the people of Scotland ; that no union can be feasible which violates the convictions of the largest constituent ; that the only solid basis is to be found in the common heritage of the past ; and that the independent interchange of opinion between representative laymen affords the best means of leading the way to a practical conclusion which will commend itself to the sound sense of the Scottish people. The essential preliminary to a successful solution is that the assault now threatened on the principle of National Religion should be repelled. It is easy to say that if the largest of the three parties will not only abandon its principles but betray its trust and surrender everything, a union can be arranged. The proposition in any case is a bold one that all the sacrifice should be made by the most important of the contracting parties ; but putting that aside, it must be remembered that the suggestion ignores the fact that it requires not only a giving up of possessions, but the desertion of a duty both to the Church and to the people of Scotland. When taunted with 'the shrill scream of stipends in danger,' those who are maintaining the cause of national religion and the sacredness of endowments, may well reply, 'if asked to whom they pay this service,' '*Deo immortalī qui nos hæc non solum a majoribus accipere vult sed etiam posteris prodere.*' Indeed, union would be shorn of half its charm were it not to be national. It would sink to a mere question of more or less convenience in arrangement, its moral effect would be gone, one of its main inducements in the mere efficient working of the territorial system would have disappeared, and alike to the adherent of the disinherited and despoiled Church, and the loyal member of the other which, in 1843, bore up so proudly her national testimony, the associations and historic continuity which give soul and power to forms and institutions would be dead and buried. Union after disestablishment could never come to pass. If the resentment was long after the Disruption, when those who went forth voluntarily sacrificed what they gave up to maintain their principles, what would it be when a

whole ministry and a large people had been forcibly deprived of their possessions, and had felt their principles forcibly over-ridden?

A distinct pronouncement by the people of Scotland on this great issue is an essential prelude to substantial progress towards reunion. The formal correspondences which have hitherto taken place between the official bodies of the churches are interesting reading, though these highly diplomatic documents, containing as they do more of the wisdom of the serpent than of the guilelessness of the dove, may not be altogether edifying. Admirable as specimens of what is vulgarly known as 'drawing the other fellow's leg,' they are still more eloquent as evidence that the appeal must be in the first instance to the Caesar of the polling-booths, and that the practical possibility of the future is a simple and general scheme worked out by independent laymen, put in its broad lines before the people, and by the people pressed upon their clerical leaders. The reception which was given last May by the ecclesiastical bodies to the temperately expressed Memorial of the League points to the same conclusion. It was but right that the newly-formed organisation should, in the first instance, approach all the churches to which its members belong, informing them of its existence and inviting them to take action, each in its own sphere, towards the great object in view. The action of the Free Church Assembly and United Presbyterian Synod is deeply to be regretted, but it may be pointed out that while in the former the majority was apparently very large, it was probably a majority that comprised all interested in Disestablishment in a house of which the method of composition is peculiarly favourable to the clerical policy, and yet no less than 315 members of that Assembly have not bowed the knee to Baal by committing themselves to Dr. Rainy's motion. The League has, meanwhile, fulfilled its duty in addressing a respectful summons to the official bodies. The responsibility for strife is definitely placed upon the right shoulders. The appeal is to the people.

If successful resistance to the Disestablishment campaign is the immediate and pressing duty, the development of the re-

construction idea is no less important. It is not an occasion for launching hasty and imperfect schemes, which at best can be nothing more than mere pilot-balloons, but it is desirable that suggestions should be canvassed, points of importance focussed, and the idea put in a more or less concrete form fully before the Scottish people. It may not be unprofitable, therefore, however imperfectly, to suggest some considerations that present themselves to the mind of a Free Church layman unfamiliar with the details of ecclesiastical work.

The object is to combine the Establishment with 1,332 parochial churches, and 333 other charges, a membership of 593,393 in 1890, and funds inclusive of certain seat-rents, but excluding interest on capital funds, amounting to £428,558; the Free Church with 1,044 charges, a membership (including adherents) of 338,978 in 1890, and funds amounting to £653,694, and the United Presbyterian Church with 570 congregations, a membership in 1890 of 184,889, and funds amounting to £381,622. The funds here referred to represent the voluntary contributions of the churches or legacies left to them. There fall to be added the endowments of the Established Church, amounting to about £250,000, drawn in stipends from the teinds, £129,000 of unexhausted teinds, £17,040 of grant from Exchequer, £23,500 from Burgh funds and other local endowments, and £45,000, being the stipends of parishes endowed from capital raised by the church itself since 1845. There would also fall to be taken into account the rights under Trusts, such as the Baird Trust. The combination may be achieved in an incorporating union, or possibly, in special view of United Presbyterian peculiarities, in an alliance partaking more of the nature of federation. An incorporating union would require preliminary negotiation, for which such a body as the Laymen's League would supply a useful 'honest broker,' the action of Parliament to remove constitutional obstacles, the formal action of the Churches by their recognized authorities, and probably separate legislation to provide for and sanction practical re-arrangements in regard to property. It is a matter of detail whether the legislation requisite to obviate the constitutional

difficulties, which more particularly affect the Free Church, and that necessary to provide for the free and efficient adaptation of the national Church revenues to the altered conditions should be combined in one statute, or embodied in separate Acts of Parliament. I should be personally inclined to think that the former course had much to recommend it, but there are many and weighty reasons in favour of the latter. The subject undoubtedly divides itself into the two branches of constitutional adjustment and practical reorganisation. The practical provisions for accomplishing the work of reunion, must, to a large extent, be carried out independently of Parliament, but the assistance of Parliament is necessary to authorise the most efficient application of Church property under national control, and to sanction arrangements voluntarily made by the Churches as to property in their own hands and control, and prevent them being barred by mere legal or technical obstacles.

With this proviso, let us examine the matter somewhat more in detail.

Ecclesiastical and doctrinal basis. The foundation of the edifice would be the historic ground which is common to all the churches, and we are fortunate in having that clearly marked. The basis of union would be found in the historical standards which all the Presbyterian Churches hold in common, subject to the complete recognition of the equal status of all ministers and sufficiency of their original admission and ordination, and to the right of all ministers and office-bearers to subscribe in future according to the *formulae* in use in any of the presently existing churches, or any formula adopted by the Church united in an incorporating union.

Constitutional Legislation requisite. It is conceded that the constitutional and legal difficulties arise from the train of decisions pronounced by the Court of Session and House of Lords on questions connected with the controversy that culminated in the Disruption of 1843. Subsequent legislation and change of circumstances have to a large extent rendered these decisions obsolete and consigned their subject matter to the limbo of ancient history, while the Established Church does not place

upon them the same interpretation or attribute to them the same effect as is done by the Free Church. The doctrines they contain have been guarded and qualified by later judicial utterances. Be that as it may, a distinct and emphatic affirmation of the principle of the absolute independence of the Church Courts in matters spiritual is an essential preliminary to reunion. I do not see that this can be conceded in broader or more satisfactory terms than were proposed by Mr. Finlay in his Bill of 1886, which secured such extensive support from Free Churchmen. The first two clauses of that Bill were as follows:—

‘1. It is hereby declared that by the Constitution of the Church as by law established on the basis of the Confession of Faith and the Presbyterian Church government and discipline, the Courts of the said Church have the sole and exclusive right to regulate, determine and decide all matter spiritual within the said Church, and their procedure therein, and regulations and decisions thereon, are hereby declared to be not subject to interdict, reduction, suspension, or any manner of review by any Court of Civil Jurisdiction.

‘2. The expression “matters spiritual” shall include all matters relating to the worship, discipline and government of the said Church of Scotland, and in particular all matters relating to the preaching of the Word of God, the administration of the Sacraments, the election, appointment and admission of the ministers of the said Church to the pastoral office, and of the other office-bearers of the said Church to their offices, and their suspension and deprivation therefrom, the constitution of the Courts of the said Church, and the admission of office-bearers to sit therein, the infliction and removal of Church censures, and generally all other spiritual matters.’

With the addition of the word ‘doctrine’ along with ‘worship, discipline and government,’ it would appear that these clauses absolutely cover the whole ground of the controversy between the Free Church and those with whom its founders came into conflict. Amid all the criticism and disparagement, which Mr. Finlay’s effort not to reunite churches but to remove obstacles to that achievement, encountered, it was never seen that those who objected to it as insufficient ever put forward or formulated in concise terms what would be sufficient. Will they do so now? To declare that it is impossible may be very good voluntarism but can never be Free Church principle.

It is certain that an enactment such as this would have prevented the Disruption, and it cannot be denied that it would have been hailed by the great names of the Free Church as offering that 'opportunity in God's good Providence' on the occurrence of which they bound themselves to 'strive by all lawful means' for the restitution of the valued privileges they had been obliged to forego, and the reconstruction of the national organisation they had reluctantly sacrificed.

It would be desirable that the subsidiary clauses proposed by Mr. Finlay should also become law, and in particular that the power to erect and disjoin parishes *quoad sacra*, and to erect parishes without territorial districts, should be wholly transferred to the Church Courts. Apart from its bearing on what was perhaps the most critically constitutional question agitated at the time of the Disruption, this would be likely to prove of the utmost value in adjusting the local reorganisation of church accommodation. The alterations of the boundaries of parishes made by the Boundary Commissioners under the provisions of the Local Government Act of 1889 have already introduced a difference between the civil and the ecclesiastical parish. It would, it is conceived, avoid complications if the principle were at once adopted that the Church Courts should fix the ecclesiastical parish, with provision against imposing any additional burden on individuals by the transfer of land from one parish to another. The Church Courts and the public authority, vested with the administration of the teinds, would act wisely if they laid down a broad and definite rule that, except in very exceptional circumstances, the boundaries of the civil should also be the boundaries of the ecclesiastical parish.

Such an enactment would clear away the constitutional difficulties and leave the road free for the churches to unite without sacrifice of honour or principle. Let us assume that the will as well as the way are found to exist, that Disestablishment has by a distinct pronouncement of the Scottish people been turned out of the field of practical politics, that Dr. Rainy has been definitely disillusionized as to the 'sufficient number,' and that the United Presbyterian Synod, while

retaining a theoretical preference for pure voluntarism, such as some Englishmen have for a republic, and some Frenchmen for the White Flag, is yet prepared, upon considerations of Christian policy, to co-operate and combine with its neighbours, and let us ask how would an incorporating union be most efficiently gone about? The natural course would be for each of the Assemblies and the Synod to appoint an equal representation to a Joint Committee of practical men, who would be entrusted with the duty of deciding the conditions and devising practical readjustments, to be afterwards finally accepted and passed by the Supreme Courts. We need not concern ourselves as to the settlement of representation in the higher courts of the church, or discuss details as to the combination of this or that Committee or agency doing similar work, and the amalgamation, for example, of the Foreign Missions of the churches. The least consideration will establish what a diminution of friction, what an economy of resources, what increased efficiency of organisation, and what a developed motive power of Christian enthusiasm would be gained by giving full play in religious work to the great law of consolidation which operates increasingly in secular civilisation. There are many rearrangements that would come about gradually and of their own weight and 'not with observation,' but the most important question is the assimilation to the enlarged conditions of the old parochial system, and the most satisfactory reorganisation of all available resources for the primary duty of supporting the Scottish ministry, and meeting the real needs of the Scottish people.

Practical reorganization. There is no doubt that the aid of Parliament is necessary to admit of the fullest and most satisfactory reorganisation being carried out, but there may be many alternatives as to the degree of interference with existing conditions and agencies which is desirable. It has, for example, been proposed that the teinds should be bought up and converted into consols, and transferred out and out to trustees for the church, a course which may have many practical conveniences to recommend it, but is liable to objection on grounds of principle. It is not required by any doctrine of

the Free Church, which never had any objection to State control of temporalities, and it may be argued that it innovates upon the tenure and character of the ancient national provision for religion. The action of the State at the Reformation was justifiable on the ground that the ancient provision for religious ordinances was being mal-administered, and that the additional property accumulated in the hands of the church was grossly excessive, and was indeed only nominally religious. The State, as trustee for the people, changed the administrators of the ancient provision, and it reduced the excess of later accumulations. It has always exercised the right, not of confiscation or of diversion, but of supervision and ultimate control, in reference to the original gifts and parochial resources for the service of religion. It would commit an act of violence and wrong if it arbitrarily confiscated and diverted them to secular purposes, but there is also something to be said for the contention that it would not be acting in accordance with its duty to its subjects if it absolutely surrendered all supervision, and irredeemably handed over the national religious endowments to a body that might be in an overwhelming majority to day, but in the next generation in a miserable minority, which might have ceased to be a national church in all but the name, or might even have severed its connection with the State. To face the risk of this would, no doubt, be a less evil than confiscation to secular purposes, but there is no necessity to incur the danger of either. The national endowments of the present Established Church can be made perfectly available as the guaranteed basis of an ample and well-proportioned provision for religious ordinances in every corner of the realm, without infringing in any degree upon their tenure and their character, and indeed with practically no disturbance of the institutions and principles which at present regulate their administration. If it were thought desirable the Court of Teinds might be left untouched and only endowed with wider powers and freer discretion in the exercise of its functions. But without prejudice to any principle presently acted upon, we should recommend a bolder course and more comprehensive policy. The Teind Court is

an antiquated and yet scarcely venerable institution. It does not go back two centuries, and the time cannot be far distant when chalders, and firloths, and bolls, will follow knaveships, and multures, and sequels, to the region where the latter repose in company with oxgangs and davochs and carucates. The Judges sit as Lords Commissioners of Teinds, and in the history of teinds the most important chapters are filled by the proceedings of Commissions. The functions fulfilled, and indeed the larger duties required, are administrative, would be better undertaken by, and for some years would fully occupy the hands of a strong Commission. Why should not the Legislature arrange for a general and satisfactory handling of the temporalities of the Church by provision for the appointment of a Royal Commission with large powers and broad instructions?

There should be transferred to the Commission the whole powers presently vested in the Court of Session as Commissioners for the plantation of kirks and valuation of teinds, except those otherwise transferred to the church courts. It should receive full powers to assign the temporalities (with due regard to existing rights and the law affecting teinds) in conformity with arrangements as to parishes made by the ecclesiastical authorities, and to apply the national ecclesiastical revenues to the efficient service of religion upon the parochial basis throughout the country, and also to approve and confirm arrangements by parochial heritors, either with the kirk-sessions of their parishes or a central authority of the Church for the undertaking by these bodies of the charge, maintenance, and renewal of all ecclesiastical buildings. The Commission should be empowered to advise with representatives of the Joint-Committee of the Churches, and of all congregations affected by particular arrangements, and should be distinctly instructed to have regard to the recommendations of the Joint-Committee, and to the endowments otherwise available from private benevolence, or from a general sustentation fund in their allocation of stipend and other management of ecclesiastical property. Subject to this, it should be invested with the fullest discretionary power to apply the

available teinds of any parish either to the maintenance of a first charge in the parish, or to providing a guaranteed equal dividend in aid of the stipends of every church within the parish. The Act defining the powers and duties of the Commissioners should also contain a provision to the effect that arrangements voluntarily made by the churches directed to consolidate and render more efficient the provision for the religious wants of the people, should be effectual notwithstanding any expression inconsistent therewith in the terms or titles on which the property concerned was held, provided that this should not be construed as authorising a change of the general purposes for which it had been given or bequeathed, or as affecting the existing law as to the tenure of property by non-Established Churches. The grant from Exchequer might be discontinued with the voluntary assent of the church, or superseded by the assignment to the Commission of old church property to an equivalent amount presently vested in the Crown. This would get rid of the last fragment of a fiction of anybody being taxed for the support of a church to which he does not belong. The ecclesiastical assessments, which have formed a grievance in the case of feuars, should also be at once dealt with, and disposed of by legislation, and a measure for the valuation and commutation of teinds would form a useful, though not pressing, and by no means essential, complement of a broad and comprehensive scheme.

There is no difficulty in finding a constitutional basis on which to unite, no variation of principle or constitution which would place a bar of any magnitude in the way of an ecclesiastical union of the Established, the Free, and the United Presbyterian Churches. The difficulty is in the will, not in the means or method. It is well not to under-rate difficulties of detail, but difficulties only exist for practical men in order to be overcome. It would not be easy to exaggerate the practical benefits within reach if a joint Committee of business men, in intimate association with our church statesmen, were collected round a table, vested with large powers by their churches, and assured of the thorough co-operation of the power of the State.

Imagine them taking a comprehensive view of the whole ecclesiastical resources of Scotland, and considering—1, the teinds of each parish; 2, the burgh funds and ancient local endowments; 3, the glebes, and any other national or statutory provision; 4, the endowments of *quoad sacra* parishes; 5, all other existing endowments and trusts for endowment connected with any of the churches; 6, a sustentation fund supplementing the parochial resources; and 7, all other property held by the churches. Think what a change there would be in every corner of the land were a broad system of consolidation worked out with the free consent of all congregations affected; if those who had been competitors became colleagues, if vacancies were left unfilled where two churches were unnecessary, and the superfluous establishments transferred to localities in crying need of church extension. It would not be long before a large and liberal system of honourable superannuation for those who had laboured long in the ministry was devised, and surely if a system of national insurance or old age pensions be good for the nation, a similar principle might be applied in a more limited sphere with great benefit to all ministers and not a little to many congregations. The general principle to guide the policy of such a committee should we think be found in the resolve to provide a minimum stipend to every parish, and—what would be most satisfactory—to every congregation in the parish out of the teinds. It may be argued that this would be comparatively small. No doubt it would, but it would be certain. And where is the man of fluctuating or precarious income, however large and promising, who does not appreciate having a solid and assured moiety on which he can depend? It would be specially valuable in the poorer districts of the country. It would be supplemented by other endowments, general or local, as their conditions permitted, by a dividend from the central Sustentation Fund, and by local contributions, such as are made in many congregations at present in the Free Church. Such an arrangement would, it is conceived, combine the advantages both of the territorial and the voluntary system. Every parishioner would feel that the church was a parish church in which his right was vested and indefeasible,

endowed of old for 'the advantage of the people.' The supplementary Sustentation Fund would be necessary and would stimulate the Christian liberality and fellow feeling of the whole country, and individual and local generosity would have free scope for its beneficent action. 'Systematic giving' would be stimulated by judicious and systematic administration. The generous suggestion of Dr. Charteris would receive practical effect, while there would be no absolute necessity for any interference with life-interests. There is no need for advocating any interference with life-interests, for the coming into operation of a general system might well be gradual. At the same time provision should be made for accelerating the adoption of the reformed system wherever this could be done by general consent. It would be a mere matter of detail whether a present parochial minister should consent to the assignment of so many chalders, as the indefeasible basis of endowment for the second charge in the parish, receiving on the other hand an equivalent or increased grant from consolidated endowments, and a well organised Sustentation Fund. But we should welcome and advocate anything that tended to draw the various ministers closer together and had the appearance of more completely and emphatically assimilating and consolidating their interests and position.

A great opportunity of administrative ecclesiastical reform is offered to the churches; a unique occasion for enormously improving the social relations of Scotsmen and Scotswomen in every town and village and country-district, from the Solway shore to the Pentland Firth, and even to the utmost isles that look northward to the midnight sun, may yet be open to us. These are considerations not to be despised by the most hard-headed and unenthusiastic of a practical people, but Scotsmen have the privilege of sentiment as well as sense. It would not be easy to express the tide of feelings in the heart of any true son of 'our ancient mother Caledonia,' truly imbued with the spirit of the Scottish past, realizing how intimately national life and church activity have blended and been interwoven throughout our history, and anxious yet confident for its coming chapters, to whom it was given to recall the journeys of

Columba, the saintly influence of Queen Margaret, the days of the Reformation, the Revolution settlement, the fateful exodus of the Erskines and of Gillespie, and the grave procession of 1843, as he watched the meeting once more in a General Assembly of a 'universal kirk' of Scotland, of those who had been long divided, and set over against each other, but were again all alike united, national and free.

If the obstacles are meanwhile too great to hold out much hope of realizing this devout imagination, if pride and prejudice and an existing 'vast mass of material interests,' preclude negotiation for an incorporating union, is there yet nothing that can be done? If the United Presbyterian Church is so deeply wedded to the doctrine of voluntarism that it will not come into full union without feeling that it is lowering its flag, must all hope of better relations be abandoned? The inherent vice of our Scottish character, a vice closely akin to its native strength, has been the determination not merely to keep our own, but to force it on our neighbours. We once resolved to put that mighty England that had just emerged from the 'spacious times of great Elizabeth' into the strait waistcoat of the Solemn League and Covenant, with the result that Scotland for the first time, after a national struggle, 'lay at the proud foot of a conqueror,' that 'the Sectarians' turned out the General Assembly of the Kirk as they had done the Commons of England, and that the pendulum swung violently back to initiate a period of moral license, to produce a clear dividing line which never before existed between Episcopalian and Presbyterian in Scotland, and to jeopardize at once both loyalty and liberty in Britain. Is there no lesson to be learnt from the past? Is it impossible to preserve one's own identity and peculiarities without destroying the dearest rights and privileges of a neighbour? Is there no means of completely obviating the sentiment of clerical social inequality, of thoroughly popularizing the National Recognition of Religion, and of advancing practical harmonious relations between the various Presbyterian bodies throughout the country, which could be carried through without requiring from a single sensitive United Presbyterian the giving up of anything he re-

gards as distinctive, either in the tenets or the practice of his Church? Is a Federal Union an absolutely impracticable idea?

Those who have taken part in the Pan-Presbyterian Councils should surely be able to co-operate more fully in joint-work within the borders of Scotland. The United Presbyterian who values religious education in the public school, cannot take logical objection to the recognition by the State of the religious element in the life of the country. The church to which he belongs is not identified with any traditions of the Ten Years' Conflict, and it shares the heritage of an older history with its sisters. Might it not recognize the proportion it actually bears to the rest of Scotland, and according respect to the sincere convictions and principles of those who are more numerous, co-operate in devising arrangements, which would give it the same *status* and interests, and yet leave it absolutely free to continue its own methods and to practise its special doctrine as to the support of the ministry?

In the case of the Free Church, the constitutional legislation desiderated as a preliminary to an incorporating union, seems equally desirable as a prelude to one upon a federal basis. But were that once supplied, to unite becomes the duty of Free Churchmen, not merely as Christians seeking to avoid the sin of schism, but as loyal sons of their own church, imbued with her principles, and proud of her national testimony. The Free Church was a *Protesting* as well as a Free Church, but were her protest effectual, her duty would again be clear. To the Established Church of to-day a federal union would mean no sacrifice of position or surrender of duty. To all of them it would be a cautious and guarded step upon a road that would insensibly and inevitably conduct them to national unity.

A Federal Union would have the advantage that it would be wholly the work of the Churches themselves. The sole function of the State in regard to it would be to assist in removing obstacles, to sanction, and to recognize. The history of political development and of national growth is the according of official recognition to classes and to forces that have made their own way so far, and have grown up to capacity since the frame of our institutions was last recast. The State lengthens its cords

and strengthens its stays, as time requires, and receives into her councils in turn the ten-pounder householder, the artizan, and the agricultural labourer. The State would not be false but faithful to the original conception, not innovating but recurring to the old constitution of the country, were it to make the National Church of to-day as comprehensive, in the circumstances of the time as was the Church of the Revolution Settlement, by the frank recognition of all the Presbyterian bodies, as forming in reality one Church and equally entitled to official acknowledgement. To realize facts, and to make constitutional arrangements conform to them, is the essence of judicious statesmanship. There would be recognition of important facts in the preamble of an Act of Parliament couched somewhat as follows:—‘That whereas closer relations between the various Churches in Scotland generally adhering to the Confession of Faith and other standards of the Church of Scotland and to the Presbyterian form of Church government and discipline, are desirable, and will be productive of great benefit to the people of Scotland.’ There would be wisdom in a provisional sanction to arrangements for a Federal Union between the Church of Scotland, as presently by law established, and all or any of the other Presbyterian Churches, and the enactment that upon any of these Churches intimating its adherence to a Federal Union, its ministers should have in all respects the same status and privileges as those of the Church of Scotland as presently established, that the Churches so entering into federal relations should be regarded in future for all public purposes as one united Church of Scotland, that all communications addressed by Her Majesty the Queen to the Church of Scotland should be held as addressed to the federated Church, and that the expression the Church of Scotland in all future Acts of Parliament, except where otherwise expressly provided, should be read and understood as applying to the federated Church. There should be a saving clause making it clear that the enactment applied only to establishment and not to endowment, and conferred no right to stipend or any other patrimonial interest or right presently connected with the ministry of the Church of Scotland as presently by law established.

Such an idea may be novel, but the times are new, and the

situation requires freer handling than old precedents supply. It is less revolutionary than Disestablishment and Disendowment ; it would at anyrate be a fair offer to all. It would, it is conceived, be in accord with the spirit of modern legislation, which, takes up, assists and supplements the voluntary schools in England, and may ere long reinforce the benevolent organisation of our friendly societies by Government action in the sphere of national insurance.

It would, it is thought, rapidly promote a desire for closer unity, and encourage the spirit calculated to bring this about, by facilitating the solution of some present difficulties. The position of the Theological Faculty in our national universities, the field of selection for professorships, for army chaplaincies, and for other functions of a religious character associated with the Government, would at once assume a different aspect. Why should not the Universities and the Colleges of the present non-Established Churches assume to each other somewhat of the relations in other Faculties of the professorial chair, and the extra-mural teaching ? Or might not Edinburgh take a leaf from the book of Aberdeen, and as King's College accepted all the Arts Students and sent the Faculty of Medicine to the foundation of the old Earl Marischal, place a united and enlarged Faculty of Divinity at the Head of the Mound, as she has already located the votaries of Æsculapius upon the Meadow-Walk ?

All that is necessary from outside for a Federal Union is a complete recognition of equal status and national standing. This might, however, be accompanied with advantage by special provisions providing for the consolidation of congregations, conferring power on the Teind Court to make a suitable disposition of the Teinds in these circumstances, conferring the full rights of a parish minister on any minister of another Church, who in virtue of any such arrangement should become minister of a Parish Church, and providing that any minister of the present Established Church similarly acquiring right to sit in the courts of another Church, should in no way prejudice his rights as a minister of the Church as presently established.

There may yet be in present circumstances a third alternative,

less ambitious but more practical than either of these that have been canvassed. If a Federal alliance would undoubtedly introduce to a closer connection, may it not be possible to reach that height by a still more gradual ascent? If the prejudices of Church courts, and the embarrassments of 'material interests' prohibit in the meantime union on the grand scale, may not the practical disadvantages of the situation be reduced, the relations of the churches improved piecemeal, and some progress made in a more humble manner? The real local problems it is desired to solve consist in the multiplication of churches, and the friction of competing congregations. In the Highlands of Scotland they present themselves in a peculiarly bald and obtrusive form. There are endowed parish churches with empty benches and worthy men going to seed; large congregations and earnest ministers subsisting on the contributions of the Lowlands. Yet these large congregations and many of their ministers hold with truly Highland fidelity to the honoured principle of the recognition of religion by the State, to the duty of Government to provide for the religious instruction of the people, and to the inviolability of their claim as the people of the Highlands, to the benefit of the endowments for religious purposes. The position in which they find themselves is irksome and humiliating. If they refuse to join in a crusade contrary to the principles to which they have proved their attachment, or if they differ with their southern brethren on matters of creed or doctrine, and the springy step of the Highlander fails to keep time with the swinging tread of German criticism, they are threatened with mutterings that to bring the Highlander to reason the subscriptions to the Sustentation Fund should be stopped. Probably these are, as such intimations generally are, mere passing explosions of individual impatience, but the steady pressure of official circles upon men who cannot be absolutely independent is a more serious and a real thing. It is not a healthy state of things, that one district of the country should be dependent upon others, that a minority of a church with well defined convictions should be at the financial mercy of a majority holding different opinions, and that, concurrently with this, revenues set aside of old for the very purpose of providing for the wants of such a district,

should be inaccessible to its people without violence to their convictions, and should in fact be running to waste. The Highlands have been specially mentioned because they exhibit in a peculiarly aggravated form the evils of existing divisions, but there is room for large if not equal improvement in other parts of the country. There is no need for advocating special legislation for one side of the Highland line, but there is much need for affording every district of the country the opportunity of bettering its ecclesiastical arrangements. May it not be possible, if larger schemes are premature, and Assemblies will still do nothing but frown defiance at each other, to facilitate local consolidation, and to build up from the parish? Here again Parliamentary sanction would be required in order to secure the fullest benefit for local action. The constitutional legislation would still be necessary, and would require to be supplemented by some additional provision for an adjustment of temporalities. The statement of the legislature's object was previously thrown into the form of a preamble to a statute. The same may be tried again, and the idea now in view perhaps formulated thus :— 'Whereas in many parts of Scotland there is a desire on the part of congregations both within and without the present Established Church, to unite for the more efficient provision of religious ordinances to the people, and whereas if sanction were given to such unions, the existing parochial funds applicable to the maintenance of the Christian ministry would be more usefully employed, and great benefits conferred upon the people.' It might be enacted that should any congregation of a Parish Church unite with a neighbouring congregation belonging to another Presbyterian body, the Court of Teinds should have power to make any necessary arrangement, and that without prejudice to their connection with other churches the united congregations and ministers of such, should have all the rights and privileges recognised by law as belonging to parochial charges and ministers of the Church of Scotland. It may seem a strange suggestion that a minister and a congregation should belong to two churches, but why not? There is no incompatibility of creed or standards; each constituent of the union would bring its own privileges with it. Such congregations would form a most use-

ful link between the two great Assemblies, and as such unions increased these courts would more and more approximate in character and policy, apart altogether from the moral influence produced by the new departure.

The preceding ideas have been put forward, not with any intention of exhausting the methods by which a satisfactory conclusion may be reached, or of submitting them as more than suggestions which may so far clear the way to the elucidation of a question of some complexity and much gravity. Difficult as the subject is, it must receive patient consideration if the principle of national religion is to be maintained in Scotland. In the politics of to-day there is no *status quo ante bellum*. A purely negative policy becomes more and more rare upon any question that agitates the public mind. The defenders of national religion may win a great victory at the polls on the first occasion, but they can only hold the ground afterwards if they fortify their position, and make the best use of the respite that the repulse of the assailants confers. Let the battle be fought with all the energy that can be evoked, but let it be remembered that the chief value of a great success is to secure time to render the position impregnable. I do not underrate the difficulty of the task. *Haud ignarus sum* how great are the prejudices to be overcome on both sides. They may well seem indeed at present to be insuperable. But to the Established Churchman the appeal may be made: You can lose nothing and must gain much by making the national church most comprehensively national. The best insurance against sectarian hostility is to obviate the existence of sectarianism; the surest defence against the enmity of secular politicians is to unite the Christian people of Scotland. To the Free Churchman it may be urged: Yours was a grand ideal; will you thrust away the opportunity of realizing it? Since you parted with it in 1843, the Established Church has entered on a new career of active work and spiritual zeal: the ordinary parish minister of to-day is very different from the typical 'moderate' of half-a-century ago. To the United Presbyterian the invocation must be in the name of Christian unity, of Scottish patriotism, and of practical advantage. To all alike must the reproach be addressed: Is it a time to be contending one with another when the barbarians are at the gates?

A FREE CHURCH LAYMAN.

ART. X.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (November, December).—The first of these two numbers brings its readers an abundance of excellent, most interesting, and most varied matter. The seventieth birthday of the well-known scientist, Rudolf Virchow, is commemorated in a lengthy article which affords a clear and striking picture of his life, work, and character.—Professor Gustav Cohn, of Göttingen, contributes an important paper, in which he develops his views with regard to a reform of the Exchange.—Herr Arthur Milchoefer, drawing on his own wide research, gives in the article ‘Attica and its present Inhabitants,’ a picturesque sketch of the classic peninsula, and by the introduction of numerous references to, and illustrations from, its past history, has produced a charming essay which appeals to the student of ancient no less than to that of modern civilisation.—Herr Paul Güssfeldt brings his ‘Winterreise im Hochgebirge’ to a close—a sketch which has for its interesting subject his adventures during his winter ascents of Alpine peaks.—An excellent literary sketch is contributed by Herr Adolf Frey. It is devoted to the well-known Swiss writer Gottfried Keller.—Lighter literature is represented by ‘Angela Borgia,’ a story from the pen of Herr Conrad Ferdinand Meyer.—The remaining contributions to a capital number are: ‘Aus Karl Friedrich Reinhard’s Leben,’ by W. Lang; ‘Felix Mendelssohn,’ ‘Bartholdy in Weimar’; and ‘Max Duncker,’ contributed by Herr E. Egelhaaf.—In the December part, Herr Heinrich Brugsch, whose name is a guarantee of excellence, gives a description of the antiquarian treasures contained in the Museum of Gizeh.—No less attractive for the general reader is the paper which Professor Arendt devotes to a sketch of Chinese life and manners, with special reference to the position held by women both at home and in society. The article has the merit of being based upon the author’s personal experience of the country.—Herr W. Lang continues the sketch ‘Aus Carl Friedrich Reinhard’s Leben.’ This instalment deals particularly with the relations between Reinhard and Goethe, whose acquaintance he made at Carlsbad in 1807.—For British and American readers, a contribution of special interest is the sketch which Herr Schönbach gives of James Russell Lowell.—A notable literary essay is that which Frau Lina Frey devotes to a critical examination of Conrad Ferdinand Meyer’s poems.—Noticeable, too, are: ‘Vohlthätige und Wohltuende

Frauen'; 'Deutsche Goldschmiede-Werke des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts'; and 'Französische Politiker und Moralisten des 19ten Jahrhunderts.'

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (November, December).—Amongst the most important contribution to the November part may be mentioned the article in which Herr Arthur Milchhoefer gives an account of the work done by Schliemann, and indicates the immense importance of the discoveries due to him. A series of excellent illustrations add materially to the interest and the value of a most able sketch.—The contribution signed by Herr Oskar Vie appeals to a more limited circle of readers. It deals with the chorus as utilised by Wagner in his operas.—Bayreuth is the town chosen this time for the subject of one of those descriptive sketches which are amongst the notable features of this periodical. Here, too, abundant illustrations accompany the text.—Important as throwing a side-light on the history of German Society at the smaller Courts, and attractive for its own literary excellence is the sketch entitled 'Weimars Gesellschaft und das Chaos.'—Two excellent stories 'Romeo und Julie am Pregel,' and 'Irene von Schestedt,'—the latter a charming historical romance—supply excellent reading for those who look to the lighter literature of the *Hefte* for their enjoyment. This special branch is, however, more fully represented in the December number. In the first place, there is a continuation of the first of the two novellettes mentioned above. In addition to this, Herr Heinrich Noé has a charming little sketch 'Ein Hof-Amphibiolog,' and Frau von Schwatzkoppen contributes 'Baby.'—Finally, another lady, Frau von Preuschen, closes the list with 'In der Pulvermühle.'—Of the more serious articles, the first in the table of contents, and perhaps, too, in general interest, is the historical paper devoted to the Queen of Westphalia—the wife of Jerome Napoleon.—Leopold Mozart, the great composer's father, is the subject of a readable sketch by Herr von Winterfeld.—A short but instructive contribution to popular botany is made by Herr Julius Blane, who explains the falling of the leaves in autumn.—'Moderne Heilmittel,' in which Herr Ahlgreen gives an account of the various substances which science has turned to use for curative purposes, is instructive so far as it goes, but unfortunately it does not go very far, the whole being included in less than five pages.—A further instalment, profusely illustrated, of Herr Eduard Zetsche's 'The Environs of Vienna,' and a scientific paper explanatory of the process by which the power developed by the Neckar has been utilised at the Frankfurt Electrical Exhibition, close a number of more than average excellence.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Zweites Heft, 1892).—The articles in this number are all short, and the list of them is consequently longer. Herr Pfarrer Karl Marti, who combines the offices of the ministry in Muttenz and of Privat-Docent in Basle, furnishes the first of 'Two Studies' on Zachariah. This one is on the origin of the 'Satan' of Zachariah iii. This subject has engaged the attention of many exegetes, and, as usual, various conjectures and opinions have been hazarded and defended with more or less learning and confidence. The author of this 'Study' goes carefully over these, and the arguments by which they have been supported, and shows wherein they fail to commend themselves to his judgment. He has grave objections to the derivation of Satan from the influence of the Persian religion, and equally grave against his being a transformation of the se'ir or 'satyr' of the ancient popular faith. He examines minutely the character and office of the Satan of Zachariah, of Job, etc., and comes to the conclusion that he is in Zachariah, who was the first to use the term in this way, a personification of the idea, taking origin in the pre-exilic, and intensifying during the exilic period, that God could not, *if He acted in strict accordance with justice*, restore Judah or Israel to her ancient position and privileges, or fulfil His conditional promises to her, seeing she had been and was still guilty of grave sins against Him and His law. Joshua, in his 'filthy garments,' represents Israel or Judah, and the vision is intended to show that, though such charges might still and justly be levelled against her, it *was* God's will that she should be restored to the land, and that the temple should be rebuilt. The 'Study' is one which will take rank as one of the ablest that has yet appeared on this intricate and somewhat perplexing problem.—The second article in this number is also extremely interesting and important. It is on the composition of the synoptic speeches regarding Christ's return (Wiederkunftsrede), and is by Professor J. Weiss of Göttingen. He analysis and compares these very carefully, examines the traditions bearing on their theme, and seeks to determine their earliest forms, or the sources from which the Evangelists took their information.—The other papers are 'Eine Quellenspur in der Apostelgeschichte,' by Hans Hinrich Wendt; 'Luthers Taufbüchlein von 1523,' by Professor H. Hering; 'Porenou kata mesembrian' (Acts viii. 26) by Prof. Nestle; 'Lutherbeiträge' and 'Das Rechtsbuch der Abessinier,' by Dr. Bachmann.

R U S S I A .

VOPROSI PHILOSOFII I PSYCHOLOGII, (QUESTIONS, PHILOSOPHICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL), opens No. 5 of its second year

with an interesting discussion on Comte, the Positive Philosophy and the Unity of Science. We have added Comte's name to title of the article, because there are some interesting statements about the great Coryphaeus of the Positive Philosophy. This article is the first published part of a work by the author, M. B. N. Tchicherin, written for a prize proposed by D. A. Stolypin, and to which one half of the prize has been adjudged. Other parts of the work possessing philosophical interest will appear in the 'Questions.' The author holds that Comte alone put the question as to experimental science versus metaphysics, on its present footing. The adherent of experience, he rejected metaphysics as an empty play of words, destitute of all possible foundation, and incapable of making clear the signification of phenomena; while on the other hand, the defenders of metaphysics have not been slow to show the logical incapability or insufficiency of pure empiricism. While Comte held that his method was the only one capable of setting forth positive knowledge and scientific truth, other thinkers, not only his opponents, but those following the same direction, as *e.g.* Herbert Spencer, have asseverated that Comte has expounded no new truth to the world, but only repeated that which had already been spoken before his day, by experientialists, and admitted in the circle of the natural sciences. The author cannot, however, agree with this. He holds that there were experientialists before Comte, but no one, either before or after him, has so endeavoured to bind together the two sides of scientific knowledge, so as to unfold its proper theory and exposition, or, as we may take it, its method. Comte has alone shown the right way, which if men had followed, we should have escaped the fantastical exhibitions of so called Positive philosophy, such as we have in the Logic of Mill, the philosophical system of Herbert Spencer, or the absurdities of Schellingism. This is pretty strong, yet the author admits that even Homer sometimes nods! There are considerable lacunae even in the system of Comte. He admits that the three periods, the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive are not beyond criticism, that even the natural sciences,—such as Chemistry in the doctrines of Atomism,—have shown a tendency to walk in forbidden paths, and fall into metaphysical ground. In order, apparently, to give the old metaphysics as wide a berth as possible, M. Tchicherin admits that there is nothing equivalent to logic or psychology in Comte's system, and that practically, he avoided having all dealing with the human mind as a subject of knowledge. Mill tried to fill up the gap, but only to shew how insufficient was the foundation, for his point of

view. Another form in which modern science has gone contrary to Comte's view is in regard to the conservation of Energy. This the author holds to be purely metaphysical. Finally, M. Tchicherin shows that Comte's law, of proceeding from the simple to the complex, in his description of the natural scientific process, will not hold good. He shews that Comte manifested that in dealing with terms like *general*, *common*, or *simple* and *abstract*. He was not beyond the weakness of other men. Comte's fondness for mathematics led him into contradictions, as when he declared that it was from mathematics, that he received his method, forgetting, or apparently not aware, that mathematics follow a purely deductive method, and that the proper method of the natural sciences is inductive. On this article follows a very long but interesting one on the 'Philosophy of the Christian Theocracy of the Fifth Century,' by a new writer, Prince E. H. Trubetskoe, which enters somewhat on the territory of Church History. He begins with a description of the state of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, which he describes as the dividing period, which lies between the ancient world and the middle ages. He points out the peculiar condition in which the Roman Empire was then situated. The Emperor, after adopting Christianity, found the two halves of the Empire in a curiously contradictory position. He had learnt that the young and vigorous Christian society, which was growing up around him, was well nigh the only means of which he could avail himself, for strengthening the imperial power already far gone in senility, and decaying in a great variety of ways. In the East, where the Christians were in a majority, and where the new capital of the Empire had been placed, the Emperor found that the most successful way of securing his authority, was to take upon himself the office of Head of the Church. Yet even this was attended by difficulties. The temporal and spiritual powers were mixed up together; and heresy and orthodoxy became questions of state policy. It was found to be difficult to be a loyal subject, without knowing and adopting the peculiar dogmas, which were in favour at Court. The monophysitical doctrines, which were then discussed, as to the substance of the persons of the Godhead, and the equality of the Holy Spirit, were a sore trial to the would-be loyal subjects of the emperor. In the western part of the empire, at Rome, matters were entirely different. There, the majority and especially the senate, were still heathen. One of the leading legal principles at Rome, was the divinity of the Emperor. He could not therefore show himself at Rome, without receiving from his heathen subjects, a form of homage, which filled the minds of his Christian subjects

with horror. At Rome, moreover, the large and powerful Christian minority had already a head in the Bishop of Rome, then increasing in power, and indeed, so far as Christianity was concerned, occupying the place of Emperor, and whose services, the Emperor was yet glad to avail himself of, without, at the same time desiring to alienate from himself his heathen subject. On the whole, the Christian Emperors found it expedient to keep at a distance from Rome. After depicting the state of the empire, the author takes up the history of a great personage, who then appeared, and who did much to mould the future of the Church, both as to its polity, and the doctrines of the Christian faith. This was Aurelius Augustinus, commonly called Saint Augustine. We have a lengthened description of his life and character and position, which is, moreover, to be continued, in a future number.—The next article, in order, is the continuation of M. Wentzel's article, 'On the Morality of Life, and the Free Ideal,' of which there was some account given in our last summary. Having described pretty fully the views of M. Guyau, in unfolding the current morality of society as, *une morale sans obligation ni sanction*, in the present article, the author, M. Wentzel, passes over to examine critically the views M. Guyau. He admits that they bear a somewhat hypothetical character, although he professes also to lay the foundation of the system in the actual facts of life. M. Wentzel asks if M. Guyau places all the scientific facts of a moral kind, which contemporary science shows as included in the postulate on which he grounds his system, and is compelled to avow that he does not. The universal principle which he places at the foundation of his system is the tendency of all living beings to preserve and increase the force of their individual life. In seeking to defend this apparently easy morality, without sanction, M. Wentzel emphasises the importance of freedom. Give freedom, and men will find themselves their proper limits. He notices the great importance of voluntary activity, and the efforts that will be put forth when that activity is unrestricted, and co-operated with, by other men. If men be left to themselves, doubtless there is a risk, that they may go wrong, but the advantages of freedom are so great, that he considers this risk ought to be encountered. He finds also certain ideas in connection with this kind of morality, which serve in some sort, instead of sanctions. First, consciousness, on the part of the individual of his own internal power or ability. The second equivalent to a sanction in this sanctionless morality, is the power which ideas possess to bring about their own realization. A third equivalent arises from the emotive powers in virtue of

which, whatever influences our thoughts, more or less stirs our feelings. In the relation of one person to another, this becomes sympathy; and it is needless to speak of the great power of sympathy. It was on sympathy, that Adam Smith built up his whole system of morals, so far as beneficent action was concerned. —The fourth paper is a character study of the novelist, Count Leo. N. Tolstoi, the author of 'Anna Karenina,' and 'Peace and War.' The author, M. Strachoff contrasts and discusses the various and contradictory opinions concerning this eminent man. —The next and concluding paper is by the distinguished Russian thinker, Vladimir Solovieff, and is designated 'From the Philosophy of History.' He connects these discussions with an historical work, by the late Leo Metchnikoff, bearing the title of '*La Civilization et les grandes fleuves historiques.*' M. Solovieff sums up the contents of this remarkable work by telling us that the author (M. Metchnikoff) divides Universal History into three chief epochs. The first, the *riverine* or fluvial period moves together, isolated, more or less despotically bound together populations, into cultured masses, disposed along or beside the great rivers. Such was the Egyptian civilization, acclimatised on the banks of the Nile; the Assyro-Chaldean, connected with the Tigris and Euphrates; the Indian on the Indus and the Ganges: the Chinese on the Yellow and the Blue rivers. The second universal historical epoch, the *Mediterranean Marine* opened up the maritime intercourse of the old world; the Phœnician, continued by the Greeks and Romans, ended by the mediaeval European. Here we see cultured groups already greatly less isolated externally, and greatly less disjointed internally, with more or less complex, but especially aristocratic or oligarchic organizations, with mobile and changeable forms above, but always below the more or less completely enslaved masses or lower classes. At last, from the time of the great movements of the fifteenth century begins the dawn of the *third* universal epoch, the *Oceanic*, when the active, historical part of mankind no longer confines its central movements either to the banks of great rivers or to the basins of Mediterranean seas; but spreads its activity over the whole globe, on the broad bosoms of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Although this period is only begun, we can see, that it will be productive of great results for our common humanity. We regret to be obliged to close our summary of this interesting paper. —In the special part of the journal, there is the continuation of the editor's (Prof. Grote's) Lectures on Fundamental Momenta in the development of modern Philosophy; the application of measurement to the simplest intellectual

processes by E. Tchelpanoff; and finally, the usual bibliographical and critical notices.

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (October 1st).—The letters and documents of Baron Riccasoli are continued; and Rafael de Cesare, in an article on the 'Future Conclave,' says that the existing difference between Pope and State, which is in great part the result of the uncertain political condition of Europe, cannot enter into any new phase until the cannon has given its brutal verdict. There is little or no hope just now unless a better surrounding is sought for, but this is hindered, with equal force, by liberal prejudice on one side, and the excesses of the intransigents on the other.—V. Ellena contributes a long statistical article on 'Commercial Treaties.'—G. Boglietti writes a monograph on Carl Emanuel of Savoy.—Fiction is supplied by the continuation (in this and following numbers) of Neera's novellette 'Senio,' and a short tale, 'The 20th September,' by P. Fambri.—G. Chiarini gives a sketch of the life and poetry of Theodore Körner.—(October 16th).—E. Masi contributes a monograph on Aristide Gabelli, and G. Boccardo furnishes some statistics relating to contemporaneous socialism.—A writer, signing himself Πολιτικός, gives a sketch of the life of Parnell, and says that while Boulanger and his vices will be soon forgotten, Parnell, in spite of his faults, will live in the history of Ireland, and his name be surrounded with glory.—C. Nerazzini reviews Moltke's Letters, and a translation of an Arab manuscript describing the Mussulman conquest of Ethiopia in the 16th century.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (November 1st).—Signor A. Mosso, in an article on 'Physical Education and Games in Schools,' describes cricket, football, etc., in England, and highly praises the English system, advocating its introduction into Italy. He defends those who devote themselves to physical exercise from the accusation that they are lazy students. He remarks that the English are the only people who have preserved the traditions of the ancient Romans in respect to athletic sports.—A. de Johannis discusses the suppression of new railways schemes.—A. Franchetti criticises dramatic competition.—E. Sicamanna talks in an interesting way on hypnotism and spiritism.—There is a memoir of 'Old Pasquale' by the late A. Gabelli, and several pages of verse by A. Graf.—Mutius gives a sketch of the neighbourhood of the Pamir and its historical importance.—(November 16th).—'The Attempts at New Constitutions in Italy from 1796 to 1815,' by L. Palma, is an interesting article

full of information.—L. Dal Verme, writing on George Keenan's 'Siberia,' thinks that the author exaggerates the bad treatment of prisoners by the Russian authorities, but, by his own experience, vouches for the truth of the descriptions of the unhappy life of the exiles.—At the close of his paper on hypnotism, E. Sicamanna remarks that repeated experiments must be made before the existence of a new force, capable of modifying things can be declared proved.—From F. Martini's new book 'In Italian Africa,' there is here given a chapter headed 'From Ghinda to Asonara.'—The most important article of the number is one by G. Ricca on Miguel's project of reform presented to the Prussian *Landtag*, which Signor Ricca designates a notable attempt, containing many serious innovations that are sure to meet with great opposition from the wealthy classes, but will no doubt ultimately prevail.—A. Venturi draws a parallel between the artists Vela and Barabino.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (December 1st).—O. Occioni concludes his critical notes on Horace by a paper on that poet's lyrics, of many of which he gives an Italian version.—E. Nencioni contributes an interesting paper on the poets of the American war, of which he gives a brief sketch, and then claims for Walt Whitman the title of war-poet *par excellence*. He styles Whitman's genius 'magnetic,' finds the poet full of humanity and vision, and gives a short sketch of his life. He translates many of Whitman's poems into Italian, and points out as the men possessing the greatest imagination in modern times—Carlyle, Michelet, Victor Hugo, and Walt Whitman.—An Ex-Diplomatist, writing on Russia, thinks that, in spite of the sympathy and important financial interests that unite France and Russia, the Emperor of Russia has such a repugnance to republican and democratic institutions that he will probably cause Europe some surprise. Russia has made a step to meet France, but the end of the move is not yet reached; and, meanwhile, those who love peace will do all in their power to prevent it from being disturbed.—Fiction is provided in a tale entitled 'The Master of Setticlavio,' by C. Boito.—The Palermo Exhibition is described by R. de Cesare.—In the 'Varieties' there is a translation of Mr. Francis Darwin's lecture, on the movement of plants, given at Cardiff.—(December 16).—A. d'Ancona gives an account of the travels in France and Italy of G. B. Malaspina in 1786, which have an historical value not often found in modern travels, which are prosecuted with greater speed and therefore with less opportunity of observation.—A. de Johannis points out the causes of the present bad economic condition of

Italy, and urges on the Government the study of means of improvement.—The most important article is N. Marselli's on 'Foreign Politics and Military Expenses,' deprecating the ponderous armaments which absorb so much of private time and public money, and the menacing possibility of all social institutions being radically destroyed by the operative organisations. Speaking of a possible war, the writer says that Italy has no reason to desire or provoke it, but she can look forward with serenity to any of its consequences, and cannot complain of the place assigned her in the destiny of European States. All Italians should forget political differences, and unite, if necessary, to fight for their country, and win.—E. Panzacchi writes on historical painting, and L. Palma closes his paper on 'Attempts at New Constitutions.'—A. Brunialti discusses the difficulties of Brazil and the death of Dom Pedro.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (October 1).—After a speech on the anniversary of Baron Ricasoli's death by A. Gotti, we have an interesting paper by A. V. Vecchi on 'Marine Enterprize of the Florentines in Olden Times.'—G. Fenaroli has a long critical paper on some points of allegory in Dante's Divine Comedy; and 'The Journey in the Holy Land,' by C. Del Pezzi, is continued.—(Oct. 16).—G. Boglietti describes Pietro Verri's life, a Milan statesman of the 18th century.—G. Cantalamessa tells about Alessandro Fiarini, the painter.—P. E. Castagnola takes, in another portion of his 'Nineteenth Century Roman Poets,' Achille Monti for his subject.—G. Casani describes the 'History and Origin of the Temporal power of the Popes.'—Another instalment follows of 'General Saint Pierre's Diary in the Crimea,' a sad story of cholera and malaria among the troops. Saint Pierre compares the excellent English hospital in Therapia with the wretched Italian one. He mentions the offer from the English Government of all the necessaries for a hospital of 500 to 1000 beds, which offer had to be refused from reasons of economy, even though the Italians were in want of bare necessaries. He thought the Italian Government, having once entered into the ruinous expedition, ought to have kept pace with their allies in all that concerned the well-being of the Italian contingent without regard to cost.—The rest of the number is occupied with reviews of Italian and American books.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (November 1).—'The Protectorate in the East,' by F. Lampertico, is a sketch of all that has been done in the way of protecting Europeans in that part of the world.—A. Brumalti writes on 'New Zealand and its Inhabitants,' making use of many English works on the subject, and

of one by an Italian missionary, Don Felice Vaggioli.—F. Grassi describes Professor Lippmann's method of photographing colours.—Carlo Maria Curci is the subject of a monograph by Dino.—P. Campello della Spina publishes six letters by Pio Nono, in which is shown that pontiff's frankness and want of political rancour, and the hitherto unknown fact that he was once proposed as Nuncio to Paris, but refused on account of his imperfect acquaintance with the language.—(November 16).—The third part of Stoppani's 'Exameron' commences the number; then follow some notes on 'The Viennese Campaign in 1815' by V. Cobianchi.—G. Rondoni reviews the recent Italian historical books; and an article on the 'Ancient Constitution of Sicily' is commenced by the Duke of Gualtieri.—G. Boglietti contributes a sketch, 'Walpole,' and V. de Marmonte devotes a few pages to the memory of the late musician, Grulio Roberti of Turin, chiefly valued for his sacred music.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (December 1).—A novelty in a poem, 'Eva,' by Antonio Fogazzaro.—The 'Exameron' and the paper by the Duke of Gualtieri are continued.—G. Grabinski reviews Mr. Joseph Denan's book on Germain Colin Bucher, a 16th century French poet.—The article on Abbot Kneipp, in the *Correspondent* of the 10th July, is here translated. General Revil's Memoirs form the theme of a paper by E. A. Foperti, and A. Valdarmini writes on the poet-philosopher Pietro Ceretty of Intra.—The bibliographical review, speaking of Mr. Gallenza's 'Letters to the Italians,' says that the author sins by excess of Anglomania, and treats too lightly the question of celibacy and the marriage of Catholic priests. He also says the comparison of English and Italian women is unjust, the author seemingly not being able to take into account the difference of climate and traditions, and the nature of the race, as causes of diversity.—(December 16th).—R. Gandolphi writes on Mozart, in honour of the centenary of the musician's death.—General Saint Pierre's diary on the Crimea is continued from July to September 1855. On the date of August 6th at Jenikow the General writes, 'The English have just offered us a hospital with five hundred beds, and provided with all things needful. It is situated on the Asiatic shore, a little before the village of the Dardanelles; is unhealthy, difficult of access, and far from our quarters, as we have very few ships at our disposal; but, as it is completely furnished, we must overlook all that. How humiliating it is to be poor when in contact with two rich and generous nations!'—E. Rossi takes as subjects for a chat the American Associated Press, the life and works of J. R. Lowell,

the statistics of divorce in the United States, and the National League for the institution of the law of divorce.—M. Ricci contributes an article describing the life and influence of Ubaldino Peruzzi.—A. A. de Pesaro commences an article on 'Cardinal Lavigerie and the French Republic.'—Follows the speech on 'Sunday Rest,' delivered by Senator Rossi on the 2nd December.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCIE NAPOLETANE (Year XVI., fasc. 3).—We have here the concluding pages of B. Croce's 'Theatres of Naples from the 15th to the 18th Century,' and in it some mention of Goethe's visit to Naples. We hear, too, of a famous *prima donna* called Guiseppa Grassoni, who made a conquest of Prince August, afterwards Duke of Sussex, who lived for many years in Italy on a small income of three thousand pounds a year granted by his father, and a small additional sum from his eldest brother. The prince gave the *prima donna* a monthly pension of a hundred louis d'ors. Thirty years later, the Duke told the singer Lablache that, wishing to punish Guiseppa Grassoni for some caprice, he had invited her to go with him in a boat one fine summer night. The moon was shining, and Guiseppa was singing in time to the gentle movement of the sea, when she was seized by two of the boatmen and thrown into the water. But to the Duke's great disgust, she proved to be a good swimmer, and the next day, made the Duke pay dearly for his treachery. Many interesting notes are added to Croce's paper, especially some relating to the unwritten history of provincial theatres in Italy.—The chapters on the churches to be pulled down in Naples, and those by N. Faraglia on the Abruzzi, are continued.

IL PENSIERO ITALIANO (November).—Arbitration and Universal Peace, by F. Perez.—Civil and Political Colonial Law, by N. Colajanni.—Walks in Sicily, by V. Grazeidei.—The Theory of Earthquakes, by M. Baratta.—Is Pain a Necessity? by E. Regalia.

LA SCUOLA POSITIVA (October, November).—'Divorce in the Neapolitan Provinces,' by B. Croce.—'The Exclusion of the *nomen juris* from the Codex and from Questions to the Jury,' by G. Fioretti.—'The Publication of Obscurities,' by L. Carelli.—'The Cure of Alcoholism,' by A. Zerboglio.—'The Condemnation of Newspapers,' by G. A. Bianchi.—'Psychical Evidence,' by R. Garofalo.—'The Jury in Italy,' by X. Y.—'Arithmetics in the Penal Code,' by S. Sichele.—'Maurice Block and the Question of the 1st May,' by F. S. Nitti.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO (Issue 3 for 1891).—G. R. Sanesi publishes a lecture given by Donato Giannotto on the Militia; and G. Castellani contributes some inedited letters from the Princes of the House of Savoy to Simone Contarini during 1598 to 1618—G. A. Venturi gives an account of the controversies between the Grand Duke of Saxony and Bishop Scipione with the Roman Court.—A. Alfani reports the proceedings of the Societa Colombaria of Florence in the years 1890, 1891.—There are besides some anecdotes and reviews of new books.

LA RASSEGNA DELLE SCIENZE SOCIALE E POLITICHE (October, November, December 1891), contains Philosophic and Economic Pessimism, conclusion by F. Flora.—The independence of ships on the high seas, by O. Da Vella.—Proportion in taxes, by L. Rameri.—The fourth Italian census, by F. Virgili.—Riccasoli and the Roman question, by G. Signorini.—Aristide Gabelli, by G. Gotti.—The Peace Congress in Rome, by A. Gotti.—The International Peace and Arbitration Congress, by G. Boglietti, in which the author says that the hope that reason and not brute force will in future decide all differences between nations, is no vain aspiration, but is rooted in the law of social evolution and the natural development of the idea of right and justice.—William Ewart Gladstone, by R. Debardiere, in which the writer, noticing George Russell's biography of the great statesman, gives a sketch of Mr. Gladstone's life, and unstinted praise to his ideas and genius.—M. Rudini's Speech, by C. Ridolfi.—The Chinese Empire and its economic development during the last 25 years, by A. Brunialti.—Public participation in Local Administration, by E. Coppi.

GREECE.

The *ANTR* of December 14th publishes the oration pronounced at the funeral of the late Dr. A. G. Paspates, the eminent Byzantine scholar. Dr. Paspates was born in the island of Chios. During the troubles of 1824 he left the island, and went to America, where he remained some seven years. After completing his medical education on the Continent and in this country, he returned to Greece in 1840. Twelve years later he went to Constantinople, and was subsequently appointed principal surgeon of the National Hospital there. In Constantinople Dr. Paspates found ample scope for his antiquarian tastes, and made researches, the results of which were afterwards embodied in his *Βυζαντινὰ μελέται*, his work *τὰ Βυζαντινὰ Ἀνάκτορα*, and his *Ἀλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, all of which combine close study of the city with an extensive and accu-

rate knowledge of the voluminous mediæval Greek writers. The deceased scholar was an accomplished linguist, and knew sixteen languages, among which were Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and Syriac. He was also a frequent writer on Sanskrit philology. One of the original founders of the Philological Society of Constantinople and the Adelphotes of the same city, he was an esteemed member of many of the learned societies of Greece, and was always closely identified with any educational movement among his fellow-countrymen. Dr. Paspates attained a ripe age, being almost an octogenarian. His loss is greatly regretted by his fellow-countrymen and by all Byzantine scholars. Up to the last he was engaged in revising an English translation of his *Βυζαντινὰ Ἀνάκτορα*, which is shortly to be published, and we understand that another of his works is being translated in the United States.

FRANCE.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (November, December).—The first of the numbers before us opens with a sketch of the Egyptian question. It is, of course, written from the French point of view, and consequently not over friendly towards England.—It is followed by Admiral Jurien de la Gravière's 'Les Gueux de Mer,' of which the present instalment deals more particularly with the reign of terror in Flanders.—M. Augustin Filon, who has made England and the English his speciality, devotes a long article to Mr. John Morley. It is ably and clearly written. As regards its appreciation of Mr. Morley as a writer, it will probably find few to disagree with it; when it comes to consider him as a politician it enunciates views and champions opinions about which there is a diversity which it scarcely allows for sufficiently.—In a very pungent article M. G. Valbert criticises the scheme drawn up by Prof. Grimm for the teaching of history, in accordance with the German Emperor's view of beginning with the present and going backwards to ancient times.—The mid-monthly part for this month is considerably below the usually high standard of this publication as regards matters of general interest. After the concluding part of a short novel by M. René Bazin, it brings an article on the last autumn manœuvres in the east of France, then there is an essay on Mme. Ackermann; this is followed by the concluding part of 'La Question d'Egypte.'—M. de Varigny then deals with the Chilian Civil War and Balmaceda's fall; and Colonel Frey closes with a paper on the organization of piracy in Tonkin. All this is good of its kind, but the kind is scarcely that which that most fastidious of

beings, the general reader, greatly appreciates.—The December number opens well with a powerful little story by M. G. Augustin-Thierry, 'La Bien-Aimée.'—'Les Gueux de Mer'—one of the very best studies Admiral Jurien de la Gravière has yet contributed to these pages—closes with an instalment, to which the first four lines of the pirate's song, 'O'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea,' are prefixed as an epigraph; and it is rather remarkable that the translation annexed to them contains two notable blunders.—An anonymous article, headed 'Autour d' une Colonie Autonome,' deals with the Afrikanders, and traces the origin of home-rule at the Cape.—In an interesting and instructive article M. Bréal considers language and nationalities, and indicates the real good which has resulted from the want of a universal language, which, in spite of what some philosophers have prophesied, he does not consider either possible or desirable.—Though only based on Professor Büdinger's recent study, 'Don Carlos Haft und Tod,' M. G. Valbert's article on Don Carlos cannot fail to be read with interest by all to whom the German work is not accessible. In substance, it amounts to something like a white-washing of Philip II. and an impeachment of Carlos, who, as represented here, resembles Schiller's hero about as much as a crow resembles a swan.—The last number is headed by an article in which M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu considers the Papacy in its relation to socialism and democracy. The article is not, however, complete, and it would be premature to indicate the conclusions towards which the writer appears to be tending.—M. Gustave Larroumet, an authority on theatrical matters, contributes an excellent sketch of French comedy during the middle-ages.—M. Lavissee, in continuation of his studies—already published in book-form—of the life of Frederick the Great, passes on to that period which is marked by his stay at Neu-Ruppen.—In a thoughtful article, which he entitles 'Neo-Malthusianism in England,' M. Pierre Mille indicates the results which may be feared for England from a continued decrease of population, such as the latest statistics show.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (December).—The first weekly part for this month opens with a botanical article dealing with the useful plants of the future. It bears the signature of Mr. Goodale, and is the translation of a paper read by him before the American Association for the Advancement of Science.—Another paper is of American origin. It is an account of the proceedings at the International Geological Congress at Washington.—M. Chambrelent contributes a paper of limited

interest ; its subject is the draining and culture of la Camargue, that part situated between the two arms of the Rhone and the sea.—Under the rubric, ‘History of Sciences,’ there is an excellent sketch of the life of Thomas Sydenham, an eminent English doctor of the 17th century.—Another contribution appealing to English readers is the paper which M. Féré devotes to the proposed reform in the laws relative to the treatment of the insane in Ireland.—‘*Dans Cent Ans*’ is a clever, and, it might perhaps be said, instructive sketch, in which M. Richet endeavours, not exactly to prophesy, but to deduce from the present state of things, what the civilised world is likely to be like in 1992.—M. Nordenskiöld has undertaken to edit the unpublished works of the Swedish savant, Scheele, and the preface to them has been allowed to appear here as a separate article, in which a sketch of Scheele’s life and work is given as a contribution to the ‘History of the Sciences.’—A short account of the electrical exhibition of Frankfurt, and a scientific and technical article, ‘*La Constitution des Antiseptiques de la série aromatique*’ are to be found in the same number.

REVUE DE L’HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 5. 1891).—M. Ch. Piepenbring in a second article on ‘The History of the Places of Worship and of the Priesthood in Israel,’ reverses the order he followed in his first article, which appeared in the preceding number and was summarised in our last issue. It may be remembered that M. Piepenbring endeavoured to meet M. Vernes on his own chosen ground in the controversy as to the age and order of the component parts of the Pentateuch, and followed the method which M. V. had asserted was the true scientific method, and the only one that could lead to positive and reliable results. He began his examination of the history of Israel’s ceremonial laws at the period when it is universally admitted that the sacerdotal code was in full force, the period viz., after the exile. From there he traced the history backwards, and showed how the further back he went the less was known of the specific regulations of that code, and the less the spirit of it was seen in the thought and life of the people. Here, in this second paper, he reverses that method, and starting from the early ages of Israel’s existence, traces the progress of the various movements affecting the centralisation of worship and the limitations of the priesthood up to the triumph in post-exilic times of the letter and spirit enshrined in what is known as the Priests’ Code. In this way he seeks to confirm still more effectively the position taken up by the modern historical or critical school, and to show the absurdity

of that recently advocated by M. Vernes. M. Piepenbring towards the conclusion of his article, expresses his inability to accept the views expressed by Kuenen, and others of the school, as to the combination of the Priests' code with the earlier law book, or books. They regard the work of combination as having taken place after Ezra, and take the Book of the Law read by him to the people as the sacerdotal code by itself. M. Piepenbring thinks the combination had been made before then, and gives very strong reasons for his opinion. We commend them to the attention of all interested in this controversy. They will be found on pages 172-180.—M. E. Aymonier gives us the first part of an exceedingly well-informed account of an ancient and still existing race inhabiting the south-east districts of the Burmese or Siamese peninsula. He titles his paper, 'Les Tchames et leurs religions.' The first part of it is devoted to their somewhat checkered history, and to their habits and social customs. The largest part is given to their religious beliefs, ceremonies, and rites.—A short notice of the proceedings at the recent Congress of 'Orientalists' in London follows, and among the reviews of books we notice especially that of Messrs. J. Rendel Harris and J. Armitage Robinson's 'Apology of Aristides.' It is by the editor, and is highly appreciative, while in some respects it is an independent contribution to the questions raised by the 'Apology.'

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 6, 1891).—M. the Abbe Loisy resumes in this number his 'Etudes sur la religion chaldéo-assyrienne.' Having treated in previous articles of the various deities, great and small, national and local, he turns now to an equally minute study of the myths current in Babylonia and Assyria, and with which we have been made acquainted through the literature of late years recovered in the explorations of the ruins of the cities and palaces of those countries. The whole of this paper is devoted to the myths concerning the origin of things. The originals are translated and commented on *seriatim*, in the light of whatever other sources are available, such as the fragments of Berosus, and the Biblical versions are contrasted also with them.—M. the Abbé Peisson, the editor of this *Revue*, discourses on the present condition of the Science of Religions. This paper was originally prepared as an address before the Congress of Catholic *savants* which met in April last. It takes the form of a review of recent events in connection with this science (such as the exhibition of deities and the models of temples, altars, etc., at the recent Paris 'Exposition'), and of new foundations or chairs for its express elucidation, and of works consecrated to the discussion, or popularising, of questions

connected with it. The Musée Guimet, now installed in Paris, receives of course a considerable amount of the learned Abbé's attention, and the Reviews, Books, and Lectureships in France, Holland, England, and elsewhere, that have been instituted or published since his last article on this subject appeared in the third number of this *Revue*, are more or less fully noticed, and their merits or demerits pointed out. In keeping with the object of this *Revue*, as well as with the purpose of the Catholic Congress, Catholics are here reminded of their duties as charged with the defence of the Catholic Faith, and encouraged to hope that the new science may prove, under the guidance of the Catholic clergy, of great service to the Truth.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES (Juives, Juillet, Sept., 1891).—The publication of this number has been from some cause or another delayed for nearly three months. It has just come to hand as we are going to press, and therefore we can only give a list of its most important contents. Professor Loeb continues his important study, 'La littérature des Pauvres dans la Bible.' In the last section of it he examined very minutely the Psalter. Here he submits the section of Isaiah's prophecies, known as those of the second Isaiah, to a similar exhaustive examination.—M. J. Halévy gives another of his 'Recherches bibliques,' considering here some psalms which he regards as belonging to the period of Hezekiah.—M. J. Derenbourg continues his 'Gloses d' Abou Zakariya ben Bilam sur Isaïe.'—The other articles are 'Histoire de la communauté israhélite de Corfou,' J. A. Romanos; 'De la condition des Juifs de Mantoue au XVI^e siècle,' C. Dejob; 'Les Juifs de Paris à la fin de l'ancien régime,' H. Monin; 'Catalogue des MSS. judaïques entrés au British Museum de 1867 à 1890,' H. Derenbourg.

REVUE CELTIQUE (October).—Opens with a number of interesting notes on 'Noms bretons des points de l'espace' by M. E. Ernault. They are the result of the studies of M. l'abbé Eug. Rabet, suggested by the Duke d'Aumale, on a number of calendars belonging to the sixteenth century.—Dr. Whitley Stokes follows with the text and translation of 'Adamnan's Second Vision,' taken, so far as the text is concerned, from the lithographic facsimile of the Lebar Breac, pp. 258-259, and printed now for the first time. An account of this Vision will be found in O'Curry's Lectures pp. 424-425, who argues that it was written shortly before 1096. It is of interest both to folklorists and to students of mediæval Irish history. Notes and an index verborum are added.—Next we have a continuation of

Dr. Max Nettlau's notes on the Irish text of the *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*.—In the 'Melanges' M. Kuno Meyer gives a list of loan words in Old Irish from Norse, Anglo-Saxon, Latin and Old French.—The 'Chronique' with its *Post-Scriptum* is more than usually full.—The number concludes with a list of the chief Celtic words referred to or discerned in the volume which is now concluded.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (October, November, December).—Graphology is a science of recent date. The term itself is a new one, invented some twenty years ago by the Abbé Michon, and Littré admitted it in the supplement to his dictionary only under a kind of protest. Graphology, he said, is a study by which it is believed that a knowledge of a person's moral condition, aptitude, and disposition, may be got from an examination of the shape of the letters and the nature of the strokes in his handwriting. It may be that now-a-days he would have given a less scornful definition. At any rate, there are people who place considerable faith in graphology, and M. Auguste Glardon thinks it important enough to devote to it an article which runs through all the numbers for the quarter. Apart from the value of the system—a question with which we have not to concern ourselves—there is no doubt that the exposition here given of it is most interesting and most instructive. It is a most able summary of all that has been written on the subject by the recognised leaders of the school.—In a short but very readable article M. G. van Muyden sketches the development of transatlantic navigation—a subject about which most English readers may be supposed to know something already.—'A traverse le Caucase' is the closing instalment of M. Emile Levrier's sketch of his botanical exploration.—To his studies of contemporary English poets M. Léo Quernel here adds a literary and critical essay on M. Robert Buchanan, of whom his admiration goes the length of regretting that he was not born in France rather than in England.—Two stories, in addition to the usual chroniques, complete the contents.—The November part contains—exclusively of contributions to lighter literature, and of continuations of papers begun in former numbers—only two complete articles. Of these, that which appeals to the widest circles is by M. A. de Verdilhac, who considers the various causes which have contributed, and are still contributing, to change the point of view from which society considers crime.—The other deals with army

manœuvres in France.—In former numbers M. G. van Muyden has devoted articles to the life and work of Krupp and of the brothers Siemens. As a supplement to these he now sketches the career of Sir Henry Bessemer.—In addition to this there is a lengthy paper, in which M. Numa Droz traces the origin of the Swiss Confederation.—The other items are either continuations, light literature, or chroniques.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA: REVISTA IBERO-AMERICANA (October).—The greater proportion of this number is made up of tales by French and Russian authors—with Wagner's reminiscences, and Count Moltke's Franco-Prussian War. The purely Peninsular portion consists of three or four papers, in the place of honour being the famous letter of Christopher Columbus, written on board the 'Carvel Niña' between the 15th and 18th February, 1493, reaching Europe before the 4th March, when it was despatched from Lisbon to Barcelona. The letter was circulated with great rapidity in various editions the year it was written, appearing with an interval of a few months in Castilian, in Latin, and in Italian. The first Spanish editions were printed in Seville and in Barcelona in April, 1493. The Prologues of the first editions in all three languages are here reprinted, as well as notices of other rare editions of this great historic document.—Campión completes his fourth and last paper on 'Faust in Music.'—'The Siege of Gibraltar,' by the second Count of Niebla, is an account of a gallant attempt to secure the key of the Straits from the Moors in 1433, in which the Count—the famous D. Enrique de Guzmán el Buens and Castelle—lost his life. He was the second of royal blood who fell in the attempt to capture Gibraltar.—Castelar's 'International Chronicle' is mainly occupied by an estimate of the careers and characters of Boulanger and Parnell. 'What a difference between Parnell and Boulanger, difference in character, difference in ideas, difference in initiative, difference in methods, difference in ends! The one restlessness, whilst the other perseverance personified; the one aspiring to dictatorship, whilst the other aspired to liberty; the one conspirator, the other Parliamentary; the one with the personal vanities of mediocrity personified, and the other with the personal stoicism of an inspiring idea; and yet in both disgrace and death entered by the same rib to the heart.' Both are spoken of as 'suicides.'—'The Economic Review' advises Portugal to arrange with her creditors as she cannot pay more than 25 per cent., and even that is much for such a small nation. The Portuguese railway companies have signed an agreement with the companies of the

North of Spain—a mutual benefit.—(November). There are more native Spanish papers in this number. The first is an amusing story of the famous Marshall Prim as a lad, and why he hated the dish called *sopas de ajo*. It is told by Dr. Thebussem as he heard it from Prim's own lips.—‘The Collar of Pearls’ is an Arab tale in Spanish verse, well and simply told. This is followed by a paper on ‘Columbian Criticism’ by Próspero Peragallo, dealing with a new work on Christopher Columbus, of which Peragallo—himself an authority on Columbian literature—speaks highly. The coming quatro-centenary is greatly stimulating this class of literature.—In ‘José Zorrilla’ we have a careful study of this famous Spanish poet and dramatist. ‘Before considering Zorrilla as a dramatic author, we must examine him as a lyric poet. This consideration is not only convenient but necessary, since his dramas are only expanded poems, poems of a troubadour, legends.’ In poetry Spain is at present somewhat common-place. The poem ‘Experience’ is pessimistic, and after asking various disagreeable why's? adds ‘Perhaps you do not know Ah! God grant that you never know; the heart of things is so horrible!’—The ‘International Chronicle’ of Castelar is marked by his usual keen appreciation of the spirit of events. He had evidently hoped much from Parnell; and Spain leans still more upon France, but recent events in both France and Ireland have shaken the faith of the great Spanish orator and statesman.—‘Literary Impressions’ considers sympathetically three modern works as the most remarkable the writer recollects. They are ‘Honest People’ (*Las personas descentes*), by Enrique Gaspar, ‘without doubt an excellent comedy, and the novel an amplification of it, the first deserves to be considered as a master work, whilst the second is only an “acceptable” work.’—‘Current Life’ (*La vida cursi*) ‘is a collection of most facetious articles, sufficient to serve a hypochondriac . . .’ When the reader turns the last page of the book, illustrated with delightful sketches by Ponsy, only then it occurs to him to note that it finishes so soon.—‘Salpicón’ is the title of the third volume, by Mariano de Cavia—the chronicler of *El Liberal* journal.—In the ‘Economic Review’ the writer claims that the output of coal in Spain has quadruplicated in 30 years; while the Spanish State debt that was held a very few years ago mainly abroad, not more than 800 millions of the 6,200 millions of pesetas is held by foreigners to-day.—The various tales and sketches by French and other foreign authors are clever and well chosen.—(December). The first portion is the foreign portion continuing Von Moltke's letters, and Wagner's reminiscences, with a tale by Goncourt, a legend by Alphonse Daudet,

and a cynical story of 'Friendship' by Theodore de Banville.—The Spanish poem by Campoamor on 'The Power of Illusion' is full of deep and true feeling.—'An inedited letter of D. Juan de la Sal' gives a curious insight into the condition of Spain during the power of the Inquisition at the commencement of the seventeenth century—the Portuguese Bishop describing to the Duke of Medina Sidonia his friends under *auto da fe*.—'The International Chronicle' deals shrewdly with the struggle between Bishop Strossmeyer and the Austrian Monarchy, and shows how he is playing Russia's game. 'But it results certainly and unquestionably that all the ideas of the Bishop are directed to defend the protecting power of the Slavs—Russia; and the future of Russia is a terrible menace to European civilisation. It is very fashionable to place the French with the Russian populace; but this will never result, because the conscience of humanity and common sentiment declare the contrary, however they may pretend.'—'Literary Impressions' and 'The Dutch in America' are both readable papers, while a commencement is made of 'Notes for a Dictionary of American Writers of the Nineteenth Century.' These include all nationalities on the American continent—more especially the English and Spanish—and promises to be of permanent value.—A capital, clear index concludes the year.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (October) contains a review of Dr. Kollewijn's 'Life of Bilderdijk,' by Professor Pierson, who pronounces it an exhaustive collection of materials, but not in any true sense a biography. That has still to be written.—'Dutch Dykes on French Ground' is an account of work done by Dutch engineers in the French marshes on the Rhone, etc., with reference to Count de Dienne's book.—An amusing description is given by Simons of the Netherland Language and Literature Congress held at Ghent, the 'Flemish Movement' being of course very much to the front. It languishes owing to the want of literature. The Flemish lower classes do not understand Dutch though it is so close to their own dialect, and those of the upper classes who uphold the movement are themselves thoroughly French. Various, not very practical, suggestions were made with a view of bringing North and South Netherland into closer sympathy, but, generally speaking, the Congress was quite futile.—'Will o' the Wisps,' No. I., by Polak. The title sufficiently indicates his estimate of the recently discovered fragment of Aristotle. He points out many difficulties in the way of accepting it; chiefly inconsistencies with the then condition of the Athenian

State, and thinks that not Aristotle but some disciple of the Peripatetic school may be credited with it, and that though probably written in Aristotle's lifetime it was published later.—(November). 'Potgieter Studies,' No. I., by Groenewegen. The early life of the poet, 1808-31, is fully recorded. As boy and young man he had a hard life in shop and warehouse, both in Amsterdam and in Antwerp where he lost everything in the troubles of 1830, and was forced to return to Holland. Retarded by his terribly uncongenial environment, his poetic faculty ripened slowly, still some of his most spirited verses belong to the Antwerp time when shot and shell were flying about his house.—'Van den Vliehors,' by Steenhuizen, is a beautiful but intensely sad sketch of peasant life on the desolate dunes.—An excellent article by Van Woerden is devoted to the discussion of the Torrens system (Real Property Act, S. Australia), which is recommended as the system of the future for Holland, where many curious legal customs and some insecurity of land tenure exists.—'God,' by Victor Hugo. This magnificent poem is appreciatively reviewed by Brouwer, who says it sums up the thought of the age on the subject of God and immortality. He points out that the weak part of the poem is that in which, after he has sketched with masterhand all that is best in Christianity, he goes on to give a confused, obscure reflection of Christian ideas as if it were something more complete.—(December). 'A Woman, *fin de siècle*,' by Hooijer. This is Madame du Deffand. A singular resemblance is pointed out between the end of this and last century, the same scepticism, hopelessness, *ennui*, and, what is little to our credit, an acceptance of the worn-out ideas of that time palmed off as novelties now. He gives a curious picture of the lady, especially of her old age. Thoroughly a woman of her time she had no belief in it, and was quick to perceive that its defect lay in a want of self-sacrifice and reluctance to exercise a better will. What is wanted in our *fin de siècle* to avert a bloody revolution is that we should throw off sentimentalisms about humanity and rouse ourselves to an energetic striving after a higher ideal of human life, an ideal that has become clearer than ever before to heart and intellect.—'Gerald Bilders,' a young artist who was early cut off, is likely to be remembered more by his Diary and Letters than by his pictures. The former show considerable literary power.—'The North Borneo Treaty,' by Professor P. A. Van der Lith, discusses the situation. The Dutch regard the British as interlopers in Borneo, and are very jealous of the concessions granted to the North Borneo Company. Professor Lith endeavours to convince them that Holland's honour is unaffected by these, that the

Dutch have already more than enough to do in the island, and that the proposed definition of territory will be much to Holland's advantage if accepted by the States-General.—'Sister Bertha,' by A. Aletrino, a new novel, and one of the most interesting published of late years in Holland. Bertha is of the same overstrained nervous nature as Philomène in the Des Goncourt's romance, equally interesting as a study to physiologist and psychologist. The style of writing is not equal throughout, and there are some few sins against good taste; yet, on the whole, the story is admirably told. Bertha's youth in the dull Amsterdam house, her life as an hospital nurse, the doctor her lover, who fails her, all is set before us in the most unsensational yet attractive way, and when at last she returns disappointed, disillusioned to the old dull home the crisis of the novel is reached in her acceptance of a commonplace husband. We are present at the wedding reception, where we leave her suddenly breaking down in a paroxysm of tears and sobs, her life a failure.

DE GIDS (January).—Contains 'Extasy,' a prolonged study by Louis Couperus, in the Ibsenite manner, of the loves of a young widow and a man with fascinating eyes who correctly enough describes himself as a *mauvais sujet*.—'Toynbee Work' the first part of an appreciative sketch of what is doing in England in this direction.—'Black and White in the United States' by Pisuisse, is an interesting enough statement of the present position of the black and white races and of the difficulties and dangers to the commonwealth arising therefrom. The outlook he considers not very hopeful as neither removal of the blacks nor amalgamation is practically possible but on the other hand the census shows that the blacks are not increasing so fast as the whites, and the former must necessarily remain in many respects the weaker.—In a short 'In Memoriam,' Prof. Tiele pays a graceful tribute to his late colleague and friend Kuenen. He dilates on the admirable qualities of the man and his genial nature which made him popular with the humblest citizens of Leiden who were proud of his fame though it reached them only as a sort of legend. He had time and attention for all sorts of diverse engagements quite apart from his peculiar work. With the students he was most popular and, a before unheard of thing, they chose him, a theological professor, as president of their society. He was equally loved and revered by all theologians and protestants of the modern school, and his loss will be greatly felt. Of his scholarship and writings enough has been said elsewhere.—'Spelling' by Kalf, discusses this much vexed question at

some length. What is called the new spelling, that fixed by the De Vries and Te Winkel Dictionary 1863, was bitterly attacked by Dr. Kollewijn as being arbitrary and tyrannically imposed, and while not advocating phonetic spelling he desired greater simplification. Kalff finds him unreasonable and thinks the spelling had better be left as it is. The fact is, the Latin alphabet is not equal to the task of expressing Dutch words as pronounced. Even the phonetic system finds this difficult.

The THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT for November opens with a very interesting study by Dr. A. J. H. W. Brandt on the word 'Name,' and on the baptismal formula, in the New Testament. The remark is very true that such phrases as 'for His Name's sake,' 'giving thanks in His Name,' which are of such frequent occurrence in the Christian books, are, to a certain extent, vague and indefinite. The writer believes that the use of the term in the New Testament is frequently a Hebraism, and that the virtues ascribed to the name of Christ show the survival in the Church of Semitic modes of thought in connection with this word. The name of a person is used in the New Testament for the person himself, it is used to denote the character of a person, his essential attributes; 'in the name of Jesus Christ' means by the authority of Jesus Christ, to pray in the name of Jesus is to pray for those things which Jesus would have his disciples to ask for; 'forgiveness of sins is given in His name' means that the sins of the convert are forgiven at his baptism. In addition, however, to these uses, which may fairly be regarded as figurative, there are instances in which the name of Christ is spoken of as possessing miraculous powers; it expels demons, it makes a lame man walk, it cures Paul of his blindness; along with unction and prayer it raises up the sick in the Church. These latter modes of speaking of Christ's name are not to be found, Dr. Brandt points out, in the undoubted Epistles of Paul, but are found principally in the Acts and the Gospels. The following part of this paper, in which the Aramaic and Talmudic usages of similar phrases are discussed, cannot be here described; the outcome of it is that Dr. Brandt proposes to render the 'in the name of' of the New Testament, which he regards as being in many places an Aramaism, with such equivalents as 'in connection with,' 'because of,' or 'under the title of.' 'In the name of a prophet' would thus be 'because he holds the office of prophet'; to be gathered together in Christ's name, would mean to assemble under the title of Christ, or for some specific Christian object. And to baptise into the name of Christ is to baptise with reference to Christ, so that the convert is identified with Christ in his own eyes

and in the eyes of the world. The second part of the paper is less curious and original than the first, but is still noteworthy. 'Baptism into the name of Christ' is an Aramaism, the 'name' in this phrase is simply a part of a preposition, which denotes that the person baptised becomes connected with Christ. Paul, it is argued from 1 Cor., chap. i., used no baptismal formula, certainly not the threefold formula of Matthew xxviii. The earliest formula was a simpler one, and no special virtue was at first attached to the Name which was invoked; if there was mysticism in the administration, it was not connected with the name, but with the body into which the convert was incorporated. —A complimentary notice of the lately published Gifford Lectures, 'Physical Religion,' also appears in this number.

DENMARK.

AARBØGER FOR NORDISK OLDKYNDIGHED OG HISTORIE (1891. Vol. 6; part 3):—Dr. S. Müller contributes an important article on the arrangement of finds belonging to the Bronze Age, written with reference to the work 'Arrangement of the Antiquities of Denmark' (Copenhagen 1891). The finds treated of, 710 in number, are arranged in 24 tables; and the article is of value as a collection of materials for the study of the Bronze period in Denmark and Bornholm. Dr. Müller refers incidentally to the differences of opinion between himself and Professor Montelius, and the latter part of the article is a defence of the 'votive' finds against the theory proposed by Dr. H. Petersen in 1890.—'Martianus Capella and the Northern Mythology,' is an attempt by *Hjalmar Falk* to trace the influence of this writer's *De nuptiis Philologie et Mercuri* (c. 429 A.D.) in some of the myths of the Edda. Capella's work was known in Ireland and was partly translated into Old German by Notker, so that such influence is not impossible, and Hr. Falk gives nine instances where he thinks it can be traced. Some of the parallels are striking, but the proof of immediate influence is naturally very uncertain.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Incarnation of the Son of God: being the Bampton Lectures for the year 1891. By CHARLES GORE, M.A., Principal of Pusey House, and Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. London: John Murray. 1891.

It is not at all surprising that the Editor of *Lux Mundi* has chosen as the subject of his Bampton Lectures the doctrine of the Incarnation. For though that remarkable volume professes to be a 'Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation,' the subject of the Incarnation is nowhere expressly treated in its pages. There are studies in it on 'The Incarnation in relation to Development,' and on 'The Incarnation as the Basis of Dogma;' but the central doctrine of the Christian Faith is not admitted in its pages to the honour of separate treatment. This may probably have been due to the feeling that the subject was too large and important to be treated along with others. The present volume may, therefore, be regarded as in some sort a supplement to *Lux Mundi*. As a volume completing those studies it cannot be regarded. For here again are shortcomings, which the author proposes to make good by the issue of another volume dealing with such topics as the conception entertained in early Greek theology of the supernatural in its relation to nature, the relation of Ebionism and Gnosticism to the theology of the New Testament, and the conception of the Incarnation at different epochs in the history of the Church. In his lectures Mr. Gore attempts to give expression to the same intellectual principle as was attempted to be given expression to in *Lux Mundi*, 'the principle, namely, that all right theory emerges out of experience, and is the analysis of experience; that the right method of philosophy is not *a priori*, abstract or external, but is based in each department of enquiry upon a profound and sympathetic study of the facts.' As in *Lux Mundi* also, the hypothesis of Evolution is accepted, and the same anxiety to keep within the limits of the teaching of the Church is evident. Singularly enough the Atonement and the doctrine of the Atonement are simply mentioned, and the latter is mentioned only to be left aside. There can be no question as to the ability of the lectures. If there is nothing very profound in them, there is nothing which is very startling. They contain many fresh interpretations of Scripture; but these, for the most part, are such as will commend themselves to the experience of the reader. Mr. Gore assumes the anthropocentric character of the Universe, and speaks of Christ as at once supernatural and natural, 'the crown of nature,' an idea suggested among theologians by Bishop Butler, and among scientists by Mr. Fiske. His definition of a miracle is 'an event in physical nature which makes unmistakably plain the presence and direct action of God working for a moral end;' a definition with which little fault can probably be found, but his illustration of it is unfortunate, as it either assumes that the death of physical organisms is not a fundamental law of nature, or it confounds spiritual with physical death. The volume, however, is deserving of very careful study, both on account of its contents, which, to say the least, are rich in suggestions, and as showing the drift of theological opinion among an influential party in the Church of England.

The Apology of the Christian Religion Historically Regarded with Reference to Supernatural Revelation and Redemption. By the Rev. JAMES MACGREGOR, D.D., Columba Church, Oumaru, etc. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1891.

Apologies of the Christian faith seem to be endless. Christianity appears to be beset on all sides by enemies, and to be in the position of having continually to turn from one side to another in order to confront either some new foe or an old foe in a new quarter. Now it is criticism, now science, now philosophy, now history ; all the same, it is continually being called upon to give an account of itself, to meet the attacks of its assailants, and to justify its existence. Such at least is what we may gather from the writers of works on apologetics. For our own part we are disposed to think that Christianity is its own best apology, and is continually providing the world with proofs of the fact. Dr. Macgregor would almost seem to be of the same way of thinking. He is not a professional writer of apologetics, he tells us, but has here put down what has struck himself as the true apology of the Christian religion, and though he argues largely about miracles and other of the evidences of Christianity, it is not so much in them that he finds the justification of the Christian religion as in the effect it has had upon the world. His method, though scarcely new or original, may be commended for its wisdom. Taking the second century of the Christian era, a century in which, as he remarks, the Church was somewhat wanting in great or leading spirits, he shows what Christianity had done, and what fruits it was bearing in the faith and lives of its professors, and then argues back to what he calls 'primæval' Christianity ; and while showing that a religion, which could produce such fruit at so remote a distance from its beginning, and could continue to do so, must have been divine, he seeks to justify the belief of those by whom Christianity was first received. As might be expected, Dr. Macgregor comes across most of the controversies which are at present running their course, and across many others which have long since been laid aside, and on all of them he has something to say. At times his language is pointed and vigorous, more especially when he is dealing with the theories of Strauss and Baur, but it is always courteous. Dr. Macgregor writes as one who is sure of his cause. One may not exactly approve of the arguments he employs or agree with his statements, still the work is written with great learning and ability and freshness of thought. Among works of its kind it will be difficult to find another in which the subject is dealt with in a more forcible or attractive way.

Dogma and the Church of England. By A. I. FITZROY. Edinburgh and London : Wm. Blackwood & Sons. 1891.

In this volume Miss Fitzroy may be said to have proved that in the Church of England the tendency has long been among many of her most conspicuous leaders for their preaching to become less and less metaphysical and more and more practical. It may be said too that she has shown that within the communion of which she writes there is less fierceness about opinions and a wider prevalence of the spirit of tolerance. All this may be said without accepting everything Miss Fitzroy cites in support of her argument and without agreeing in all that she says by way of commentary on the passages from her favourite religious writers or in illustration or confirmation of their meaning. It is only fair, however, to add that Miss Fitzroy believes that she has done much more than anything we have mentioned. With perhaps a single exception the words which occur most frequently on the pages of

her introduction are 'dogmatism' and 'dogmatists.' By the latter is meant those who hold by religious dogmas, and by dogmatism sometimes their spirit and sometimes their practice as teachers. Against these and religious dogmas Miss Fitzroy runs full tilt; she never spares them and has many hard things to say about them. And what she seems to believe is, that in the course of her volume she has proved that in the Church of England, at least, the day of those who hold by dogmas is nearing its close, for the reason that dogmas have been found out and proved to be useless and mischievous. We may of course be mistaken, for when an unscientific writer begins to meddle with technical terms the result is often a fine confusion. With what is happening in the Church of England we are not here very deeply concerned; but as Miss Fitzroy has lifted her subject into the region of theology, and our business is to test the value of her statements in that relation, we may refer to one or two. 'Dogmatism in theology,' we are told, 'may be defined as the authoritative statement of opinions claiming to be supernaturally revealed and not otherwise obtainable, on the acceptance of which salvation is said to depend.' Dogmatism in religion *may* be so defined, but no theologian, we imagine, would ever so define it. Nor would one ever dream of anything so unwise as confounding opinions with dogmas. Dr. Momerie is a great 'anti-dogmatist.' Miss Fitzroy uses his saying, 'The best creed in the world will never save a single soul;' and imagines that she has annihilated all 'dogmatists.' It is forgotten that in making this statement Dr. Momerie is in a certain sense uttering a dogma, and that no 'dogmatist,' whether 'biblical' or 'traditional,' would maintain that either the best creed or the best dogma in the world has the power to save, inasmuch as they believe that it is not the dogma or creed, but practical belief in it, or obedience to the will of God, that saves. In short, from a theological point of view, Miss Fitzroy's introduction and many of her comments are not a little confusing. The blame is not hers; it belongs to the school in which she has studied, and will belong to it as long as dogmas or truths are confounded with opinions, or private opinions imagined to be truths or dogmas of the Church. All the same, it is impossible to deny that her book is in other respects written with brightness and vigour.

The Early Church : A History of Christianity in the First Three Centuries. By the late DAVID DUFF, M.A., D.D., LL.D.
 Edited by his son, DAVID DUFF, M.A., B.D. Edinburgh :
 T. & T. Clark, 1891.

The late Professor Duff was well known throughout Scotland both as a ripe scholar and as a man of affairs. The lectures which his son has here printed are those which he delivered as the Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the United Presbyterian Church. The period they cover is, roughly speaking, the first six centuries of the Christian Church. If they contain no new discoveries, they at least contain much that is new in the way of reflection. They may be commended, too, for their manifest fairness, their perspicacity, and style. In this last respect they are an excellent contrast to some of the wooden translations of dull German ecclesiastical histories of which we have more than enough. As shown in these lectures, Dr. Duff was both a clear thinker and a capable writer, and when we say that the pages of the volume before us are attractively written, we say what can be said of but very few books of its kind. We have spoken of Dr. Duff's fairness. This is manifest on almost every page. He seems always to be alive to the fact that there are more sides than one to a question, and he does not hesitate to put the various sides of the questions

he has to deal with before his hearers and readers. He knows also when to be silent. His opinions are seldom difficult to make out, but on some occasions he refrains from expressing them, preferring to state the facts and to leave his hearers or readers to draw their own conclusions. At times, however, he can be quite as pronounced as any one, as for instance, in his defence of Clement of Alexandria against the charge of obscurity brought against him by Mr. Blunt. While sketching the broad outline of the Church's history and showing the forces that were making for and against its development, Dr. Duff does not forget the great Churchmen who, during the six centuries he deals with, were the Church's leaders. Space is given to the Apostles, but more space, as is natural in a history of the Church, is given to the Fathers. Dr. Duff's sketches of these, as for instance of Clement of Alexandria, Origin, Cyprian, Athanasius, Ambrose, and Chrysostom, are, though brief, sympathetic, impartial, and graphic. Mr. Duff has edited his father's lectures with care, and has put into the hands of many a volume which will be at once a memorial and a help.

The Preacher and his Models: The Yale Lectures on Preaching, 1891. By the Rev. JAMES STALKER, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

The models here taken are the prophets and apostles, more particularly Isaiah and St. Paul, and a lecture is inserted on the false prophets by way of warning as to what the preacher should not be or do. On Isaiah and St. Paul Dr. Stalker discourses fluently, and with no inconsiderable amount of scholarship and insight. Objection may now and again be taken to his exegesis, but all that he says in this connection bears the stamp of research and independent thought. The advice he offers to his hearers and readers is based partly on the lessons to be derived from the characters and practice of his models and upon his own personal experience as a clergyman, and is, as need hardly be said, deserving of careful consideration by all who are contemplating the office of the preacher. There is a tone of earnestness and an air of culture about the lectures, which make them all the more attractive. Here and there Dr. Stalker is anecdotal, but his anecdotes are always to the point, and serve to carry home the lesson he is inculcating. Altogether the lectures are characterised by a large acquaintance with the ways and characters of the Scriptural models chosen, much practical experience, and thoroughly good sense.

Jerusalem: its History and its Hope. By Mrs. OLIPHANT. Illustrations. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

This is not a critical but an historical and pictorial work eloquently written and admirably illustrated. Mrs. Oliphant is rather hard on Biblical critics and inveighs against them in her introduction with a vehemence stronger than we are accustomed to meet with in the pages of a secular writer. The point of her attack, however, is somewhat blunted by the admission that she has read very little of their writings and has no intention of reading more. Whether the critics are right we are happily not called upon here to decide, but it seems to us that the introduction is a little out of place and forms a somewhat discordant element in an otherwise delightful book. Mrs. Oliphant begins her story with the birth of David, King of Israel, and carries it down to the capture and destruction of the city under Titus. Of her manner of telling it, it is scarcely necessary to speak. Every page is eloquent, the kings and prophets of Judah are set before us in the

most graphic way, and we doubt whether the history of this the most famous of all cities has ever been so attractively told. Certainly in English books, so far as our acquaintance with them goes, it has not.

The Divine Library of the Old Testament : its Origin, Preservation, Inspiration and Permanent Value. Five Lectures. By A. F. KIRKPATRICK, B.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, etc. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1891.

These five lectures, though learned and scholarly, are not written for scholars, but for such lay readers as may desire to know something about the literary history of the Old Testament Scriptures, and are admirably fitted to serve the end for which they are designed. Mr. Kirkpatrick, as we need hardly say, is thoroughly versed in his subject, and those who desire to be introduced to it can with difficulty obtain a better or most trustworthy guide. He writes with great care and caution and at the same time with considerable freedom. He is well acquainted with the results of recent criticism of the Old Testament, but is neither led away by the theories of the more advanced critics, nor is he concerned to maintain theories which have been proved to be untenable. Scholarship and caution go hand in hand through his lectures, and the result is a volume which, though of no great compass, contains a large amount of interesting and reliable information respecting the Hebrew Scriptures which cannot fail to deepen the interest of those who are unacquainted with it, in the fortunes and character of the Divine oracles.

Erasmus and Other Essays. By MARCUS DODS, D.D. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

The 'other' essays in this volume are on Ackermann's *Christian Element in Plato*, Hippolytus's *Homily against Noetus*, Clement of Alexandria, the late Professor Maurice, Confucius, Christianity and Civilisation, and 'On Preaching.' Some of them are quite venerable, one of them dating back to the year 1861, two of them to 1863, and one to 1872. Their contents are not particularly brilliant, and one wonders why they have been reprinted. The best of them is the one on Erasmus. That on Ackermann is not at all satisfactory. Two things are suggested by it. One is that at the time it was written the author was scarcely qualified to sit in judgment either on Plato or Ackermann ; and the second is that while fairly well acquainted with the translation, he had not compared it with the original, or even read the latter. The paper on Maurice would have been better left out. It is amusing to see its author using precisely the same language about the Cambridge professor as was not long ago used about himself ; and still more amusing is it to see one whose own views in respect to the Incarnation and Inspiration have been seriously impugned condemning those held as to the same dogmas by Professor Maurice. There is a fine air of assurance about the essays, and a good deal of style. Here is a sentence which is charming : 'Mr. Maurice, like many other men and women,' etc. Here is another which, as coming from a theologian, is equally remarkable : 'It will recur to most readers . . . that if Christ's death were merely to exhibit the love of God, and so encourage us to trust Him, this was unnecessary, for all the believing Jews trusted God without knowing anything of Christ's death.' We saying nothing about the doctrine here enunciated. That is not here our concern. We are simply referring to the reasoning, and what it implies. Christ, we take it, came to make

known God's love, in order that through knowing His love we might love Him, and through loving trust Him. Was this the sort of trust in God which all the believing Jews had? Dr. Dodds can do better than he has done in this volume. But whether it is wise to publish his 'prentice work is his own concern.

Old Dundee: Ecclesiastical, Burghal, and Social, Prior to the Reformation. By ALEXANDER MAXWELL, F.S.A. Scot. Edinburgh: David Douglas; Dundee: William Kidd. 1891.

Mr. Maxwell has here added another invaluable volume to our local histories. His former volume, *Old Dundee*, we had the pleasure of noticing shortly after its appearance, and we are glad to be able to speak of this in quite as high terms of praise, both on account of its contents and on account of the way in which they are put together. *Old Dundee* dealt chiefly with post-Reformation times. This carries us further back, and deals with the period previous to the Reformation, or, rather, it begins as far back in the history of Dundee as the documents, which have survived the ravages of war and neglect, will permit. Like the previous volume, its contents are mainly extracts from existing documents, and here again we have to thank Mr. Maxwell for the skill with which he has woven them together into a connected story as well as for much more in the shape of explanations, but for which most of the extracts would, for the majority of readers, lose their interest. Here again also, as in *Old Dundee*, Mr. Maxwell has proved himself a genuine antiquary, but more so. Those who have looked upon Dundee with something of an antiquary's eye, may frankly own his superiority in knowledge, and admit that he has solved several knotty problems. With sure insight he has identified the position of churches and convents, and has won the distinction of indicating the very probable site of a lost town or village. Goudie has long been a puzzle, but Mr. Maxwell has suggested with every indication of certainty that its remains are in the Camperdown policies, and produced documentary evidence of the existence of Little Goudie Chapel. The contents of the volume divide themselves into two parts—the first dealing with the Church and its history in Dundee, and the second with the burghal and social life of the city, for such, we suppose, we must now call Dundee, though some, and perhaps with good reason, say that it ought, notwithstanding its *Lord Provost*, still to be ranked as a town. In the first of these two parts Mr. Maxwell fixes the sites of the various churches and gives their history so far as he has been able to make it out. St. Mary's, originally built by the Earl of Huntingdon, of course comes first, and a very chequered history it has had. Its connection with Lindores Abbey, the contentions between the Town Council and the Abbot of Lindores respecting the maintenance of the fabric, its frequent destructions, its rebuildings, the interest which the inhabitants of the town took in restoring their principal church and other matters in relation to it, are all dwelt upon and illustrated by aptly chosen passages from 'The Book of the Church' and the 'Records of the Burgh Court,' two ancient MSS. dating, the former from 1520 and the second from 1523. Students of old Scottish literature will note the excellent emendation to a passage in Stewart's metrical version of Boece, given at page 5, which satisfies both the exigencies of the rhyme and completes the sense. After St. Mary's Mr. Maxwell proceeds to treat of the other churches in Dundee, of which the ancient burgh seems to have had a good number, the oldest among them being apparently St. Clements. But not only do we obtain much information respecting the

ecclesiastical fabrics, we learn much also in the pages of this extremely interesting volume respecting the ecclesiastics themselves and those over whom, in spiritual things, they held rule, as well as of the way in which the services of public worship were conducted. Speaking of St. Mary's, whose stately tower he conjectures, and rightly we believe, to have been crowned with arches of stone, like St. Giles', Edinburgh, he says : ' Within the spacious and lofty building, when all the accessories for magnificent ritualistic service had been provided ; when the High Altar, on its central dais, was covered with cloth of gold and laden with precious service books and silver vessels glittering with jewels ; when the others, which stood around the walls, were spread with fair linen cloths or costlier covers of diverse colours, whereon the missals and psalters, chalices, and patens, of such value and beauty as the faithful were able to offer ; and when the many priests, in copes of varied richness, in vestments of silk and tissues of gold, ministered each at the altar of his saint ; or in the time of High Mass, joined together in stately procession around the Church, with crucifix and sacred relics, and, amid the swinging of fragrant censers, united their voices in chanting solemn psalms to the resonant peal of the organ, the spectacles presented—so effective and so impressive—although to some they may appear vain and meaningless, could hardly have failed in guiding the devotion of humble votaries and imbuing simple souls with feelings of reverent worship.' Glowing as this description is, it is founded entirely upon the documents its author had under his hand, and is a sample of the way in which he reconstructs the past and places it before the reader's eyes. In a notice like this it is impossible to convey to the reader any idea of the wealth of information the volume contains. It must suffice to say that in dealing with the Church at a later period Mr. Maxwell has, of course, to speak of the Wedderburns, and advances some very feasible arguments in support of his contention that Robert Wedderburn was the author of that singular and remarkable work, *The Complaynt of Scotland*. The part devoted to the burghal and social life of the town is, if anything, more attractive even than the first part. Here we learn about the houses, dress, food, and arms of the inhabitants, their households, the rights and property of children, the social position of women, the crafts, schools, the luxuries of one part of the people and the poverty of the other, together with the crimes which were perpetrated, the way in which they were punished, while many of the extracts afford curious glimpses into the domestic life of the town. Altogether the volume is one of exceptional interest and value, and, along with *Old Dundee*, forms a history of which, so far as we are aware, no other town or city in Scotland possesses the equal.

Pitt. By LORD ROSEBERY. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1891.

Readers of this latest edition to Messrs. Macmillan & Co.'s 'Twelve English Statesmen' Series will have but one regret, and that is, that there is not more of it. From beginning to end the attention is carried on with an ever increasing interest. As a brief monograph intended to give a clear and vivid conception of a great English statesman it leaves nothing to be desired. Its noble author writes with a literary skill that is rare, and while perusing the pages of his narrative one is tempted to wish that he could be induced to quit the stormy arena of politics for the quieter paths of literature. The biography of Pitt, however, has still to be written. None of the attempts which have hitherto been made to write it, though most of them have something to be said in their favour, can be considered entirely

satisfactory. Neither Tomline, nor Stanhope, nor indeed any one of his biographers has had access to all the material which is known to exist for the purpose of a biography. Lord Rosebery has given us one or two specimens of the materials with which they were unacquainted, which encourages the hope that some day a full and complete biography of England's greatest Peace minister will be given to the world. Meanwhile the little monograph before us will have to do duty for it. In point of popularity it will probably in this age of small books and little leisure hold its own against all comers. Its author has the art of pressing into a small compass a large mass of information. Here and there its pages are lighted up with a flash of genial humour, as when the author alludes to 'the furniture of Pitt's Cabinet,' or tells us that when Pitt 'could not pay his coachmaker he would order a new carriage, as an emollient measure,' or that 'an ex-premier is usually forced, by any Cabinet in which he may serve as an ordinary member, to be a fleeting and dangerous luxury.' The character sketches, of which there are many in the volume, are graphically drawn and wonderfully life-like. All through, too, Pitt is dealt with in the most kindly and impartial manner. Politicians, however, might have something more to say in defence of his Irish policy; but here we have nothing to do with such matters and must leave the controversy to them.

Mahdism and the Egyptian Soudan: being an Account of the Rise and Progress of Mahdism, and of Subsequent Events in the Soudan to the Present Time. By Major F. R. WINGATE, D.S.O., R.A., Assistant Adjutant-General, for Intelligence, Egyptian Army. Maps and Plans. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

Much has been written about Mahdism and the various religious and other movements connected with it in the Soudan, but the ideas prevalent about it are still far from agreeing with the facts or from being well informed. In the bulky volume before us, Major Wingate, who has occupied positions exceptionally favourable to a large acquaintance with the subject, and is in other ways admirably qualified to speak upon it, has undertaken to deal with it on a large and extensive plan. Going back to the beginning, he treats of the Eastern religious sects in general, the Mahdis, the ethnographical divisions of the Soudan, Mohammed Ahmed and his mission, and the outbreak which resulted from his preaching, with the various attempts made to capture him. From this point the narrative may be said to widen out and become more general, and Major Wingate gives a very full and detailed account of the history of the Soudan in all its varying religious and military aspects down to the present. On all the points with which he deals, the author is entitled to speak with an authority almost unequalled. His information is drawn for the most part from original letters and documents, from personal intercourse with leaders of several of the Moslem sects in the country, from persons actively engaged in the revolt, from the examination of prisoners, and from the letters, diaries, and statements of officers and others who have been more or less engaged in the country during recent years, and in personal contact with the movements of which he treats. The subject is not an easy one to deal with, but Major Wingate has probably done the best that can be done for it at the present moment. That he has written with great care is unquestionable. To the general reader the book may appear to be too full of details. All the same, the volume is a mine of valuable information, and though the translations of the Mahdi's correspondence and other Arabic documents are long and tedious and by no means edifying, the work would have been incomplete

without them. As it is, the volume is the fullest and most trustworthy handbook on this subject yet issued, and future historians of this important episode in African history and in the history of Islamism will be compelled to draw largely upon its pages. The work is abundantly supplied with maps and plans, which besides being valuable in themselves, serve to throw light upon the text. A supplement has been added on the reoccupation of Tokar, with extracts from the correspondence of Osman Digma, as well as a series of appendices and an excellent index.

Letters of James Smetham, with an Introductory Memoir. Edited by SARAH SMETHAM and WILLIAM DAVIES. Portrait. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

We are not at all surprised to learn that scarcely one of all Smetham's numerous correspondents is known to have destroyed a single letter he wrote. A few such letters, as are here printed, are a literary treasure which few would care to part with. It is rare that any modern letters have so great a charm. There is a lightness of touch and an air of sportiveness about them, but at the same time a quickness of thought and perception, together with a sincerity and earnestness which makes one feel that they are the genuine utterances of a bright and noble spirit, conscious of the greatness of life, and penetrated by a sense of the exceeding beauty of the intellectual and spiritual world. Judged by the measure of his popular success, Smetham as a painter was not a success. His failure in this respect may be almost said to have killed. He was not, however, without his admirers. Among them may be mentioned Mr. Ruskin, who more than once in the volume before us bears witness to the remarkable ability exhibited in his work, and, in one of his lectures, drew special attention to the great originality of one of his drawings on a theme so frequently painted as the Last Supper. Speaking of some of his etchings, Mr. Ruskin writes: 'I think this last *very* beautiful indeed;' and again he writes: 'These etchings of yours are very wonderful and beautiful. I admire both exceedingly.' Smetham's father was a Methodist preacher. He was born in 1821, and when eleven years of age was sent to a boarding school at Woodhouse Grove, Yorkshire, where the sons of Methodist preachers are educated. On leaving school he was articled to E. J. Wilson, the Lincoln architect who wrote the literary part to Pugin's *Examples of Gothic Architecture*. Here most of his time was spent in drawing Comuses, Satans, Manfreds, and for a whole year his work was to draw the figures about Lincoln Cathedral. He entered as a probationer in the Royal Academy in 1843, took to art as a profession, and exhibited first at Liverpool, and in 1851 and the three following years at the Academy. Next he became teacher of drawing in the Wesleyan Normal School, Westminster. He continued to work hard at his profession as an artist, but the fashion of the times was against him. In 1878 an exhibition of his works was held in the studio of D. G. Rossetti, who, in announcing their arrival, wrote, 'many of them have quite delighted and astonished me by their extreme beauty. Indeed they are, in colour, sentiment, and nobility of thought, only to be classed with the very flower of modern art.' Important sales were made, 'but,' to use the words of Mr. Davies, who contributes the introductory Memoir, 'this closed the account. The pencil was laid aside, the hand lost its cunning. The light of his fine intellect faded. He abode in the silence of a closed spirit.' His death took place in the beginning of 1889. Mr. D. G. Rossetti probably indicates the real cause of Smetham's want of success when he says, 'His extreme isolation can only account for such work not having

found a more extended field of encouragement.' Smetham was aware of his failure with the public, but believed that in another sense he had not failed. There is little sense of depression in his letters. They are always buoyant and cheerful, and singularly rich in thought and in the poetry of expression.

Annals of my Early Life, 1806-1846, with occasional Compositions in Latin and English verse. By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of St. Andrews and Fellow of Winchester College. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

This is a remarkably vigorous production for an octogenarian, whether a bishop or a layman, and quite as interesting as it is vigorous. The Wordsworth, even more than the Coleridge, family have made their mark upon the country, and anything from any one of its members, because of the sterling good sense and scholarship with which it is sure to be informed, is certain to be well received. In this volume, the venerable Bishop of St. Andrews discourses pleasantly of the incidents in the first forty years of his life. These, with the exception of the time spent in a few excursions abroad, were passed in England. Another volume is to follow dealing with the years he has spent in Scotland. As in all autobiographies the author has to speak much of himself, yet there is in its pages nothing of egotism. It is remarkable, indeed, how little the author obtrudes himself on the reader and how completely the latter is made to feel that he is listening to an old man repeating the story of his life in the simplest and most unaffected way. As might be expected, the incidents related are usually more or less ecclesiastical; but although this is the case, there is an entire absence of pedantry, intolerance, or party-spirit, Dr. Wordsworth has his own opinions, but he loyally accepts the principle that others have a right to theirs, and acts upon it. The consequence is, that in reading the volume, one feels that it is pervaded by a widely tolerant and genial spirit. Altogether this first volume of Dr. Wordsworth's *Annals* is interesting and valuable, adding much to our knowledge of the inner life of the ecclesiastical movements of the time and containing not a few pieces of information connected with the literary history of the past generation.

The New Calendar of Great Men. Biographies of the 558 Worthies of all Ages and Nations in the Political Calendar of Auguste Comte. Edited by FREDERIC HARRISON. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

Besides editing this work and contributing a number of its articles, Mr. Harrison has written a brief but highly interesting preface in which he makes all the excuses possible for the construction of the calendar and so far disarms criticism. He freely admits that objection may be taken to many of the names placed in the Calendar, and that many have been omitted from it which might, and, in the opinion of some, ought to have found a place in it. In this respect we have nothing to say. As a calendar the work strikes us as something of a curiosity, and so we imagine it will all who are not of the Positive persuasion. For our own part, if a calendar is requisite, we should prefer the old and Christian. On the other hand, as a piece of literary work the volume has much to commend it. It is not a dictionary of biography. It has the advantage which a dictionary has not, the advantage of bringing together in a continuous reading and in brief and condensed chapters, an account of most of those who have contributed

more than others to the development, say, of ancient poetry or philosophy, feudal civilisation and modern industry, ancient poetry and the modern drama. The lives or sketches and the explanatory chapters prefixed to each of the thirteen months of the Positivist year are unquestionably well done. Apart from its peculiar teaching, the volume as a record of 556 of the chief men and women of the world, can scarcely fail to be a useful handbook and will probably find a multitude of readers, not a few of whom, we imagine, will be not a little surprised to see placed in the calendar many names they would least expect to find in it, and not less to find that the names of all whose work has been purely destructive are entirely omitted.

The Works of William Shakespeare. Edited by WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT. Vol. V. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

In this, the fifth volume of the new edition of the 'Cambridge Shakespeare,' we have the three Parts of King Henry VI., King Richard III., and King Henry VIII. The preface to the original edition of the volume, which was the joint work of Mr. W. G. Clark and Mr. Aldis Wright, the present editor, is, as in the preceding volumes of this edition, retained. Mr. Wright, however, has added a useful note to it, indicating at what stage the discussion as to the relation between the Quarto and Folio text of King Richard III. has arrived, and giving the opinions of Mr. Spedding, Professor Delius and Mr. P. A. Daniel. Those who wish to form their own opinion on the subject will find the requisite material in Mr. Wright's notes where the various readings of the Folios and Quartos are all registered. From a note on the first page we learn that the editor has been fortunate in discovering in the library of Lord Mostyn another copy of the first edition of the play upon which the Second Part of Henry the Sixth was founded, the copy in the Bodleian being previously the only one known. It is scarcely necessary to say that there is here, in this volume, the same excellence in editing which has characterised the volumes preceding it.

Text-Book of Comparative Anatomy. By Dr. ARNOLD LANG, with Preface to the English Translation, by Professor Dr. ERNST HAECKEL, F.R.S. Translated by HENRY M. BERNARD, M.A., and MATILDA BERNARD. Part I. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

The work of which this is, in the main, a translation, was founded on the eighth edition of Oscar Schmidt's text-book of comparative anatomy, the original of which, again, was based on the summer lectures of Johannes Müller, long the foremost authority in Germany on anatomy and physiology. When called upon to prepare a new edition of Schmidt's manual, Professor Lang, instead of re-editing the work, re-wrote it, bringing it up to date, and besides paying particular attention to the illustrations, of which he increased the number, introduced several improvements in the arrangement of the material, and especially by his clear and systematic reviews prefixed to the anatomical account of each race, greatly enhanced its value. The work has lost nothing by translation. In some respects it has gained. The style is simpler and more concise. Additions have also been made to it from the notes which Professor Lang had collected for the emendation and expansion of his own text. In short the translators may justly claim that their work is a new and improved edition

of the original. Professor Haeckel contributes a short commendatory preface in which he does full justice to the exceptional merits of the work.

Religious Tract Society's Publications. 1891.

With the expansion of the original Tract, for the issue of which the Society was formed, into magazines and volumes, the publications of the Religious Tract Society have acquired something like permanent value and a larger field of usefulness. While religious in tone, they are always interesting and instructive, and their issue is becoming more and more one of the features of the season. To notice them all is here impossible, but something may be said about a few. First of all we have the yearly volumes of *Sunday at Home* and *The Leisure Hour*, each of which contains an abundance of varied and entertaining reading. That of the former is more of a religious character and contains one or two series of excellent papers connected with the Bible, while that of the latter is more secular in its character. There is a fair amount of fiction in each, together with a large number of papers dealing with historical and scientific subjects in a popular way, the aim of the editors being apparently to keep their readers well informed in all that may interest them both as regards religious and secular knowledge.—Dr. Sayce's *Races of the Old Testament* forms one of the series entitled 'By-paths of Bible Knowledge,' and is a study in a comparatively new field. Ethnology is but a young science, and it is only within the last three or four years that a study of the ethnology of the Old Testament has become possible. The discoveries of Mr. Flinders Petrie led the way, and Dr. Sayce has here endeavoured to give a popular account of the distinguishing features of the different races referred to in the Old Testament scriptures.—In *The Life and Times of Joseph in the Light of Egyptian Lore* the Rev. H. G. Tomkins reviews the Old Testament narrative of the Life of Joseph in the light thrown upon it by recent discoveries in Egypt and by the results of other archaeological researches. Like the work just noticed, this also belongs to the 'By-paths of Bible Knowledge' series.—The *Heroes of the Telegraph* is a work which will appeal to a wide circle. In simple language it gives an account of those who have taken a foremost part in the development of the electric telegraph, and describes in terms sufficiently clear and untechnical the inventions which have from time to time been made for its improvement as a means of communication. The 'heroes' of the telephone are also noticed.—Another volume dealing with heroes is of a different kind. It has for its title *Heroism in Humble Life* and is translated from the records of the Montyon Prize of the French Academy by L. G. Séguin. The stories are all drawn from French life and exhibit some beautiful phases of self-sacrifice among the humbler classes.—Those who desire to retain their health or to improve it will find many useful hints and directions in Dr. Alfred T. Scholfield's handy little volume entitled *How to Keep Healthy*, while those who wish to succeed in business may profit by the perusal of *Brief Counsels Concerning Business*, written by 'An Old Man of Business.'—*Italian Explorers in Africa* by Sophia Bompiani tells the adventures, travels, and labours of Cardinal Massaja, Cecchi and Chiarini, Count Pietro di Brazza, Dr. Traversi, and other Italians in the Dark Continent. In *The King's Cup Bearer*, the author of *Christie's Old Organ* re-tells the story of Nehemiah, Ezra's noble associate.

The Prayers of Jesus Christ (Macmillan), is a series of brief Lenten discourses delivered in the Temple Church by Dr. Vaughan, the Master of the Temple. The lectures are in all six, and besides dealing with the

prayers of our Lord in their general aspect, treat of His prayers after His baptism and the others prayers which He is recorded to have offered up on other occasions by St. Luke, who is called by Dr. Vaughan 'the special Evangelist of the prayers of Christ.

The Gate Beautiful (Macmillan) is a series of twenty-seven discourses by the Rev. Hugh Macmillan, D.D., LL.D. They are admirably written, and like their author's other sermons, are remarkable for the fertility and beauty of the illustrations with which he seeks to enforce the truths on which he dwells. The first of the sermons gives the title to the volume. Most of them appear to have been addressed to the young. They are not less fitted for the perusal of the mature and old.

The Rev. A. J. Church has prepared another volume of *Stories from the Bible* (Macmillan). This second series begins with the story of Jacob and Esau and comes down to that of Daniel. As a story teller Mr. Church has few rivals. His volume is prettily illustrated with woodcuts after Julius Schnorr.

Cardinal Beaton (Blackwoods), is an attempt on the part of the Rev. John Herkless, minister of Tannadice, to sketch the character and policy of one of the best abused men Scotland has produced. For his facts Mr. Herkless has gone to the original authorities and has apparently left nothing undone to arrive at the truth respecting the 'great Cardinal.' His comparative freedom from prejudice is remarkable. He does full justice to his ability and patriotism, and makes no attempt to exonerate him from his faults. At the same time he handles very roughly most of the traditions which, mainly through the influence of Knox and Lindsay, have made his name so unpopular. Beaton's hostility to Wishart is fairly enough accounted for, but the argument to show that Wishart was not secretly acting with the 'English Lords' is not conclusive. Mr. Herkless' conclusion may be cited: 'It is not often given to a priest, who can achieve no victory by the splendour of his arms, to be numbered among the saviours of civil liberty and political independence; yet plain historic truth must give Beaton, what popular tradition refuses him, a place among Scotland's greatest statesmen and among her patriots.' The encomium, if such it may be called, is merited, and Mr. Herkless deserves credit for having ventured, in the face of so many prejudices, to pronounce it.

Annals of Our Time, Vol. III., Part I. (Macmillan), is the most recent instalment of Mr. H. Hamilton Fyfe's continuation of the work begun by the late Mr. Joseph Irving. It begins with the date of the fiftieth anniversary of Her Majesty's accession to the throne and comes down to the end of the year 1890. To those who are acquainted with the work there is no need of commending it. Its day to day register of the social and political events occurring both at home and abroad render it invaluable as a book of reference, and those who possess the other parts of the work will lose no time, we should say, in procuring this. There is the usual ample index at the end of the part before us.

Martin Luther. German Student Life. Poetry (Maclehose) is the title of a volume containing three lectures by the late Dr. W. B. Robertson of Irvine, upon the three topics indicated. They have been delivered over and over again in different parts of the country, and when delivered always drew together a large audience. The editor has been careful to follow Dr. Robertson's manuscripts, but the improvisings which used to be so characteristic a feature of the lectures are not here, and the lectures have unquestionably lost much of their charm and a considerable wealth of illustration. In their printed form, however, they will be welcomed by many as a further memorial of their author's genius.

In *Early Scottish Poetry* (Hodge), the first of the 'Abbotsford Series of the Scottish Poets,' Mr. George Eyre-Todd makes an attempt to interest readers in the ancient poetry of Scotland. The poets here selected are the Rhymer, Barbour, Andrew of Wyntoun, and Henry the Minstrel. Extracts are given from each of these, and to the extracts from their writings or supposed writings is prefixed an introduction. A biographical sketch is given of each of the poets, and the difficult words are explained at the side of the pages. The attempt is one that deserves to succeed.

Mr. David Hannay's *Rodney* belongs to Messrs. Macmillan & Co.'s 'English Men of Action' series. It is a clear and fascinating piece of writing, carrying us back to the days before Nelson, and sketching the life and battles of the most famous of the great generation of English Admirals who raised the navy to the level at which it was found by the hero of Trafalgar. Some old controversies are revived, and particularly that in which Monkbarrow of the *Antiquary* appears, as to the invention of 'breaking the line.' Whether Rodney was indebted to Clerk of Eldin or not for the idea, he was certainly the first of the admirals to adopt it, and thus to set an example which was afterwards followed with important results. His victory over Grasse off Dominica, where he first broke the line, was, as Mr. Hannay remarks, 'the turning-point in the history of naval warfare. From that time forward . . . admirals manœuvred to beat the enemy, and not to keep their line intact.'

Thomson's *The Seasons and Castle of Involence* is an excellent piece of editing from the hand of Mr. J. Logie Robertson, who has prepared it for the 'Clarendon Press Series.' It is well supplied with notes, introductions, a biographical sketch of the author, and a glossary, and is an acceptable addition to a very excellent series of school books.

Tennyson for the Young (Macmillan), by the editor of Charles Lamb, the Rev. Alfred Ainger, is a little volume which can scarcely fail to win its way into the schoolroom and among children. The selections have been made with judgment. The brief notes which have been appended are such as to afford help to young readers.

Mr. Smart's *Introduction to the Theory of Value* (Macmillan) is based on the teaching of Menger, Weiser, and Böhm-Bawerk, and makes few pretensions to originality. The author, however, has the credit of setting out their theory with clearness and precision. He has a thorough grasp of his subject, and his treatment of it is not without a certain felicity of illustration.

A Primer on Browning (Macmillan) is a work which will prove acceptable to most readers of Mr. Browning's Poems. One chapter is devoted to a sketch of the poet's literary life, and another to pointing out the principal features of his poetry. The rest of the volume is taken up with a minute and elaborate analysis of Mr. Browning's poems, in which many helpful and valuable critical and historical notes are interspersed.

Dare Macdonald (Alex. Gardner) is an admirably written 'Romance of the Riviera' by E. R. Macnicol, in which the interest is exceedingly well maintained. Dare Macdonald is a wonderful child. All the same he is strangely attractive, and the way in which the author has woven the interest of the story around him deserves great praise.—Mrs. Molesworth's stories for children are always acceptable. In *Nurse Heatherdale's Story* (Macmillan) her young readers will not fail to find the usual attractions of her writings. The volume is well illustrated by Mr. Leslie Brook.

Burnsiana (Alex. Gardner) is the first part of a yearly publication which would appear to have a long future before it. Its editor or compiler is Mr. J. D. Ross. Yearly he proposes to gather all that has been printed or discovered during the preceding twelve months that is of any interest or value in connection with Burns or his writings, and to issue it in a small quarto volume similar to the one before us. Those who appreciate Burns will know how to value the work. In the present volume we have criticisms, anecdotes, biographical items, notes of certain reliques of Burns, addresses, poems written in memory of the poet, and many other things, all of which attest the unwearied diligence with which the collection has been made.

Memorials of Auld Langsyne (Alex. Gardner), is a volume of poems written by Mr. Thomas C. Latto, and dedicated by him to the 'noble schoolmasters of Scotland.' The principal poem in the volume is 'The School Examination,' and accounts for the dedication. This poem gives a lively description of a School Examination in the old times, before School Boards were invented and almost before Her Majesty's Inspectors appeared on the scene. Describing as it does one of the great events in Scottish rural life of the past, it is a memorial worth preserving. It will remind many who are still living of what used to be, and help younger generations to understand what education was in the old days of parochial schools. Another noteworthy set of verses is entitled 'The Country Sacrament.' It is written in quite a different strain from Burns' 'Holy Fair,' and describes with very considerable skill :

' A Scottish country sacrament,
Wi' holy fervour taken.'

With the year 1892 *Hazell's Annual* (Hazell) attains its seventh issue. Year by year it is steadily increasing in bulk and usefulness. This year's issue shows considerable improvements. About one hundred new biographies have been added, a detailed account of State pensions is given, and additional articles have been inserted dealing with educational, political, philosophical, engineering and other matters.

Under the title *L'Avenir de l'Europe envisagé au double point de vue de la politique de sentiment et de la politique d'intérêt* (Félix Alcan), M. Ch. Vigoureux has issued a work which may possibly attract considerable attention in the political world, at least in France. His aim is to show the necessity for a union of the Latin races, especially between France and Italy, with Russia for an ally. Sentiment and interest alike he thinks demand such a union. The countries of the Latin race and Greece he believes have suffered from their alliance with Great Britain and will suffer.

Professor S. S. Laurie has taken advantage of a second edition of his *Ethica, or the Ethics of Reason* (Williams & Norgate), being called for to enlarge considerably both the scope and the argument of his work. We are glad to see that both his volumes—the *Metaphysica* and the *Ethica*—have been so thoroughly and extensively appreciated as to render necessary their republication. The changes and additions made on them now are valuable as giving greater unity and completeness to them both, and the form in which they now appear is a decided improvement, from a book-lover's point of view, on that formerly adopted. It is hardly necessary to add that in the new material we have the same conciseness, perspicuity, and sustained reasoning as gave the earlier editions their charm and have won for them so prompt and distinct a mark of public favour.

NEW EDITIONS AND REPRINTS.

Under the title *Essays Chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments* (Longmans), a selection of excellent essays, which the Rev. T. K. Abbot has contributed to various magazines and reviews, has been deservedly reprinted. They deal with such topics as the Massoretic text of the Old Testament, the Hebrew text before the Massoretas, New Testament Lexicography, the Greek language in Galilee in the time of Christ, and historical evidence and the miracle of the Holy Thorn.—From Messrs. Macmillan & Co. we have a number of excellent re-issues. First we may mention the second and third volumes of their new edition of the late Professor Maurice's *Lincoln's Inn Sermons*, which have long been out of print and hardly procurable. Next we have a fresh issue of Dr. Farrar's popular volume, *Seekers after God*. This makes the thirteenth edition of the work in its collected form. From the same publishers, too, comes a one volume edition of the *Poetical Works of James Russell Lowell*, uniform with their one volume editions of the Poems of Wordsworth, Lord Tennyson, and Matthew Arnold. The author of *Tom Brown's School Days* contributes an introduction to the poems. Another reissue of the same firm's is Patrick Kennedy's Collection of *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*. The stories are less grave and more imaginative than those of the brothers Grimm. In many of them there is a strong vein of humour.—Next to these may be mentioned Mr. Gardner's new edition of the late J. F. Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*. The reissue has reached the third volume. As in the original edition, the Gaelic and English versions are given on the opposite pages.—The first edition of M. C. Secrétan's *La civilisation et la Croyance* having been quickly exhausted, it has been republished by M. Félix Alcan.—Readers of Burns will be glad to see a second edition of Mr. J. D. Ross's *Round Burns' Grave* (Alex. Gardner). In its new and enlarged form it will, we should say, prove all the more acceptable.

THE SCOTTISH REVIEW.

A P R I L, 1892.

ART. I.—HERALDRY, BRITISH AND FOREIGN.

A Treatise on Heraldry, British and Foreign, with English and French Glossaries. By JOHN WOODWARD, F.S.A. Scot., etc. (Rector of St. Mary's Church, Montrose), and the late GEORGE BURNETT, LL.D., etc. (Lyon King of Arms). 2 Volumes. W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London. 1892.

FOR more than half a century past there has been a great revival of interest in Heraldry, or as our earlier writers would have said in Armory, as well as in other branches of archæology. 'Heraldry' is in fact whatever belongs to the duties of a herald: a knowledge of the devices borne on or in connection with shields is, properly speaking, 'Armory,' and this is the term employed by our older writers. Gerard Leigh, for example, published, in 1562, *The Accedence of Armorie*; John Bossewell, in 1572, *Workes of Armorie*; William Wyrley, in 1592, *The Trve Vse of Armorie*; and Edmund Bolton, in 1610, *The Elements of Armories*. In 1611 first appeared that most popular book, *A Display of Heraldrie*, published, if not written, by John Guillim, pursuivant of arms; and since that period the term 'Heraldry,' rather than 'Armory,' has been generally used to signify the art or science of coat-armour. Alexander Nisbet, the leading Scottish writer on the subject (1722), follows in the same track, styling his great work *A System of Heraldry*.

Foremost amongst the writers whose works have tended to promote a revival of the study of Heraldry, may be named Sir N. Harris Nicolas, Thomas Willement, J. A. Montagu, John Gough Nichols, Mark Antony Lower, James Robinson Planché, George Seton, and Charles Boutell. Students have also been greatly aided by the publication of many Rolls of Arms, and accurate representations of seals and monumental brasses. Several periodicals have contributed largely to the stock of information, as have also (but chiefly as regards genealogy) the publications of the Harleian Society. As a work dealing with the subject generally, nothing has hitherto appeared, at least in this country, equal in importance to the work whose title is given at the head of the present article, considering especially that it relates not only to the Heraldry of Great Britain, but to that of every country in Europe.

In his 'Introduction,' Mr. Woodward states that this work was undertaken, and considerable progress made in its execution, by the late Dr. George Burnett, who so long and so worthily filled the office of Lyon King of Arms. On his decease in 1889, his MS. was placed in Mr. Woodward's hands, with a request that he would see the work through the press, it being then supposed to be nearly complete. An examination of the MS. proved however that this was very far indeed from being the case. It consisted only of about one fourth as much matter as the present work; and it was ultimately arranged that the MS. and such of the plates as were in course of preparation, should be handed over to Mr. Woodward to be utilised by him as he might think desirable.

In the exercise of his discretion Mr. Woodward determined to rewrite the book, mainly in order to give it a far wider application than Dr. Burnett had intended, and to make it an Introduction to European Heraldry in general. But he decided to print in full those portions of Dr. Burnett's work which seemed the most interesting and valuable, and especially those relating to Scottish armory, with regard to which his official position and long experience enabled him to speak with peculiar authority. These portions are distinctly marked with Dr. Burnett's initials.

Mr. Woodward states that the object which he has had in

view is not to furnish amusement to the general reader, but to make the work one of real utility to the student. He has therefore, as he tells us, not indulged in fine writing and graceful composition, but has rather sought plainly to state facts. For the same reason he has avoided the many legendary tales with which heraldic books too frequently abound, but which, though interesting in their way, will not bear examination by the light of history.

In Chapter I. our authors treat of the term 'Heraldry,' and of the social conditions, mainly in connection with feudalism, under which gentility was developed in early times; side by side with which grew up the use of distinctive devices on banner or shield, by which military leaders were distinguished. These were at first personal, afterwards hereditary, and it is shown that the lawful possession of a shield of arms constitutes nobility. Amongst other subjects dealt with in this chapter is that of the 'particule nobiliaire,' in French *de*, in German *von*. It is shown that in Britain the presence or absence of the prefix *de* never was a criterion of nobility, and that in early times it was not such in France. Even in later times many of the noblest families of that kingdom never used it. Louis XIV., however, in 1699, forbade the use of the prefix to all who were not noble by race.

In Holland *van* or *vander* is no sign of nobility. Dr. Burnett deprecates in strong terms the frequent practice in modern times of prefixing *De* to certain surnames, and the extensive introduction of that particle, from mistaken motives, into peerage titles. He might, on similar grounds, have condemned the affectation of spelling certain names with *ff*, which is, of course, only a form of the capital.

Chapter II. deals with 'The Origin and Development of Coat Armour.' On these points our authors agree with the belief of Mr. Planché, 'That heraldry appears as a science at the commencement of the thirteenth century, and that although armorial bearings had been in existence for some time previous, no precise date has yet been discovered for their first assumption.' All the evidence which we possess, negative and positive, leads to the conclusion that though some national or tribal insignia may be of earlier origin, and though certain objects may have been used

as personal devices, there was nothing like armory, even personal, earlier than about the middle of the twelfth century. The earliest authentic instance of an armorial shield on a seal appears to be that of Philip I., Count of Flanders, appended to a charter dated 1164. King Richard I. has two armorial seals, one before and one after the Third Crusade, 1189. In his second Great Seal, used after his return from captivity, 1194, we have the earliest representation of the three lions of England. Another early seal with arms is that of Prince John, who, before his accession to the throne, 1199, bore two lions passant. 'In Scotland the seal of Alan Stewart in 1170 had apparently no arms upon the shield borne by his mounted effigies, but in 1190 the shield of the same Alan bears for the first time the fess chequy.'*

In early days arms were no doubt usually assumed by great feudal tenants of their own accord. After a time, in order to prevent confusion in armies or at tournaments, armorial devices were regulated by officers appointed for the purpose, and so came to be regarded as hereditary property. In the fourteenth century instances occur of the grant by feudal lords to their sub-tenants of arms, commonly varied from their own, and this practice will account for the prevalent use of certain bearings in particular counties as, for example, of garbs in Cheshire, cinquefoils in Leicestershire, and chequers in Surrey. In like manner the saltire-and-chief of the ancient lords of Annandale in Scotland was taken, with variations, by the Bruces and numerous other families in the district. This is an interesting subject, but it is well known to heraldic students, and we need not pursue it here. The book proceeds to speak of transfers of arms by deed or will, which, though occasionally practised in former ages, would not be deemed lawful now. Even as late as the beginning of the fifteenth century, Dr. Burnett thinks that there was in England probably a good deal of assumption of arms *proprio motu*, but this was terminated by a proclamation of Henry V., in 1419, forbidding all persons who had not borne arms at Agincourt to assume them except by right of inheritance or by grant from the Crown. It was nevertheless maintained by the author

* *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 49.

of the *Boke of St. Albans* that any one might assume arms of his own will, provided that they had not been borne by any other person.

Mr. Woodward next discusses the influence of the Crusades, and especially the Third Crusade (1189-92), and of tournaments, upon armorial bearings. It is shewn that Rüxner's *Thurnier Buch* and the *Leges Hastiludiales*, attributed to the Emperor Henry, called the Fowler, A.D. 938, are quite unworthy of credit, being obviously fictions of a later period than that to which they refer.

Turning to sepulchral monuments, Mr. Woodward alludes to the enamelled plaque preserved in the museum at Le Mans, and which is regarded as having belonged to the tomb of Geoffroi Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, father of Henry II., King of England. As the Count died in 1151, this may not be too early for a genuine example of an armorial shield. The arms are *Azure, six lions rampant or*, and in addition to these the shield exhibits an escarbuncle, a figure which was not originally armorial (though it became so at a later period) but was only an arrangement of iron bands radiating from a boss in the centre of the shield, and serving to strengthen it. It is worthy of remark that Planché believed the plaque in question to represent William (Fitz Patrick) Earl of Salisbury, who died in 1196, and whose arms (as he supposes) were, with the earldom, carried, by his daughter's marriage, to the family of Longespee. At a later period they formed, with other bearings, the well-known arms of Bohun.

Chapter III. relates to the 'Shape of Shields, Tinctures' and 'Parted Coats.' Here are some remarks upon the lozenge, which since the fourteenth century has been generally used for the arms of maids and widows. Mr. Boutell, advocates the discontinuance of this form on account of its inconvenience; but it does not appear how this could be effected unless by authority, and in any case some distinction for the arms of women would be necessary. Under Tinctures, one solitary instance is given of the use in Scotland of the colour *sanguine*. It occurs in the Lyon Register, for Clayhills of Invergowrie, and may (we venture to suggest) be a mistake for *gules*. Some other unusual colours are found in a few foreign coats,

happily not in Britain. The term *proper*, however, admits some peculiar tints, and *tenny* occurs now and then in standards, possibly in crests.

With regard to the representation of heraldic tinctures by lines and points, it may be observed that before the general adoption of the system of F. de Petra Sancta, about the middle of the seventeenth century, lines were sometimes employed in ways which have led modern writers into error. The apocryphal arms of the South Saxon kings, for example, are sometimes described as *Gules*, sometimes as *Azure*, *six marilets or*. We believe the latter description is simply a mistake, resulting from the use in Speed's *Theatrum Magnæ Britannicæ*, 1616, of lines for shadowing, and not, as some have imagined, to represent colours.

Mr. Woodward has collected about forty instances, chiefly foreign, of coats consisting of a single metal or colour only, besides many others consisting of one fur. Plain *Gold* is the original coat of the Italian family of Bandinelli, to which belonged Pope Alexander III., and it appears, diapered, upon his tomb in the church of St. John Lateran.* A very few examples of this class of coats occur in England. *Azure* is attributed to a family named Berington, in Cheshire. Sir Eumenious de la Brette, who was at the siege of Carlaverock in 1300, bore pure *Gules*; he was of the family of Albret, sometime Kings of Navarre. A branch of the great house of Gournay is said to have borne only *Sable*. The *Ermine* shield of Brittany† had considerable influence in the formation of cantons, borders, and labels of that fur in English armory. In describing different sorts of *vair* and *potent*, Mr. Woodward has perhaps fallen into that over refinement which he elsewhere condemns. We believe that they were all, *potent* included, the same originally.

Under 'Parted Coats, etc.' we have explanations of the various partition lines, and of the modes of partition. As to the arms of Waldegrave, *Per pale argent and gules*, we may quote a remark-

* Some of the family added to the plain escutcheon, in the dexter chief a round shield, charged with a knight in full career, spear in rest.

† This name is frequently, as by Mr. Woodward, spelled 'Brittany.' As it was in Latin always 'Britannia,' we prefer the form adopted above.

able statement of Mr. Beltz, who informs us that on the day of the jousts held at Plymouth, 24th July 1371, Thomas de Holand, son and heir of Thomas late Earl of Kent, granted to his companion in arms Sir Richard Waldegrave and his heirs male, leave to bear his own helm, being 'party per pale argent and gules, crowned or.' Mr. Beltz states that the authority for the arms now borne by the noble family of Waldegrave is derived from the above grant.*

The well known coat of Campbell, Duke of Argyll, is *Gyronny of 8, or and sable*. It is surprising to find how great a diversity of opinion prevails amongst heraldic authorities as to the correct form of this simple coat. Some place the metal first, others the colour. That the metal should come first may be regarded as certain; but which is the first gyron? We have no doubt that our author is quite correct in his decision that the first gyron is that which occupies the dexter chief. The opinion expressed by Mr. Woodward that when a coat is *paly*, *barry* or *bendy*, of six, the number need not be mentioned, may be in accordance with French practice, but it seems to us that the omission of the number in such cases is likely to lead to errors. It is certainly more safe to state the number in all such cases. But in compound divisions such as *lozengy*, *bendy-lozengy*, etc., the number of pieces may be deemed immaterial.

Arms with metal upon metal, or colour upon colour, occur but seldom. The example best known in Britain is that of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. Mr. Woodward gives (at p. 752) about two dozen instances from the heraldry of Germany, Denmark, Italy, and Spain, but not one from Britain. We may therefore add that in a well known book entitled *Introductio ad Latinam Blasoniam*, by John Gibbon, Bluemantle Pursuivant, 1682,† that writer has collected about an equal number of English examples. It must however be added, that many of these are of very doubtful genuineness, their peculiarity being pro-

* *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, p. 221, n. What was granted appears to have been the crest of Waldegrave, in a coronet or, a plume of five ostrich feathers, party per pale argent and gules. From this the arms were in some way evolved.

† Pp. 150-152.

bably the result of the fading away or tarnishing of the original colours. Still there is however reason to believe that some of the examples given are genuine. Denham, of Suffolk, for example, is said to bear *Gules, a cross vert*; Ore, of Kent, *Gules, a bend azure, fretty or*; Walden, *Gules, a bend azure, in sinister chief a martlet or*; and Venour, of Kent, *Gules, on a fess sable, five escallops or, 3 and 2*. But that labels, chiefs, cantons, bordures, and other accessories, may be of colour upon colour is well known.

From a very early period fields and ordinaries are frequently decorated with *diapering*, usually of the same tincture, but of a lighter or darker shade. This when judiciously applied is exceedingly effective, but, as Mr. Woodward points out, care should always be taken lest the actual bearings be obscured. The diapering should in every case consist of foliage or pattern merely, not of figures; for these might be mistakenly regarded as essential portions of the arms.

Chapter IV. treats of 'Ordinaries.' These are thought by many to have been developed, generally speaking, from the bands of wood or metal which in early times served to strengthen the shield. The fact that ordinaries form but a small proportion of the elements of the earliest coats, seems a strong objection to this view, but no more likely theory has been suggested. The theoretical proportions of the ordinaries, as stated by old writers, would have been better omitted altogether, it being admitted that they have never been observed in practice.

It is affirmed by several English writers (but not in this book) that the fess must always cover the fess-point of the escutcheon, and consequently that it cannot be borne with a chief. The fallacy of this statement will appear from the following examples. Morteyn (in Glover's *Ordinary*) bears *Argent, a fess gules; on a chief azure, two mullets of the first*; and in the *Visitation of Surrey*, 1623, the arms of Burton of Carshalton are *Ermine, a fess sable; a chief chequy or and of the second*. Besides, there is no coat which may not have a chief, or even two, one set above the other. This is evident from the fact that a chief gules charged with a cross argent is the distinction of every knight of St. John.

It is an error (not occurring in this book) to suppose that the *d* represents the diagonal sword-belt; it was in use long

before the shoulder-belt was worn. As to the position of charges placed *upon a bend*, or *in bend*, our author says that 'if their height is greater than their breadth, they follow the line of the bend; if not, the charges are placed in the bend paleways.*' It appears to us doubtful whether the latter part of this rule is quite accurately expressed. We are inclined to think that upright objects upon bends are seldom to be met with. The owls of Savile, and the lions passant of Browne, are not in a perpendicular position, as our authors' text would lead us to suppose, but going up the bend, and this (as to Savile) appears from an accompanying plate. We doubt our authors' representation of the arms of Northcote—one of several grants which that family has had. It differs from all the engravings to which we have had access, and also from our interpretation of the blazon, which is always *Argent, three cross-crosslets in bend sable*. According to this book a *cheveron chequy*—as in the arms of Sempill—has the squares upright. This is a point on which authorities differ. Seton gives to the Lords Ross—we think mistakenly—three rows of chequers in the line of the chevron. In ancient rolls of arms the plain cross is often called *croix passant*, which is supposed to mean 'passion cross, *i.e.*, the Latin cross, for on the long shields of the thirteenth century the plain cross had nearly that form.†

It is said‡ to be a rule in Scotland that when a saltire is charged, the charges, except the central one if any, should slope with the limbs of the saltire. We should say, however, that the nine lozenges on the saltire of Dalrymple are at least as frequently all set upright. The other arrangement seems to be only a fanciful one.

The *cross-crosslets* of Beauchamp were frequently *botonny* (otherwise *treflé*) in old examples. Camden's cross-crosslets should have been described as *fitchy*. We are unable to agree in the suggestion that the central cross in the arms of Jerusalem

* *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 130.

† *Three Rolls of Arms*, edited by W. S. Walford and C. S. Perceval, p. 8. From *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIX.

‡ *Treatise*, p. 144.

may be a combination of the letters H and I. At an early period it was drawn as a cross pomel,* and the cross of St. Chad nearly resembles it. The *cross avellane* occurs in a grant to Peppin (or to Sydenham?) in 1757.

Chapter V. describes the charges known as 'Sub-Ordinaries.' The *canton* (often formerly a *quarter*) is variously used. Sometimes as a charge, and it may be the only charge, as in the arms of Sutton. More frequently it is an addition to the original coat, sometimes as an augmentation of honour, sometimes merely as a difference, sometimes for other reasons. It is held that when a person is heir to his mother and not to his father (which may happen when the father has issue by another marriage), he ought to bear his mother's arms with a canton of his father's. This arrangement, though officially recognised, is open to serious objection. There might be a canton in the maternal arms—possibly nothing but a canton. There is, in truth, no reason why this particular sort of heirship should be excepted from the general rule as to quartering. There are other uses of the canton which are less intelligible. Sir Rowland Hill, Lord Mayor of London, 1549, though he was entitled by descent to other arms, bore those of his mother's family, Wilbraham, with a canton composed in part from the arms of Malpas, a remote ancestor. Sir Thomas White, Lord Mayor, 1553, bore *Gules, an annulet or; on a border sable eight estoiles of the second; and on a canton ermine, a lion rampant of the third*. This canton seems to be of the arms of Kendrick, a family probably in some way connected with that of White. For about three centuries the Harfords of Herefordshire have added to their arms a canton of the arms of Scrope. This is simply in commemoration of a match with a daughter of that illustrious family, who was not an heiress.

Under 'Bordures' we read that different families of Erpingham bore *Argent*, with bordures of various tinctures for difference, charged with martlets. We very decidedly prefer the ordinary blazon, *e.g.*, *Gules, an inescutcheon within an orle of martlets* (or rather, *between eight martlets in orle*) *argent*. We may here

* Planché, *Pursuivant*, p. 32.

observe that though the number of charges placed upon a bordure, or in orle, is now usually eight,* the number was by no means thus limited in ancient examples. It is often ten or more, in fact *sans nombre*.

The Scottish *tressure* is said to appear for the first time on the Great Seal of Alexander III. (1249-86) and in a roll of the same period it is styled 'un borde florette de gulez.' It is not clear that it was fully developed until somewhat later. The *fret* originated in the *fretty* coats of an earlier period. The number of pieces in the pattern so-called was at first immaterial, afterwards eight or six. Fretty of six pieces was at length generally changed into a fret. In one instance the *lozenge* is found lying horizontally. It occurs in an original grant by Benolt to Ralph Cauldwell of Staffordshire in the time of Henry VIII. Pales, fesses, bends, and crosses, composed of lozenges conjoined were originally, in many cases, ordinaries engrailed, though the fact is not apparently noticed in this work. The fusils of Percy seem, however, to have been mill-picks, and were perhaps derived from Pichot de Percy.† In foreign heraldry the *billet* is occasionally borne in a horizontal position, in coats which are *billey* or *semé of billets*. No instance of the *billet couché* is known in British heraldry, but there is a charge which, though identical with it in form, is in fact a hone. It occurs in the arms of Hone, (quartered by Sir Thomas Bodley) viz., *Argent, two bars wavy between three hones (or hone-stones) sable*.

Chapter VI. refers to 'Animate Charges—The Human Figure.' Here the fact is recognized that the figure which forms the ensign of the see of Chichester was intended to represent our Lord, as described in the first chapter of the Apocalypse, though it has long been ignorantly described as Prester John. (Possibly, as Mr. Boutell suggests, the figure may have been supposed to represent St. John the Evangelist, 'the Elder.') We are not sure that the seat is mistakenly called 'a tomb-stone' for the bearing represents Him 'that liveth and was dead.' With it may be

* *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 172.

† Longstaffe, *The Old Heraldry of the Percys*, 1860, p. 8. Originally published in *Archæologia Æliana*, Vol. IV.

compared the Holy Lamb holding a flag with a red cross, and standing on a tomb, which device pertains to the College of Bonhommes at Ashridge, Bucks.* Dr. John Incent, Dean of St. Paul's 1540-45, bore in his arms a naked child—an innocent.† Savages (wild or *wode* men) occur pretty frequently in the arms and crests of families named Wood. They are also the supporters of Wodehouse, Earl of Kimberley.

Chapter VII. treats of 'Beasts,' beginning with the lion. Under the name of this majestic quadruped we are struck with the long list of families which, even in England, have borne lions rampant with identical tinctures, and cannot but wonder that no contests are on record for the right to bear them, like that about the bend in *Scrope and Grosvenor*. The fact also brings out, very forcibly, the uselessness, in many cases, of the minor differences; for what herald could make anything of such a coat, considered in itself, as *Gules, a lion rampant or, with a crescent for difference*? The lion is occasionally a symbol of St. Mark, as in the coat of Markham. The white horse of Ancient Saxony or Westphalia is well known in the royal armory of Britain. The white horse of Kent is commonly referred to as of Saxon origin, and it is remarkable in connection with the horses which in various parts of England are cut upon the sides of hills. The high estimation in which white horses were held by the ancient Germans is spoken of by Tacitus.

Chapter VIII. deals with 'Birds,' beginning with the eagle. The history of that bird as the symbol of the Roman Empire, and of other powers claiming succession to the same, is here pretty fully stated. In Europe there are still the eagles of Austria, Russia, and Germany, besides others pertaining to minor principalities. An able writer remarks that 'owing to the restoration of the Western Empire during the rule of the Byzantine Cæsars, the world has never since [the time of Augustus] been without one or two Emperors of the Romans. The present Austrian Emperor,

* Compare Woodward and Burnett, p. 236. The nimbus of Divinity is not charged with a cross, as commonly supposed, but with three rays (probably), in reference to the Holy Trinity.

† The arms are misdescribed in the printed copy of Lee's *Gatherings of Oxfordshire*, 1574. *Vis. Oxf.*, Harl. Soc., p. 112.

though holding scarcely a province of Adrian's, is the direct successor of Charlemagne, who was crowned in Rome, Emperor of the Romans, the sixty-ninth from Augustus.* The Czar of Russia bears the double-headed eagle, which was assumed by the Grand Duke Ivan Basilovitz, who in 1472 married Sophia, daughter of Thomas Paleologus, and niece of the last Emperor of Byzantium, Constantine XIV.† The German Emperor reigns over some Roman provinces, and bears a single-headed eagle with the crown of Charlemagne. The single-headed eagle, assumed with the imperial title by the first Napoleon Bonaparte, sets forth the union of the whole Roman Empire as the traditional aim of his family. All this strikingly harmonizes with the admitted fact of the continuance to the present time, though in a divided state, of the Roman Empire,‡ and suggests thoughts as to what may be the ultimate meaning of the words, 'Wheresoever the body is, thither will the eagles be gathered together.' §

The swan, as the device of the great family of Bohun, is probably traceable to Sweyn of Essex, some of whose lands came into the possession of the Bohuns. From them the swan, as a badge or cognizance, descended to the royal house of Lancaster, and also to the family of Stafford, Dukes of Buckingham; hence it became associated with the county. ||

The feathers of the ostrich form a subject of great interest in connection with English heraldry. It is too large for discussion here. We will only observe that Henry Harman, Clerk of the Council to Henry VII., bore *Argent a chevron purpure between three ostrich feathers sable*, in which very suitable device Guillim appears to have mistaken the feathers for 'peruques' ¶—an instructive instance of the way in which heraldic bearings get perverted.

* C. Maitland, *The Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation*, 1849, p. 8. † *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 250.

‡ *Missale Romanum*: service for Good Friday—'respice ad Romanum benignus imperium.' 'Ye know what withholdeth,' etc., 2 Thes., ii. 6, 7. 'Quis nisi Romanus status?' says Tertullian.

§ St. Luke, xvii. 37. Comp. Zech. xiv. 2.

|| See a paper on 'The Swan of Buckingham,' by the present writer, in *Records of Buckinghamshire*, Vol. III., pp. 249-270.

¶ *Display*, p. 174, first edition. Here the chevron is *gules*.

Chapter IX. relates to 'Fish, Reptiles, and Insects.' With regard to the first of these classes, there is an excellent and beautifully illustrated monograph called *The Heraldry of Fish*, by Thomas Moule (1842). It takes in the armory of all nations, and includes shell-fish, crustacea, and all manner of sea monsters, as well as fishing-tackle, nets, etc. An adder nowed is the coat of Natheley. This is a canting coat.* Bees have recently become rather frequent in what are called industrial coats, as in that of Peel. The name of Sewell is derived from a manor in Houghton-Regis, Bedfordshire, and the insects in their arms are not bees, but butterflies, as appears by an ancient tomb belonging to one of them in the parish church.

Chapter X. refers to 'Monsters,' such as griffins, dragons, wyverns, the phoenix, and the like. It seems that unicorns became the supporters of the Royal Arms of Scotland about the beginning of the sixteenth century. This beast was of great note in medieval legend, and was probably known to English heraldry at a considerably earlier date.

Chapter XI., proceeding to 'Inanimate Charges,' describes the heraldic use of the sun, the moon, crescents, stars, comets, as well as objects connected with meteorology, land, water, and fire. The sun often appears in declining English armory in the arms of families whose surnames end with 'son,' such as Jenkinson, Nicholson, Pearson.

The crescent is best known as a token of the Saracens, and its extensive use in the armory of Europe is thought to be connected with the Crusades. It seems to have been a symbol of the Ishmaelites from remote antiquity.† A crescent affixed to the vaulting at Canterbury, over the site of the shrine of St. Thomas, is conjectured to be a trophy brought from the Holy Land.

There is some confusion between stars and mullets as used in armory. The difference is often not in shape but in intention. The star or estoile has usually six points waved; the three stars

* A village in Sussex, conspicuously seated on a hill, bears the name of Netherfield. This is at first sight incomprehensible. The explanation is that a *nedder* is an *adder*, and that the place, never having had the advantage of a visit from St. Patrick, abounds with snakes.

† See Judges, viii. 21,—'ornaments like the moon.'

of Hansard have six points not waved. The so-called mullet of Vere is a star of five points, and the stars in the arms of Baillie (associated in some coats with the sun or moon) are often drawn in the same way. When stars with straight points are pierced they may be considered mullets, or spur-rowels. The spur did not take this form until the earlier part of the fourteenth century. The rainbow occurs in the arms of Pont.

Chapter XII. is concerned with 'The Vegetable Kingdom'—trees and flowers, fruits, garbs, etc. Under this division comes the fleur-de-lis, derived from the garden lily or iris. The earliest occurrence of the shield of France *semé of fleurs-de-lis* is under Louis VIII. (1223-26), but single fleurs occur considerably earlier. It was in 1376 that Charles V. issued an edict reducing the number in the arms of France to three, 'pour symboliser la Sainte Trinité.' On the second Great Seal of Henry IV. of England the number is reduced to three.*

A most interesting fact in connection with the fleur-de-lis is that of the letters of nobility granted by Charles VII. to the brothers of Joan of Arc in 1429, with the surname Du Lis, and the arms *Azure, between two fleurs-de-lis of France, a sword in pale proper, hilted, and supporting on its point an open crown or*. It is said that the family still exists in Hampshire, with the name of Lys,† but this seems doubtful, for to the Hampshire family we find a different coat of arms attributed.

The statement that the thistle 'was unknown as the badge of Scotland prior to the reign of James III., 1460-88,'‡ will probably be read with surprise by many, yet we have no evidence of its earlier use.§ The cotton-hanks, as they are called, in the arms

* It is remarkable that the shields upon the canopy on the obverse of the fourth Great Seal of Edward III. have but three fleurs-de-lis, though the reverse of the same seal has the French quarter *semé*. No importance is, however, to be attached to the reduced number in this case; it is only adopted through want of space for more.

† *Notes and Queries*, Vol. VII., p. 295.

‡ *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 336.

§ An order or fraternity, sometimes called Knights of the Thistle, or of Our Lady, was instituted by Louis II., Duke of Bourbon, in 1370. It seems to have lasted but a short time. Louis had been prisoner in Eng-

of Cotton were, as some tell us, anciently hawks' jesses, though the family is now usually said to bear three cotton-hanks, as if in allusion to the name. 'It is, however, plain that the name Cotton and the arms also are both much older than the knowledge of cotton in this kingdom. The family draw their name from their ancient residence *Coed-ton*—dwelling-place in the wood—and by corrupt pronunciation are called Cotton.'*

Pears, called Warden pears, as it is believed from Warden Abbey, Bedfordshire, are borne by Warden, even in Scotland.† It is somewhat remarkable that pears are also borne by families named Abbot.

Chapter XIII. deals with other 'Inanimate Charges,' described as 'Miscellaneous.' They are classed as 'Military, Nautical, Ecclesiastical, Domestic.' In the blazon of Garbett‡ the griffin, which should support the banner, is omitted. Castles appear in such various forms (even in different representations of the same arms, *e.g.*, Castile) that much care is needed in describing them, and this is also true of bridges, and to some extent of towers. Our author§ fails to recognise the fact that the word 'fans' in a description of the arms of Edinburgh is but another form of 'vanes.'|| Ships need careful blazon, being of many different types. Amongst ecclesiastical bearings may be named the chapel, of which one instance only has been noticed. It occurs in the arms of a family named Chapell, and is represented in the Huntingdonshire Visitation of 1613.¶ The pilgrims' staves of Lord Hawke are also described (and more correctly, we believe), as boatswains' whistles.** Buckles occur in various forms and positions, which need to be described in blazon.

land, as was also David II., King of Scots. It has been supposed that there was some connection between this brotherhood and the assumption of the thistle as a badge by the Kings of Scotland, but we have no certain information on the subject.

* MS. note by the late Rev. R. W. Huntley.

† *Treatise*, p. 340.

‡ *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 352.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

|| Comp. St. Matthew, iii. 12, 'Whose fan is in His hand;' and the arms of Septvans, no doubt originally seven winnowing vanes, but long ago reduced to three.

¶ Ed. Camden Soc., p. 87.

** Collins' *Peerage*, 1779, Vol. VIII., p. 334.

In Chapter XIV. (with which begins the second volume) our authors take up the interesting subject of 'Cadency or Differencing.' The various modes which have prevailed in different countries, but especially in Scotland, are illustrated by numerous examples. None of them have ever been systematically carried out, nor does it seem possible that any of them ever can be. With respect to the small marks of cadency generally recognised in England, our authors remark that 'the system has been found unworkable, and beyond a second generation there is not even the semblance of provision for indicating cadency.'* Some of the many ways in which cadency has been marked in Scotland are no doubt preferable; but, generally speaking, their weak point is that they obscure or destroy the original coat.

Chapter XV. treats of 'Marshalling.' By way of introduction to this subject many interesting examples are cited of several shields upon one seal, as well as of composed coats, such as that of Stewart and Bonkyll, in which the fess chequy of the former is surmounted by a bend charged with the buckles of the latter. In strictness, 'marshalling,' consists not in such things as these, but in the arrangement of several separate coats in one shield, by impalement, quartering, or otherwise. *Impalement* at first frequently took the form of *dimidiation*. The earliest known example of *quartering* is the shield of Castile and Leon. The arms so arranged are upon the tomb of Queen Eleanor at Westminster, 1290, and upon some of her memorial crosses. The first English example of a quartered coat which we have seen occurs in an inventory of the goods of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, made in 1322, wherein is mentioned 'j autre [quintepointe, i.e., quilt] quartelé des armes d'Engleterre et de Hereford.'† The quartered shield of France and England dates from 1340. These quarters ere long came to be regarded as one coat, and in later examples of marshalling are dealt with accord-

* *Treatise*, Vol. II., p. 397.

† *Archæological Journal*, Vol. II., p. 349. The Earl married a daughter of King Edward I. The quartered arms seem to belong to the wife rather than to the husband. At this early period there was no settled rule for such a case.

ingly. One rather peculiar example of quartering (including grand-quarters) is the shield of the Duke of Northumberland, the history of which has been learnedly investigated by Mr. Longstaffe.* Grand-quarters are not usual in England, but in the heraldry of Scotland they are rather frequent. The *escutcheon surtout* (sometimes called an *inescutcheon*) appears in English heraldry upon stall-plates of the time of Henry VI. Since that time it has usually exhibited the arms of a wife, being an heiress, who has borne a living child, so that the husband has become entitled to her lands for his life by what is termed in law 'the courtesy of England.' Until the birth of issue the husband is not entitled so to bear his wife's arms, but only to impale them. Instances occur of the arms being impaled, and having also the escutcheon of pretence over the dexter coat. In the arms of sovereigns and royal princes the escutcheon surtout usually bears their paternal arms, as *Saxony* is now borne by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales and the other descendants of the late Prince Consort. The usage has prevailed also in the royal arms of several foreign countries, as in Poland, Spain, and Greece. We find one instance of an inescutcheon being granted as an augmentation—obviously an objectionable arrangement—namely, by Charles II. to Colonel Newman, for his distinguished conduct at the battle of Worcester.† In Scotland, during the fifteenth and two following centuries the escutcheon surtout generally displayed arms representing the chief feudal lordship. In a comparatively few instances the paternal arms have been thus borne over several quarters, and both these usages have been continued to the present day. Since the Union of 1707 the English usage of bearing the arms of a wife who is an heiress has also been introduced into Scottish heraldry, though Sir George Mackenzie (1680) disapproves of it.

The chapter under notice contains very full information respecting marshalling usages in Germany and other foreign states, amongst which is that of quarters divided by a cross.

* *The Old Heraldry of the Percys*, 1860.

† The escutcheon should rather have been in the honour-point, like those conceded to Marlborough and Wellington.

Something similar to this is found in Scottish heraldry, especially in the shield of the Earl of Caithness. This bears the insignia of his earldoms separated by *a cross engrailed sable*, which, on a field *argent*, was the ancient coat of the Sinclair family.

Chapter XVI. deals with 'Augmentations.' The earliest English instance appears to be of the time of Richard II. In speaking of the augmentation given to Sir John Clerk, who in 1513 took prisoner Louis of Orleans, Duke of Longueville, our author shews * that it did not consist of the Duke's arms, as alleged by many writers, but that it was a composition from the same. Probably no more was meant by Guillim when he said that 'the coat-armour of the Duke was given him, marshalled on a canton sinister in this manner.' † Camden certainly recognized the fact, adding to his description of the canton, 'for that no Christian may bear entirely the arms of a Christian whom he taketh in war.' ‡ The grant by Edward VI. in 1553 to Thomas Lord Wharton for his conduct at Solway Moss, some ten years previously, is printed in *The Genealogist* for October 1891. The augmentation is '*a border engrailed gold, remplished with lyons legs in saltire, rased gules, armed azure*,' being portions of the Scottish lion. This augmentation is described by our authors, § but, like other writers, they omit to notice that the bordure should be engrailed. Lord Wharton bore, as his dexter supporter, *a lion rampant gules, fretty or*—the Scottish lion in a net! We add a characteristic and beautiful instance of an augmentation which seems but little known. Patrick Ruthven, Earl of Forth in Scotland, was in 1644 created Earl of Brentford in England, and on the 26th of March in the next year the augmentation referred to was granted to him. His arms were *Paly of six, argent and gules*, with a crescent for difference. The crescent was doubtless superseded by the augmentation, which was, *On a canton or, a red rose and thereupon a white rose, both of England, within a tressure of Scotland.*||

* *Treatise*, Vol. II., p. 529.

† *Display*, p. 260, ed. 1611.

‡ *Remaines*, p. 165, ed. 1623.

§ *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 376.

|| *Ruthven Correspondence*, Roxburgh Club, 1868, p. xxxv.

In Chapter XVII. Mr. Woodward discusses 'Heraldic Marks of Illegitimacy.' One mode of marking it in the fourteenth century, and later, was by placing the father's arms or cognizances upon a bend. Thus John de Beaufort, eldest son of John Duke of Lancaster, before his legitimation bore *Per pale argent and azure, with the arms of Lancaster upon a bend.* After his legitimation he bore *France and England quarterly, with a bordure componé argent and azure*, the livery colours of the House of Lancaster, which shews sufficiently that the border componé was not then deemed a mark of bastardy any more than it was in the case of the Duke of Burgundy. An illegitimate descendant of this family, Charles Earl of Worcester (1514-26), bore the arms last described with a baton, or bendlet sinister, argent, which did not pass over the bordure. His eldest son relinquished the baton and placed the Beaufort arms upon a broad fess in a golden shield. His posterity soon relinquished this way of bearing, and resumed the Beaufort coat as borne after the legitimation—it does not appear by what authority. Various other modes of distinguishing illegitimate descent have been adopted in different lands, as is very fully stated by our author.

Chapter XVIII. refers to 'Badges.' These were in many cases family distinctions before—in some instances long before—the rise of coat-armour. The fleur-de-lis (flower of Loys) first appears on coins of Louis VI. of France (1108-37). Louis VII. (1137-80) used a single flower. The flory shield was not borne till later; and in Scotland Sir John Montgomery sealed with one fleur-de-lis in 1175; and his descendants took three such flowers for their arms. When coat-armour came into general use, badges or cognizances were still retained, and multiplied. Very many badges are recorded.* Some were afterwards turned into crests, sometimes improperly, as in the case of the cresset of Compton (derived from Berkeley), although the Comptons had a real crest. Cognizances do not seem to have been much used in Scotland. The badges of several families are knots of various forms; some

* See the cognizances on the numerous standards described in *Excerpta Historica*, and the list of badges printed by Mr. Planché (pp. 182-187) from a MS. of the time of Edward IV.

of them are supposed to represent letters. It should be borne in mind that badges or cognizances are essentially distinct from crests (which should never be separated from the helm), and that they are far more suited for use in connection with liveries. They were in days of old often embroidered upon the sleeves of retainers, and the revival of this practice would be commendable. In connection with this subject livery collars are briefly discussed by our author.

Chapter XIX. begins the treatment of 'External Ornaments' with 'Helm and Crest, Wreath, Crest-Coronet, and Lambrequins.' The absurdly complicated rules respecting helms which have been introduced in modern times would be 'more honoured in the breach than the observance.' It would generally be well to employ sidelong helms for all ranks beneath the crown, and to make the mantling of the livery colours. This has been done with excellent effect in the new stained glass at Lincoln's Inn, and the same practice appears to be getting into general use.

The *mantle*, *mantling*, or *lambrequin*, sometimes appears in the shape of a cloak or robe, including the whole achievement, but more frequently in the form of a covering for the helm, which covering being torn to rags often resembles foliage. When like a robe it was frequently charged on the outside (occasionally also on the lining) with armorial devices: when in the shape of a covering or of foliage it was of the principal colour or colours of the arms to which it belonged, lined with white or gold. Knights and those of higher rank usually lined their lambrequins with ermine. The modern practice, which would make all mantlings to be red lined with white * is censured by our authors, and may with advantage be ignored. The royal mantling of Edward IV. was thus tinctured; that of Elizabeth was generally of gold lined with ermine, and her example has been followed to the present day.

The *wreath* should usually be of the chief metal and colour of the arms; it is occasionally of three or more tinctures, and several anomalous examples are mentioned by our author, who with much truth observes that the modern wreath is mostly very badly

* This has been the usage both in England and in Scotland.

drawn. It should be circular, resting upon the summit of the helm, and not projecting from it. The number of pieces visible is generally six.

The *crest-coronet* (as it was happily designated by Boutell) is used in special cases, by usage or by grant, instead of the wreath. Our author describes it as having generally four foliations: we believe it more frequently has only three. The crest-coronet of Humphrey Stafford, Earl of Stafford, 1460, upon his stall-plate at Windsor is per pale sable and gules, his livery colours. His mantling is also per pale sable and gules, lined with ermine.

The *chapeau*, or cap of maintenance, is borne by certain families instead of the wreath. The *crest* is rightly regarded as inseparable from the helm and mantling, and should always turn the same way as the former. Our authors have some remarks, severe but just, on the violation of this rule at Windsor. When several crests are borne in connection with one shield they should face each other, except the central crest, if any, which in this case should, with its helm, be full faced.

Chapter XX. proceeds to a discussion of 'Crowns and Coronets.' A great number of imperial and royal crowns are here described, as well as the coronets used by nobles of various ranks in Britain and in continental states. We do not however find any reference to the coronets, if any, which should be used by holders of peerage titles by courtesy, as, for example, by a titular Marquess who is the son and heir-apparent of a Duke. We believe that in strictness no coronet at all belongs to such an one, unless indeed he has been summoned to the Upper House by his father's inferior title. It would however seem reasonable that a titular Marquess, Earl, Viscount, or Baron, should be allowed the coronet pertaining to the title which he bears by courtesy; but it certainly ought to be in some way distinguished from the coronet pertaining to a peerage. It does not appear that this case has ever been provided for. In this and in other particulars there is much anomaly in actual practice. The younger sons of a Duke or a Marquess should not on principle use any coronet at all.

In the complete achievement of a peer it has long been customary to place the coronet immediately above the shield, but beneath, or rather in front of the helm (*i.e.* between it and the spec-

tator). This has been the ordinary practice at least since the earlier part of the reign of James I.,* and it is so well settled that it seems generally undesirable to depart from it. This arrangement is adopted in all the later stall-plates: the earlier ones, and seals of the same period, usually omit the peer's coronet. The coronet should however be drawn without the cap. This practice might be superseded by the plan which has been adopted in the royal family, of placing the coronet upon the helm, and the crest upon the coronet. A still better arrangement would be to encircle the helm with the coronet, and to place the crest (with wreath, chapeau, or crest-coronet,) upon the helm. In some representations of the arms of royal princes engraved during the last century, the coronet is absurdly represented twice. It should be observed that in the cases of the sovereign and royal princes, the chapeau on which the lion statant was formerly placed has given place to the crown or coronet; but to omit the chapeau or crest-coronet in the case of a peer would be inexpedient. Another possible arrangement, suitable in certain cases, is to place the coronet of a peer above the helm and crest.

Chapter XXI. deals with 'Supporters,' as also with *compartments*, the *cordelière*, etc. The practice of England, Scotland, and Ireland with reference to supporters has always been more definite than that of many other countries. The only question which occurs to us is, whether supporters ought to be used by the sons of peers and of others who have an unquestioned right to them, or whether they should be limited to the heads of families. Our conviction is that, if borne at all by others, it should be only by heirs apparent, and not by them without the difference of a label. Supporters should always have something solid to stand upon, whether a compartment or a grassy bank. For armed men or rampant lions to stand upon a ribbon, as we often see them, is preposterous.

Chapter XXII. describes 'Flags, Banners, Standards, etc.' (The cut at the head of this chapter represents a standard, not a banner, as by mistake it is labelled.) Under 'National Flags'

* It is exemplified in Guillim's *Display*, 1611, where however the Baron has no coronet, none having then been assigned to noblemen of that rank.

we have notices of the banners of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick. The two former are ancient, the last very modern. Mr. Woodward says, 'I am not aware of its appearance any way as a national ensign until it was made part of the insignia of the Order of St. Patrick upon its foundation in 1783.' * This agrees with the conclusion of the present writer, who has traced the history of St. Patrick's cross in two articles printed in 1883. † For above a century before the foundation of the Order the banner of Ireland was *Or, a cross gules*, being the arms of the De Burgh family, Earls of Ulster. In another place ‡ our author describes the official arms of Ulster King of Arms as '*Argent, the cross of St. George*,' etc. This should be, *Or, a cross gules*, etc. The saltire, now called St. Patrick's cross, is that of the FitzGerald, Dukes of Leinster. The present Union Jack, our national flag since 1801, is a bungling, unsymmetrical combination of the ancient banners of St. George and St. Andrew, with that now attributed to St. Patrick. Sir Harris Nicolas has shewn that by a very slight alteration it would be rendered consistent with the laws of heraldry and with principle. § In all banners, standards, and other flags, it is understood that animals, bends, and all charges which have a difference of right and left, look towards the flag-staff; in other words that the flag itself is, as it were, transparent. Through neglect of this rule we have seen the royal banner misrepresented in otherwise excellent stained glass. The example which we have in view is in the ancient hall of the municipality of Dover.

Chapter XXIII. is headed 'Miscellaneous,' under which are treated the 'Royal Arms of England,' 'National Arms,' and some other matters. Here we find a specific notice of 'Armes Parlantes' or 'Canting Arms,' which, however, are more or less referred to almost everywhere throughout the work. The great extent to which ancient arms are allusive to their bearers' names is perhaps not fully recognised 'even by those who have paid

* *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 143.

† *The Genealogist*, Vol. VII., pp. 129, 239.

‡ *Treatise*, Vol. II., p. 526.

§ *On the Union Flag*. London, 1832.

most attention to the subject. The allusion frequently depends on local terms or words which have long been obsolete; sometimes upon still more recondite circumstances. Some have wondered why so many families named Green bear three golden bucks upon a ground of *blue*. The reason is, either that the arms originally belonged to a family called Boketon (or Buckton) and were taken by a Green on his marriage with the heiress of that family, or else that a Boketon, for some other reason, changed his name to Green, retaining his own arms. To the Cornish family of Moyle is generally attributed *Gules, a mule passant argent*.* This would do very well for what is called a canting-coat, but we believe the allusion is still more exact, and that the mule ought to be an ox, formerly in Cornwall styled a *moyle*. The *cats* in the arms or crests of Caterall, Catton, Catryke, Pudsey, and Pusey, fall within the same category, and so do the *cat-a-mountains* of the family of Hill, Marquess of Downshire. The cat crests of Macintosh, Macpherson, and Macbean refer to their connection with the Clan Chattan. In like manner several of the Allans, Allens, and Allensons, bear talbots, or rather *alands*, or their heads. The *maunch*, or lady's sleeve, is borne by several families in allusion to their names, as Mohun, Moun, Moon, and Mansel. The latter, being a diminutive in form, bears three little maunches (*manchelles*). This last example clearly shows that the device may have no reference to the meaning of the name but only to its sound.

Some extreme examples of bad heraldry are noticed and censured in these volumes. Many others might be cited from the arms of the peerage and baronetage of the United Kingdom, but we forbear to do so. It is surprising that the unfortunate inheritors of such debased insignia do not take steps for their reformation. In the case of the Lords Petre, certain additions of the Tudor period have long since been abandoned, and their beautiful ancestral coat is borne in its original simplicity.

In this department of archæology as in others, the student has

* *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 237.

need to be upon his guard against forgeries. Guillim* states the substance of a document in Norman-French, purporting to be a grant of arms by James Hedingley, Guyen King of Arms, to Peter Dodge, dated 8th April, 34 Edward I. (A.D. 1306). This, at least as regards the date, is obviously fictitious, though the arms described appear to have been borne in Kent and Norfolk at a later period.† There is also no lack of spurious genealogy. In the time of Queen Elizabeth there was a person named William Dawkyns, or Dakyns, who became notorious as a ‘dealer in armes and maker of false pedigrees,’ for which offence he lost one of his ears and suffered imprisonment. The names of nearly a hundred families are mentioned for whom he compiled such pedigrees, chiefly resident in the counties of Essex, Hertford, and Cambridge.‡ He appears also to have plied his trade in Yorkshire.§ We have in our possession a roll containing a long pedigree of Benson, with numerous illuminated coats of arms, commencing A.D. 1109 and extending to the middle of the last century. Until about the time of Queen Elizabeth it is manifestly unauthentic. We believe it to be in the main the same that was shown by Sir William Benson, sheriff of London, knighted in 1706,|| and we think there is little doubt that it is, for the most part, the handiwork of the above-named Dawkyns. It is well known that the trade which he followed is not yet extinct.

That notoriously prevalent abuse, the unauthorized assumption by other people of the arms of gentle families, is opposed alike to private rights and to historical veracity. To this, more than to anything besides, must be attributed the low esteem into which heraldry—one of the most useful handmaids of history—has too generally fallen. Its value depends on its reality; if a coat of arms be a false assumption, it is simply contemptible. The wrongful assumption of a coat is both untruthful and unjust—untruthful because it amounts to a false, or at least unproved,

* *Display*, 1632, p. 256.

† *Visitation of Norfolk*, Harl. Soc., 1891, p. 107.

‡ Noble's *History of the College of Arms*, p. 162.

§ *The Visitation of Yorkshire*, 1584-5, edited by Joseph Foster, pp. 466, 479, etc.

|| Le Neve's *Knights*, Harl. Soc., 1873, p. 494.

pretension to descent; unjust because it is (though often unintentionally) an infringement of the rights of others. It is an act similar in kind, though different in degree, to the unwarranted assumption of a contested peerage. Through this abuse public buildings, sepulchral monuments, and movable possessions, are too often falsely labelled, and so rendered worthless, if not positively illusive, as records of the past. This abuse prevails, we believe, more in England than in Scotland, where there are some legal checks to it. But wherever it exists, there are at hand very simple remedies which, under the direction of the able and courteous gentlemen who hold office in the three capitals, might speedily become more effectual than all the visitations and penal laws of old, and would at the same time largely increase the influence and prosperity of the colleges. What is chiefly needed is an official calendar, published at intervals of about five-and-twenty years, with an occasional supplement, and containing, under verbal blazons of the several coats, the names and descriptions of all persons in England and Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the Colonies (male adults at least) entitled to use them. The existence in print of such a calendar would shortly put an end to all unauthorized assumptions, for no one would be considered as entitled (unless under a recent grant or certificate) whose name or whose father's name was not recorded in its columns. As the various professional lists and directories are safeguards against false pretensions in their respective spheres, so this calendar would be in matters of genealogy and armory. In addition thereto it would be very useful if there were an official gazette (or more than one) of all heraldic matters, especially if the authorities would therein denounce any false pretensions, such for example as those connected with the monument of an Oldfield at Chester and the 'Dearden chapel' at Rochdale, so ably exposed by the late Mr. Courthope, Somerset Herald, in the pages of old Sylvanus Urban, forty years ago.*

The two volumes before us contain 56 plates, for the most part in gold, silver, and colours, besides many illustrations in the text. By the use of gold the arms are much enriched, but we confess

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb., 1852.

that we should have preferred the omission of the silver, notwithstanding the fact that in stall-plates and on other metallic surfaces it is often used for white. We have already expressed an opinion that whilst protesting against armorial distinctions of too refined a character, we are in danger of erring in the way of laxity. We are not sure that our authors have always borne this fact in mind. 'The familiar words of the Latin accidence, *Brevis esse laboro, fio obscurus*,'* should never be forgotten by the armorist. We have noticed some *errata*, but upon the whole are surprised to find that in a work dealing with innumerable facts both great and small there are so few. We must in conclusion express our high opinion of the great value of this treatise to all who are interested, whether scientifically, artistically, or historically, in the subject which it so well describes and illustrates.

H. GOUGH.

ART. II.—THE CANARY ISLANDERS.

On the Ancient Language of the Natives of Tenerife. By JOHN MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T. A paper contributed to the Anthropological Section of the British Association. 1891.

Estudios Históricos Climatológicos y Patológicos de las Islas Canarias. Por D. GREGORIO CHIL Y NARANJO. Las Palmas. 1880.

Conquest of the Canary Islands. G. GLAS. 1764.

Cinq Années de Séjour aux Isles Canaries. R. VERNEAU. Paris. 1891.

THE traveller who leaves the picturesque ravines and bright cane fields of Madeira and passes south through the calm seas where the seven 'Fortunate Isles' rise rugged and desolate, and where, like Atlas or Hermon, the great peak of Tenerife casts its long shadow 'far o'er the western foam,' might well be surprised to learn how large a literature has

* *Treatise*, Vol. I., p. 107.

been devoted to the history of the little group of extinct volcanos, and how eager have been the controversies concerning the origin of its ancient populations, and their relation to the story of man's diffusion over the face of the earth. The question has just been brought prominently to notice by the paper which Lord Bute read last year at Cardiff at the meeting of the British Association, when he discussed the various views held, especially with respect to the Island of Tenerife; and without committing himself to any particular opinion, called the attention of antiquaries to a subject of no little interest, and to the exhaustive labours of Dr. Chil regarding his native land.

The Canary Islands are no less than 800 miles distant from the nearest point in Europe—at Gibraltar, and only sixty miles from Cape Juby in Africa, so that, according to natural laws of the diffusion of race, it is to the north-western shores of the great African continent that we should look for the origin of the native population. This, however, has not prevented theorists from supposing that the race there found by the Spanish conquerors was of European origin, or even that the natives of Tenerife were akin to the Indians of North America. It is here proposed to enquire into the existing information, which enables us to form some opinion on the subject—information which is based on anthropological and linguistic facts, rather than on the meagre historic data which can be gathered from ancient accounts.

Two thirds of the area of the islands are said to be covered with calcined rock, pumice stones, and ashes. The volcano of Lancerotta was still active in 1734 A.D., and the crater of Tenerife had then only become extinct some few years. In the Grand Canary there have been no eruptions since the fifteenth century, but the 'Goat Mountain' in Palma was in eruption as late as 1677 A.D., when the population was terrified also by earthquakes. But in spite of the desolate character of the greater portion of the islands, and the want of water in several, neither climate nor natural disadvantages forbade the early settlement of man in the more favoured parts of the land. Grand Canary is comparatively well watered and

wooded. The higher mountains, including the great peak of Tenerife which rises some 12,000 feet from the sea, are covered for more than half the year with snow, and the clouds which gather on the summits bring rain, and in winter hail. The palm grows on the coasts, but on the upper slopes the pitch pine (which gave resin for the preparation of the native mummies) is found, and even the beech tree according to Glas; while wine has long been one of the exports, with the sugar of the cane fields, honey, and the orchilla weed, from which a valuable dye is extracted. The best known representative of the native fauna is the African songster whose name is derived from the Canary island itself.

The Carthaginians were probably the first of ancient civilised nations to discover this remote group of islands. It is clear from Hanno's account of his voyage that he must have passed near them on his way to the Gold Coast, in the palmy days of the Phœnician commerce, and the volcanos which he saw may well have been those which were still active so much later in Tenerife, Grand Canary, and Gomera. It has been disputed whether Cerne, the island where the Carthaginians traded with African tribes, was one of the group, but the probabilities seem to be in favour of this view. Herodotus (IV. 195) had heard vaguely of this island beyond the pillars of Hercules, as abounding in olives and vines, and gold dust found in lakes. Hanno visited Cerne, which was as far from the pillars as Carthage was to the east—a measurement which very exactly agrees with the situation of the group; and here in later times the Carthaginians exchanged Egyptian products for skins, fleeces, and ivory. But to the Greeks and Romans these remote regions long remained unknown, save by the tales brought back by the Semitic sailors. The Atlantis of Plato was a fairy land, which some have been tempted to suppose is now covered by the ocean; the geologist points out that the fossils of the Canaries, at a height of 3000 feet above the sea, are marine, and that the depth of the sea off the coasts is not less than 15,000 feet, so that if the islands had sunk down—as the believers in Atlantis profess to show—they must originally have presented mountains much higher than Mount Everest,

whereas the evidence of modern science tends to shew that the group was due—as in other cases—not to the sinking of the mainland, but rather to the rise of volcanic peaks from the ocean bed. Atlantis must therefore be regarded as a dream, and it is not till after the Christian era that the Canaries are noticed by Pliny and Plutarch. If we may believe the former they were uninhabited in his time, though traces of former habitations existed (*Hist. Nat.*, VI. xxxvii.) This account agrees with the actual flora of the Canaries, not only in the notice of palms and pine trees, but also in the description of a tree giving water from its leaves, which applies to the sacred tree of the island of Hierro, which is said to distil the moisture of the mountain mists in such quantity as to be useful for drinking. Grand Canary was famous for its large dogs, whence, according to a perhaps doubtful etymology of Pliny's, it took its name. Juba the younger (the Numidian monarch), had obtained, he says, two of them, when in the reign of Augustus he sent an expedition from the mainland to explore the islands. Whether these dogs were wild we are not told, but it is quite possible that the natives retreated inland on seeing the Roman ships, and that their islands were not really uninhabited. This at least was their policy in the later times of Norman and Spanish attacks.

The early Arab accounts of the islands are vague and doubtful, but there can be little doubt that the native race found by the Normans had established itself before the time of the Arab conquest of North Africa, since the religion and religious nomenclature of Islam were never known to them. The Berbers were reduced by the Khalif 'Othman after forty years of struggle, at the end of the 7th century of our era, so that at latest the natives of the Canaries must have arrived a thousand years before the time of the Spanish Conquest. In all probability, however, they must have been established there in much earlier times. The first Europeans to re-discover the Fortunate Isles were the Genoese. Lancelot Maloisel reached them in the end of the thirteenth century, and in 1339 for the first time the island of Lancerotta appears with Fuertaventura on a map. The former seems to have been named from Lance-

lot himself, the second from his adventure. Two years later, by order of Alphonso IV. of Portugal, an expedition visited the group, and one of the most important series of data concerning the native language is derived from the account of this visit preserved by Boccacci.

It was not till 1402 A.D. that any of the islands were conquered by the adventurers from the north. Jean de Béthencourt, a Norman serving Henry III. of Castile, made himself master of the four smaller, where his family long after ruled; but the subjugation of the larger islands was effected by the Spaniards. Grand Canary was subdued in 1483 A.D., Palma in 1492, and Tenerife held out till the close of the fifteenth century. Earlier raids had been unsuccessful. The Spaniards from Majorca appeared at the Canaries in 1360, and Norman ships had already reconnoitred them a few years later. The prize such as it was fell finally to Spain, but the resistance was long and desperate.

English interest in the Fortunate Isles appears to date back to the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. Thomas Nicolas wrote a MS., still preserved at Laguna, dating from 1521 A.D.; and 'a pleasant description' of the same was published in London in 1583. Twelve years later an English raid on Fuertaventura and Lancerotta occurred, and English ships appeared again in the eighteenth century. The very valuable account by George Glas, who made many voyages in the group is mentioned at the head of this paper. He translated the account of the Norman conquest by Abreu de Galindo, written in 1632 A.D., and adds the result of his own researches, with many directions to the traders, who were then visiting the islands for wine, sugar, and the orchilla weed.

Dr. Chil has reproduced a primitive and most delightful map of the African coast and of the Fortunate Islands dating as early as 1413 A.D. As great part of the mainland is occupied by the seated figure of a negro ogre, with a Norman crown and sceptre, to whom approaches a Moorish monarch, on a camel much too small for him. In the midst of the Canaries is shewn the 'ship of Jacme Ferrer,' with the date of his voyage in 1346 A.D. The ship is considerably larger than all the

islands put together, but the seven are shewn approximately in their correct relative positions, and with the names now known, except Tenerife, which has the Spanish name *Isola del Inferno*.*

The story of the conquest has little to attract us. It is the common tale of a native population (in this case a very brave and noble race though primitive in religion and culture) gradually yielding to the 'resources of civilization,' or in other words, to the combined treachery and firearms of greedy and unscrupulous adventurers, and somewhat later to the arguments of the Inquisition. The history of some of our own colonies forbids us, however, from being the first to cast a stone at the Spaniards; and it appears inevitable that the adventurers who are the first to gain a footing in such countries, should be the least reputable representatives of the civilised lands whence fortune has driven them. From the time of the conquest onwards the annals of the Canaries are uneventful. The native race was certainly not extinct in 1658 A.D., and Dr. Verneau recognises the Guancho type in the peasantry of to-day; but a corsair raid in 1618 almost depopulated Lancerotta, and the peculiar customs and language of the Guancho or native race were gradually stamped out, as the European settlers increased in numbers and in power.

To the Spanish historians of the conquest we owe all that can now be known of this ancient population, and especially to the work already mentioned as translated by Glas, which dates from 1632 A.D., together with the *Ordenanças de la Isla de Tenerife*, by the Licenciado Don Jhoan Nunez de la Peña, of which the original MS., dating from 1670 A.D., is preserved in the library of Laguna in Tenerife. Still later is the work of Marin y Cubas (1694 A.D.), while Viera y Clavijo (1772 A.D.) and others appear to be mainly dependent—as far at least as regards the account of the native inhabitants—on the earlier mentioned works. It appears, therefore, that the Spanish

* For the perusal of Dr. Chil's important work (2 vols. quarto) and of others mentioned in this paper I am indebted to the kindness of Lord Bute.

writers in question wrote while the native language was still in use at Candelaria; and they have preserved the meaning of about 180 Guancho words, giving in addition sixteen sentences of various lengths, with their meanings. These are the materials from which alone we can now hope to know anything of Guancho speech, for the researches undertaken for Lord Bute by Mr. de Grey Birch, appear to show that the zeal of Dr. Chil has gathered up all the available material, leaving probably nothing for others to add.

Before treating of the language, it is however important to note what is known of the racial type, the civilisation, customs, and religion, of the Guanchos, and to state the conclusions which anthropologists have reached from such investigation.

We are often told that language is no test of race, and this has indeed become a kind of scientific catch-word, whereby anthropologists sometimes excuse themselves from pursuing the dry study of grammar and comparative philology. It may be doubted if this distinction has not been exaggerated, for no nation is known willingly to have abandoned its mother tongue: the great stocks in our own days speak the same languages which they spoke at the dawn of history, five thousand years ago (due allowance being made for the decay of words), and the most that can certainly be said is that languages die out when the stocks that spoke them become extinct, or at least a diminished remnant amid a large conquering population of some other race. If any axiom is safe regarding such obscure questions as those of the diffusion of races, it is that the labours of anthropologists and philologists are alike rendered difficult by the very early mixture of races and by the very early appearance of foreign words in languages. In Babylouia and in Egypt we trace such mixture back to the earliest times, and the prehistoric races of Europe present the same problem. Professor Virchow quite recently warned younger students of the dangers of formulating theories on the scanty evidence afforded by prehistoric remains, and holds that the last twenty years have been remarkable rather for the relinquishment of former conclusions than for advance to final results. It is not by the exclusive use of one method, but

rather by combining every source of knowledge, that we can hope to arrive at real understanding of the antiquities of any people.

The method of the anthropologist has moreover the disadvantage that the skull and skeleton can only tell us a very little concerning the living man. We cannot know from them the colour of his eyes, of his hair, or of his complexion. The jaws cannot reveal to us what language he spoke, and the tomb tells us but little, in most cases, of his customs and beliefs. Nevertheless, the evidence of the skeleton is of high importance in the study of race, where race is pure, and especially so in remote islands where the admixture is generally less than on the continents. But a gap may often occur in such evidence, when races who burned the dead have succeeded, or been mingled with, burying people. The Celts of the Bronze Age at home, and the Romans in Italy, are instances of important races of whom the tombs can tell us very little.

The Guanchos of the Canary Islands were not only a burying race, but down to the time of the conquest they appear to have continued to make mummies, if not of all, at least of the nobler of their dead. The researches of M. Verneau and of Dr. Chil (who gives no less than eighteen pages of measurements of native skulls) have resulted in very definite conclusions as to the character of the racial type in the Canaries. They have also apparently shewn that more than one stock existed before the conquest—a Semitic people, apparently of Arab origin, being represented by some of the skulls, side by side with the true Guanchos who were found in all the islands alike. Three of these skulls were exhibited in London in 1887 representative of different types.* The first, which was that of a man of the true Guancho race, presented a long head with a low forehead, narrow beneath and broader above. The eye orbits were large and square, and the cheek-bones prominent. The nose was short, straight, and thick; the teeth pro-

* H. Wallach, *Journal Anthropol. Instit.*, Vol. XVII. No. 2, November, 1887.

jecting, but the jaw did not resemble that of the negro. The Guanchos appear from the skeletons to have been tall and athletic (as the Spanish chronicles also tell us), and the skull gives evidence of considerable power and energy, being remarkable for its great length, and for the combination of a low yet well developed forehead with brain capacity—a people we should imagine energetic and intelligent, but not gifted with high intellectual attainments; and, as such, the Guanchos appear in the history of their extermination. The other skulls were respectively those of a woman, and of a young man of Arab race, and the latter class appears to be found chiefly in the Grand Canary, Palma, and Hierro. In the 18th century Glas informs us that the population was a mixed one, Moorish captives being intermingled with the few remaining Guanchos and with the descendants of Spaniards and Normans. It is not improbable that even before the conquest some admixture had taken place, but the ancient cave tombs in the mountains have yielded many remains of the mummies of pure Guancho race, such as those above described.

Opinion naturally differs as to the complexion of the Guanchos. Dr. Verneau holds that they were a blue eyed fair people: others have considered them to be very dark. The Berber population of North Africa gives us, close at hand in our own times, an African race fair and blue eyed among the Kabyles; and the monuments of Egypt depict the 'White Libyans' with the same complexion more than 3,000 years ago. Two Guancho proper names are mentioned, one of which means the 'brown' or 'swarthy,' and the other 'the white,' so that the evidence even of language is conflicting. The admixture of Semitic or Negro blood might however have caused considerable variation in later times as regards the complexion.

As regards comparative study of the very marked type of the Guancho skulls, Berthelot, writing in 1879, states that they resemble those of the later Egyptian mummies. Dr. Verneau, who states that the type still survives in the remoter hamlets, has compared it to the so called 'Cromagnon race' of France Spain and Italy, which is referred to palæolithic times. Dr.

Chil's conclusions, from his numerous measurements, are to the effect that this long headed race of the Canaries may be compared, not only with the prehistoric race of Southern Europe, but also with the Berbers of North Africa, and the Egyptians. These observations by no means conflict, for the comparison of the races north and south of the Mediterranean has been generally admitted by anthropologists to be important. Dr. Isaac Taylor who gives these races the name of Iberians* also compares the Guancho skulls with that of the Caverne de l'Homme Mort of the reindeer period in Europe, and with skulls from Gibraltar. 'The Guanchos of Tenerife,' he says 'must be regarded as an isolated branch of the Berber race, preserving in great purity the primitive type and mode of life.' Some of the Guancho mummies, of which he says most European museums have specimens, appear to have been light haired, like the Berber Kabyles and Tuariks, but the race generally he supposes to have been dark. He also admits the resemblance of Berber and Guancho skulls to those of the ancient Egyptians, while the Cromagnon skeletons are he says a link between Berbers and Negroes. In later times the Iberian race is supposed to have extended along both shores of the Mediterranean, being found in Italy and the islands, in Spain, France and even in parts of England (but not in Germany) as well as throughout the regions which extend from Egypt to the Canaries. The evidence of trained anthropologists therefore points to the very natural conclusion, that the Guanchos came from North Africa, to the western shores of which the islands are so close, rather than from the distant regions of France and Spain, which the Iberians reached through Italy, as the northern branch of the long-headed race whose earliest civilisation we find in Egypt. The evidence of language, as we shall see later, points to the very same conclusion, showing that, in cases when a pure type is met, the results of philology and anthropology do not conflict.

The religious and social customs of the Guanchos, of which the Spanish writers have given many interesting particulars,

* *Origin of the Aryans.* London, 1889, p. 92.

seem also to point to the same conclusion, when compared with the notices found in Herodotus of the Libyan tribes between Egypt and Mount Atlas, including the Cabales, in whom we may probably recognise the ancestors of the modern Kabyles. The Libyans, though on the east they were influenced by Egypt, appear to have been a savage race mainly of hunters and nomads. They were in some instances—like the Guanchos themselves—troglodytes or cave-dwellers: their dress was of goat's leather like the Guancho dress; and like the latter they painted their bodies with vermilion. They sacrificed to the sun and moon, and appear to have honoured certain vestals (Herod IV. 180), as did also the Guanchos; but in both cases the relations of the sexes seem to have been very imperfectly regulated. In later times the influence of the Carthaginians, whose alphabet the Numidians adopted, must have been very considerable all along the African coasts, and may even have affected the Libyan languages, as that of the Arabs did afterwards, to a very considerable extent; but the Guancho mummies serve to connect the race rather with the ancient Egyptians than with any Semitic people.

The practice of preparing mummies was common to all the Canary Islands, but many bodies were buried without being so prepared. The entrails and the brain were in many cases never removed, as Dr. Chil has shewn, though in others a stone knife was used to open the body as in Egypt. The corpse was washed in salt water, and with aromatic herbs, and embalmed with butter, after which it was steeped in resin from the pitch pine found in the islands, and dried with pumice stone powder—also found in abundance. Sage and lavender were used as aromatics, with the bark of the pine and other siccatives. The body was then wrapped in skins, sometimes as many as seven or more being arranged with the finest inside. In Grand Canary, however, the wrappings were sometimes of reed matting, bound with palm leaves and fibres. The mummies were thus apparently as bulky as those of Egypt, and in some cases the coverings were painted. So prepared they were placed erect, or laid on trestles, in natural caverns in the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. These caves sometimes form

cemetries holding hundreds of corpses, and closed with great flagstones or by drystone walls. Very little has been found in them besides the mummies: a few vases and beads and sticks alone have been discovered; but in some of the islands vases filled with milk appear to have been left near the head of the mummy—a custom common to many savage nations, as the remains of the sepulchral chambers in Guernsey shew in the case of a Scandinavian race. It is recorded that the Guanchos (who held life in little estimation) would sometimes desire to die, when they were walled up in the grottoes by their relatives, to perish of hunger.

The Guanchos were fond like the Egyptians of colour. They painted the walls of the caves in which they lived, and they painted their bodies like Egyptians, Hottentots, Etruscans, and other early peoples. The juices of various herbs were used by men and women alike to colour the skin red, yellow, or green, and certain stamps called *pintaderas* are supposed by M. Verneau to have been used, like those of Mexico, to impress patterns. They are of wood or pottery with patterns in relief, and of round or triangular form, seal shaped, so as to be easily used for such a purpose. In some cases remains of an ochre paint have been noticed upon them.

The Guanchos were not however savages. They possessed some knowledge of a lunar year, and a regularly constituted society of king, nobles, yeomen, and the lower class, who were believed to have been created by the deity, after their superiors, and for the purpose of serving them. The year consisted, like that of most primitive peoples, of twelve lunations. It was probably vague, and is said variously to have begun in June or in August. That the Guanchos had a complete system of numeration we shall see later.

There were many kings or chiefs in the islands, and Tenerife alone seems to have formed a single state. The king was assisted by a council. His power appears to have been hereditary, and he swore by the bone of his ancestor, which he placed on his head, to 'follow his example who formerly wore the crown and make his subjects happy.' By the same bone the nobles swore to be faithful to the royal family. The crown

was of goatskin adorned with shells, and in other cases the insignia consisted of a round wooden buckler painted red and white, or of a club rudely carved. A flag was carried before the king, and at his approach the people prostrated themselves, and wiped the dust from his shoes with their clothes. The nobles appear to have been usually of the royal family, but a military caste, distinguished by its long hair, was constituted from among those who were found worthy by public opinion. Polygamy existed among the upper class at least, and certain customs connected with hospitality are described, which are well known in Asia especially among Mongols, and among the Arabs before Islam. The laws appear to have been mild, only inflicting death for murder, but the ordeals found among so many primitive peoples were not unknown to the Guanchos.

The Guancho religion included the idea of a supreme god in heaven, and of a devil who appeared in the form of a shock dog, and whose abode seems to have been in the crater of Tenerife. They seem also to have had a female deity, and to have believed in ghosts and demons. Sorcerers and witches were not unknown to them, and priest and priestesses had considerable power. They had temples which they called the 'Houses of God,' and certain rude idols have been found in Grand Canary of wood and pottery.

One of the most remarkable of their institutions was that of the vestal virgins, called *Maguada* or *Harimaguada*, who lived in separate establishments, like nunneries, where they prayed, repeating the words *Amen Acoran*, 'Have mercy, O God,' in a chorus, accompanied with gesticulations. They were robed in long dresses of white leather, and undertook the education of girls, and the baptism or washing of infants. They went out only to bathe, and to make pilgrimages to shrines in the mountains. After a certain age they might marry with the king's consent, but were strictly secluded while remaining vestals. They are described in Grand Canary, but no doubt were found in other islands as well. This institution reminds us not only of the Roman vestals but also of the Libyan virgins described by Herodotus, and of the priestesses of ancient Egypt.

The Guanchos held fasts in times of drought and famine,

during which not only did men and women abstain from eating but even the flocks were made to mourn, being shut up without food. The pity of heaven was thus invoked not only by man but by the cries of dumb animals deprived of food. The vestals on such occasions bore palm branches, and walked in procession to the mountain tops, where they made libations of butter, and then descending to the sea-shores flogged the waves with their rods or branches. These customs also find their parallels in many of the rites of ancient races of the East. The ordinary sacrifice consisted of meat and entrails, of fruit and butter, and holocausts were offered on the mountain tops, where the remains of altars and the ashes and bones of animals have been found. Auguries were also derived from the direction of the smoke during such sacrifices.

Another ceremony, somewhat resembling that of the Jewish scape goat, consisted in the pretended discovery of a sacred pig, which was looked upon as an intercessor with the deity, and let loose when the prayers for rain were answered, as the Arabs used to let loose the camel, dedicated in fulfilment of a vow. In the island of Palma was a peaked rock to which sacrifices were made, apparently to prevent its crushing those who passed below. In some cases victims were cast down the precipices to propitiate this much feared natural pillar.

It is hardly necessary to say that the Guanchos were fond of dances and of songs. Two songs have been preserved, one from Grand Canary and one from Hierro, discovered with a Portuguese translation by M. Laon de Cessac. The dances seem to have resembled some of those so often described by African travellers.

At the time of the conquest the Guanchos seem to have been an illiterate people, and although inscriptions have been found in the island of Hierro it is by no means certain that they are of Guancho origin, nor do they appear to be known in the other islands with exception of Grand Canary. These inscriptions have been called Numidian, and compared with the coins and texts discovered by Faidherbe. The texts, however, recall the forms of the early alphabets of Greece and Italy in use before the Ionian and Roman letters became cus-

tomary. They are probably not Semitic, for they appear to be written *boustrophedon*, an arrangement not used by Semitic peoples, and in one case the lines of writing on a rock are vertical. There can be little doubt that they are alphabetic, but being very short, and the language unknown, they may perhaps never be read with certainty. In all probability they were the work of some foreign race of sailors from the Mediterranean. Some of the forms may also be compared with those of the so-called Celt Iberian alphabet, the origin and character of which are at present undetermined.

The use of metal appears to have been unknown to the Guanchos, who used flint and stone, and wooden spears hardened by fire. There were no cows in the islands at the time of the conquest, but only sheep and goats. Camels, horses, mules, asses, bullocks, and even hogs, are said to have been imported since the Spaniards occupied the group, as well as rabbits, and a kind of deer from Barbary. Barley was known, but wheat was first imported from Barbary by Don Diego de Herrera in the middle of the fifteenth century, and was called *Trichen* by the natives, which appears (as Glas points out) to be a corruption of the Spanish *trigo* for 'wheat.' These indications point to the isolation of the Guanchos at an early period, cut off from any communication with the main land, and according to Glas the islanders had no boats and did not even communicate between themselves, which isolation would naturally result in considerable differences of dialect in the different islands.

This brief summary of the character and customs of the native population of the Canaries is useful in considering the question of the language which they spoke, concerning which certain very remarkable indications may now be mentioned. We have seen that the population seems to have included two types, one apparently Berber and the other Semitic, and it is possible that it was mingled with other elements even before the time of the Norman conquest, for the Arab traders in all probability had reached the Fortunate Islands from the mainland of Africa or from the Mediterranean some centuries before any European ships arrived. In Gomera Jean de Béthencourt

found the natives able to speak Spanish, but this was due to the residence of a priest, who was left to instruct them by a Spanish expedition, some thirty years before his time.

The early authorities state that the languages of the different islands were not the same, and this was also stated by the interpreters of Béthencourt: they were inhabitants of Lancerotta and could not understand the speech of Grand Canary. But this circumstance hardly proves more than dissimilarity of dialect, since a native of Aberdeen might find himself considerably puzzled by the dialect of Cornwall or Devon. The known vocabulary of Tenerife includes about 85 words, and of these, according to our authorities, 34 were used in other islands, and some of the commoner terms occur in every island of the group. There appears therefore no reason to doubt that the mother tongue of the race was originally the same, though through isolation certain words had survived by preference in each island, out of several terms for one idea, while the difference of pronunciation seem to have been less marked than might have been expected.

The earliest expressed opinion as to the character of the language is that of Sir E. Scory in the time of Queen Elizabeth. 'The language of the old Guanchos,' he says, '(which remayneth to this day among them in this island in their town of Candelaria) alludeth much to that of the Moores of Barbary.' He does not however explain whether the compared tongue is Arabic or the native Berber. George Glas believed that the Guanchos were an African race—at least in the case of the inhabitants of Grand Canary—and he compared about a dozen Guancho words in a striking manner with Berber words the correctness of which is easily verified. He was however unfortunately responsible for an extraordinary theory as to the Tenerife language which must be stated in his own words (p. 172 note).

'The language in Tenerife at the time of the conquest had no affinity to those spoken in the rest of the islands; by the annexed specimen it seems to have some resemblance to the Peruvian or some other of the American tongues.'

Not only is the theory highly improbable in itself, but it

contradicts the statements of the Spanish authorities as to the 35 words already mentioned. When moreover we turn to the specimen we find that Glas offers no American comparisons, but on the contrary only treats four words; one (*Trichen*) Spanish, and three others which he compares with Berber and Mandingo terms. The conjecture might be passed unnoticed had not the theory been quite recently revived: it may however be considered to be disposed of very summarily by Lord Bute after due consideration of the Peruvian vocabulary. 'I must confess,' he says (p. 52), 'that I fail to see much in this to justify the idea of Mr. Glas that the Tenerifan language was Quiche.' The American agglutination languages resemble in structure rather the Turanian tongues of Asia than any western speech, and the Guancho inflexions and syntax as well as the Guancho vocabulary are entirely different. It is difficult to understand how so improbable a theory can have ever been put forward by any student of languages.

A second philological curiosity is represented by Franz von Loeher in his '*Las Germanas en las Canarias.*' According to this author the Vandals after their conquest by Belisarius passed into Morocco, and coming to the Canaries then inhabited by the Berbers were fused with them. This is supposed to be supported by some very forced comparisons of Guancho and German words, and the frequent use of the syllable *man* in Guancho speech is explained as referring to the Vandals. No attempt to explain the inflections, numerals, and other grammatical features of Guancho language is made, as Lord Bute has pointed out (p. 9), and it is well known to philologists that results resting solely on a few resemblances, real or fancied, in vocabulary, have little value in the absence of grammatical resemblance. There are at least 200 important roots and simple words which are the same in both Aryan and Turanian and also in Semitic speech, and which occur alike in the ancient Akkadian and in Egyptian, so that results due to vocabulary are apt to be misleading. A comparison of the persons of the verb, of the plural, the cases, and the numerals, of any two languages is the safest basis, since such parts of speech are very constant and also very distinctive. As a simple instance, the

construction of Aryan and Turanian languages is always the opposite of that found in Egyptian and Semitic speech when the genitive is formed by simple juxtaposition. As in English we say 'cow-boy,' so in Semitic speech we must invariably say 'boy-cow,' the genitive following instead of preceding, if there be no case suffix to be added. It is on such a basis that the Guancho language should be compared, and there can be no reasonable doubt that both as regards grammar, and also in vocabulary, the Berber languages at once yield remarkable results, and especially in the case of the numerals which are perhaps the most distinctive of all parts of speech—a fact which was pointed out by MM. Webb and Berthelot as long ago as 1842.*

Allusion has already been made to the MS. of the Magliabechi library of Florence, which was published in 1827 at Milan, in which Messer Gio Boccacci da Certaldo describes the voyage to the Canaries made in 1341 by the Portuguese, who brought back four natives with them. Among other interesting details a list is given of the numerals used in the islands, which in nearly every case appear to compare with the Berber numerals as follows:—

	GUANCHO.				BERBER.
1,	...	Nait,	...	...	Yan.
2,	...	Smetti,	...	...	Sen.
3,	...	Amelotti,	...	...	—
4,	...	Acodetti,	...	...	Akuos.
5,	...	Simusetti,	...	...	Summus.
6,	...	Sesetti,	...	...	Sez.
7,	...	Satti,	...	...	Set.
8,	...	Tamatti,	...	...	Tem.
9,	...	Alda Marava,	...	...	—
10,	...	Marava,	...	...	Marau.
11,	...	Nait Marava,	...	...	Yan-d-Marau.

This comparison is of great importance, and allowing for errors of transcription, Abreu Galindo gives the same sounds in most

* *Histoire Naturelle des Isles Canaries*, par MM. P. Barker Webb et Sabin Berthelot. Paris 1842. 3 vols. quarto. Cf. Chil I. p. 285. Vernean, p. 66.

cases, though he gives Arabic numerals for 4 and 5, perhaps in error or perhaps on account of an Arab element in the population already mentioned. Some thirty other words have also been compared in the same manner by Glas, Jackson, and Berthelot, some of which may here be enumerated :

Guanchos, <i>Aho</i> , 'milk,' ...	...	Berber, <i>Aghi</i> , 'milk.'
,, <i>Tamocen</i> , 'barley,' ...	...	,, <i>Tomazen</i> , 'barley.'
,, <i>Tehuete</i> , 'leather dress,' ...	...	,, <i>Tahuyat</i> , 'blanket.'
,, <i>Amon</i> , 'water,' ...	...	,, <i>Aman</i> , 'water.'
,, <i>Almogaren</i> , 'temples,' ...	...	,, <i>Talmogaren</i> , 'temples.'
,, <i>Gayres</i> , 'chiefs,' ...	...	,, <i>M'gar</i> , 'great man.'
,, <i>Tamoganten</i> , 'houses,' ...	...	,, <i>Tigamen</i> , 'houses.'
,, <i>Achormaze</i> , 'green figs,' ...	...	,, <i>Tarkarmust</i> , 'figs.'
,, <i>Tigot</i> , 'heaven,' ...	...	,, <i>Tigot</i> , 'heaven.'
,, <i>Mencey</i> , 'king,' ...	...	Mandingo, <i>Mensa</i> , 'king.'
,, <i>Ahico</i> , 'cloak,' ...	...	Berber, <i>Heik</i> and <i>Taheik</i> , 'cloak.'
,, <i>Ahoren</i> , 'meal,' ...	...	,, <i>Ahoren</i> , 'meal.'
,, <i>Azamatan</i> , 'crushed barley,' ...	...	,, <i>Azamutan</i> , 'crushed barley.'
,, <i>Ara</i> , 'goat,' ...	...	,, <i>Ara</i> , 'goat.'
,, <i>Achuc</i> , 'son,' ...	...	,, <i>Akchik</i> , 'child.'
,, <i>Adaer</i> , 'rock slope,' ...	...	,, <i>Adaar</i> , 'rock.'
,, <i>Aguemene</i> , 'fern root,' ...	...	,, <i>Ajarmega</i> , 'mallow.'
,, <i>Amodaja</i> , 'stick,' ...	...	,, <i>Amute</i> , 'stick.'
,, <i>Asuquahe</i> , 'dark,' ...	...	,, <i>Askui</i> , 'black.'
,, <i>Ife</i> , 'white,' ...	...	,, <i>Af</i> , 'white.'
,, <i>Cariana</i> , 'basket,' ...	...	,, <i>Karian</i> , 'basket.'

It would hardly be possible to argue that words for milk, water, heaven, clothing, child, goat, barley, and for colour, can be loan words in the Guancho language, especially when the evidence of the numerals supports the results so obtained. There are moreover several words which seem to have escaped attention and which I venture to compare as follows with words common to several Berber dialects.

Tenerife dialect, ...	<i>Chivato</i> , 'kid,' ...	Berber, <i>Ighid</i> , 'kid.'
,,	<i>Sigone</i> , 'noble,' ...	,, <i>Sujenna</i> , 'lofty.'
,,	<i>Zucaha</i> , 'daughter,' ...	,, <i>Ugzi</i> , 'son.'
Grand Canary dialect,	<i>Gama, gama</i> , 'stop, stop,' ...	,, <i>Kim</i> , 'stop.'
,,	<i>Taguazen</i> , 'pig,' ...	,, <i>Ajig</i> , 'pig.'
,,	<i>Tahazan</i> , 'sheep,' ...	,, <i>Thiksi</i> , 'sheep.'
Lancerotta	<i>Enac</i> , 'night,' ...	,, <i>Ens</i> , 'to pass the [night.]'

„	„	<i>Tozio</i> , 'earthen ware,'	„	<i>Thiziua</i> , 'plate.'
Fuertaventura,	„	<i>Ilfe</i> , 'pig,' ...	„	<i>Ilef</i> , 'pig.'
Palma	„	<i>Teofuiviti</i> , 'flesh,'	„	<i>Tefijji</i> , 'meat.'
Gomera	„	<i>Hana</i> , 'help,' ...	„	<i>Aan</i> , 'help.'
Hierro	„	<i>Tezazes</i> , 'barley,	„	<i>Thezzi</i> , 'to plant.'

These indications seem to shew that each of the seven dialects belongs to the Berber family of speech. Nor is the evidence confined to vocabulary: the plural, the formation of the feminine, the personal prefix and the termination of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular can be traced in the Guancho sentences, and agree in each case with the Berber forms. Such compounds as *Amen Acoran*, 'have mercy O God,' *Ben rimo*, 'son of the cripple,' *Tamoganten Acoran*, 'houses of God,' serve to shew clearly that the Guancho syntax was that of the Berber Egyptian and Semitic languages, and not that of the Aryan or Turanian languages. The grammatical investigation seems therefore to determine the Canary dialects as having a Berber foundation as well as a Berber vocabulary, and the linguistic evidence gives us the result we should expect as most natural, and which is in accord with the anthropological data.

It is however to be remarked that many of the Guancho words at once suggest a comparison with Arabic, and with the older Semitic languages, a comparison which (unless it be intended by the Elizabethan traveller who compares Guancho and Moorish speech) I have not as yet found noticed. Instances of this connection may be given as follows:—

Guancho, <i>Amen</i> , 'mercy,'	...	Arabic, <i>Aman</i> , 'mercy.'
„ <i>Acoran</i> , 'God,'	...	„ <i>Akharun</i> , 'eternal.'
„ <i>Acano</i> , 'year,'	...	„ <i>Senneh</i> , 'year.'
„ <i>Aguerre</i> , 'lake,'	...	„ <i>Jurah</i> , 'pool.'
„ <i>Ben</i> , 'son,'		„ <i>Ibn</i> , 'son.'

The second of these words is important, it was used in Grand Canary and Tenerife and appears in Gomera and Hierro as *Alcorac*. The Berber term for the Deity is the Arabic *Allah*, but the word *Akharit* for 'eternity' is still in use. *Akharun* for 'the Eternal' is used in Biblical Hebrew as well as in Arabic, and when we consider that the word *Ben* for 'son' is nearer to the

Hebrew *Ben* than to the Arabic *Ibn*, it would seem that these Semitic words may have come into the Guancho language from some earlier Semitic race than the Arabs—possibly from the Carthaginians—having either been learned before the migration from Africa or afterwards. The words for ‘year’ and ‘pool’ are also common to the older Semitic languages as well as to Arabic, and the word *Ben* for ‘son’ is found in Egyptian. Moreover there are four Guancho words at least that are very similar to Egyptian, namely:

Guancho, <i>Axo</i> , ‘mummy,’	...	Egyptian, <i>Xa</i> , ‘mummy.’
„ <i>Oche</i> , ‘lard,’	...	„ <i>Aza</i> , ‘fat.’
„ <i>Chamato</i> , ‘woman,’	...	„ <i>Hamt</i> , ‘woman.’
„ <i>Afaro</i> , ‘grain,’	...	„ <i>Per</i> , ‘corn.’

With regard to these words it is remarkable that the Guanchos not only resembled the ancient Egyptians in their custom of mummifying the dead, but also used the Egyptian word, while the word for ‘woman’ is probably one of the oldest in their language.

These various comparisons, all pointing to a connection with the African Continent, are not discordant with one another, although the Semitic terms might be explained as due to the intermixture of that Semitic race of which anthropologists recognise (as already explained) the existence in the Canaries, side by side with the Guanchos; but to explain this accord of the various indications it is necessary to consider very briefly the relations that are known to have existed between the Egyptian, Berber and Semitic languages.

The character of ancient Egyptian speech is still a matter of discussion among scholars. Very remarkable resemblances have been noted between early Aryan and Egyptian words, as also between the latter and the Turanian vocables. A large number of Semitic terms also appear in Egyptian, generally regarded as foreign, but including the names of colours, numbers, and others, which it is difficult to suppose would have been borrowed. The syntax and pronouns of the Egyptian are much nearer to Semitic speech than to either Aryan or Turanian, and the view held by the late Dr. Birch, and which

appears destined to prevail, is that Egyptian was remotely akin to the earliest Semitic speech. On the other hand, the connection of the Berber dialects with Coptic, and thus with Egyptian, has long been remarked, and was recognised from the first by Champollion, when he recovered the vocabulary of the ancient language. As instances of this connection we may quote the names for 'lion' (Egyptian, *tsam*; Berber, *izem*), for 'drink' (Egyptian, *sau*; Berber, *suu*), for 'river' (Egyptian, *alu*; Berber, *ilu*), for 'noise' (Egyptian, *anu*; Berber, *anau*), and verbs such as 'to die' (Egyptian, *met*; Berber, *amt*), 'slay' (Egyptian, *nak*; Berber, *nek*), with many others. If therefore the Guancho dialects belong to the Berber group, they are ultimately to be connected with Egyptian, so that the appearance of Egyptian words in Guancho is not improbable.

The Berber dialects resemble the Egyptian also in particles, and in the persons of the verb, but they contain on the other hand a very large number of pure Semitic words, in a proportion of nearly one fourth as compared with those peculiar to the original language. This intermixture in modern times is no doubt largely due to Arab influence, though it is remarkable that in some cases the words so borrowed are the same which appear to have been borrowed so much earlier in Egyptian. The appearance of Semitic words in Guancho is thus not unnatural, and they may very probably belong to a very early period. The general result of such an investigation seems to be that the Guancho dialects resemble the Berber, on the one hand in their connection with Egyptian, and on the other in the presence of a Semitic element in the vocabulary, due perhaps to an admixture of a Semitic stock with that strictly to be regarded as Guancho. The study of language thus leads us gradually to the same results that are derived from a study of race, and also to the final comparison suggested by Lord Bute (p. 53) who says that 'certain grammatical forms . . . might be interpreted as pointing in the same direction as Coptic.'

The study of the known sentences of the Guancho speech is rendered difficult by the fact that copyists' and other errors

occur in the transcriptions given by the Spanish authorities, which—even if we suppose them to have been familiar with the native language—leave us often in considerable doubt as to the real pronunciation of many of the words. The sentences are interesting in themselves as casting light on the beliefs and customs of the race as well as on the grammar of the language, but it is not proposed here to attempt to analyse them in their mutilated condition. One, however, may be given as an example, referring to the name of the place of settlement of certain colonists near Icod. The title in Guancho ran as follows—*Alzanxiqian abcanahac xerax*, which Nunez de la Peña translates ‘The place of union of the son of the great.’ This may be elucidated by aid of the Berber and the Egyptian as follows: *Al*, ‘place;’ *zan*, ‘here;’ *gh*, ‘in;’ *an*, ‘of him;’ *bushil* (for *abcan*), ‘the son;’ *ak*, ‘the lofty;’ and *xers*, as in Egyptian ‘to unite,’ the whole having the proper Berber syntax, ‘The place of him, child of the great, uniting.’

Among the other sentences several refer to the native kings, including the oath by the bone of his ancestor, already mentioned. Others give titles of the deity, such as ‘the creator,’ ‘the great lord,’ ‘the supporter of heaven and earth,’ while the female divinity worshipped chiefly by women bore the title ‘mother of him who sustains the world.’ She was afterwards identified by the Guanchos with the Virgin Mary, and one of their male deities with the Saviour. One of the Guancho proverbs or sayings is also remarkable: ‘May he live and feel the evils of fate,’ and another is pathetic; when lamenting their king they exclaimed, ‘The great father of the fatherland died and left the people orphans.’ The two Guancho songs preserved by a Portuguese writer do not appear to be well translated. The first is from Grand Canary and is rendered: ‘Welcome ye! the foreigners come to slay our mother, therefore let us be united; brother, since we are lost, I wish to marry.’ The second, from the island of Hierro, is a love song of some disconsolate Guancho maiden—

“What are you bringing? what do you bear?
What are milk, and water, and bread, to me
If Agarfa heeds me not?”

In these lines the words for mother, water, milk, and bread, alone are certain in the Guancho original, and are the same given by the Spanish historians.

To enter into a grammatical disquisition would be tedious, and it is perhaps sufficient to say that the formation of the noun, masculine and feminine, from the root, of the passive participle, and of the causative, together with the article and the personal suffixes, appear to be the same in the Guancho and Berber dialects, while the prefix for names of living things is *ach*, which appears to be the Berber *ig*, 'a person.' Several words are found in both masculine and feminine form, the latter usually distinguished by a prefixed *t*, which in other cases appears (as Lord Bute points out) to be the definite article—an explanation which also points to a Berber connection.

The vocabularies include many words in addition to those of religious import, which throw interesting light on Guancho manners. According to Glas, Tenerife or Chenerife means 'the white mountain,' and *ife*, we have seen, is the Berber *af*, 'white,' while *Teneri* in Berber means a 'desert.' The peak was also called Taraire, which recalls the Berber *adhrar*, 'mountain.' The devil who dwelt in the volcano was called *Huayota*, the first syllable meaning 'spirit,' while the latter may be the Berber *uda*, 'to fall' or 'descend,' the whole meaning 'the infernal spirit.' The national dish called Gofio has been compared with the Kuskusu dish so common in North Africa. The chief priest bore the name Faycan, and Faya meant 'a heavy man.' With these words we may compare the Berber *achfagha*, 'Lord,' and *feg*, 'stout.' The word *aguyan* for 'dog' might also be the Berber *akjun*. Many other comparisons are possible, but the above are perhaps sufficient to indicate the natural direction in which we must look for a true comparative study of the Guancho antiquities.

To sum up the results of an enquiry which is based mainly on the monumental labours of Dr. Chil, whose work—though, to European scholars, containing nothing contrary to the teaching of science as generally received by the educated—nevertheless drew down upon him the severe condemnation of

ecclesiastical authorities, who refused to believe that mankind once dwelt in caves, it remains only to point out that the results indicated are in accordance with the opinions of those who have had the best opportunity of forming true views. The evidence of anthropology and language alike points to the conclusion that the Guanchos, at some remote historic period, crossed over the short distance of sixty miles which separated them from the mainland; and that they belonged to the great race of the Mediterranean shores, whose highest civilisation is found in Egypt. They arrived long before the Arabs had invaded Barbary, and had been long separated from the original stock and even from one another when the Arab traders of the tenth century and the Norman, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish adventurers of the fifteenth rediscovered the 'Fortunate Isles': they retained very primitive customs and knew few arts, being destitute of metal, and remaining in the 'stone age,' or as it would be more correct to say in the 'stone stage,' even down to the sixteenth century; but when duly examined their history presents no very puzzling problem, and no evidence has really been adduced which proves their migration from distant lands in either Europe or America. Finally, it should be recognised that, in carefully collecting all available facts, and bringing to notice of scholars at home the best sources of information (especially in the works of Dr. Chil, to whom later writers appear all to be deeply indebted), Lord Bute has done service to the cause of science, and cast much new light on the history of a very interesting and widely spread race, some members of which are even supposed, in prehistoric times, to have reached the southern shores of our own islands.

C. R. CONDER.

ART. III.—DAVID, DUKE OF ROTHESAY.

[The following paper is the substance of a lecture delivered on January 22, 1892, before the Associated Societies of the University of Edinburgh, by the author, in his capacity of their honorary President.]

THE mysterious death of David, Duke of Rothesay, at Falkland is probably the circumstance with which the name of that place is most closely associated in the greater number of minds. This fact is no doubt owing in great measure to the manner in which the event has been treated by Sir Walter Scott in the *Fair Maid of Perth*. Very little attempt has been made, as far as I am aware, to treat the life of this Prince from the point of view of historical criticism. On the other hand, Sir Walter Scott has used it as a subject for the use of his powerful and pathetic genius. The *Fair Maid of Perth* presents, especially in the characters of Robert III. and his son, a remarkable instance of the great novelist's power of making his characters live before the reader. Indeed, this is so to such an extent that I am conscious that the image which I form of the Duke is even now very much affected by the creation of Sir Walter's imagination. But on the other hand, Sir Walter has unhappily allowed himself in that famous romance all the license in altering and rearranging the facts of history to which he was only too prone; his history, such as it is, is based upon the statements of Bower and possibly coloured by the fictions of Boëce; and, even if he would have used them, he had not at his disposal a large portion of the scanty historical material which has been discovered or printed since his day.

The sources of knowledge as regards the few years of David, Duke of Rothesay's public career are indeed remarkably scanty, even more so than is usually the case with the historical matter relating to Scotland, as opposed to the abundant, interesting, and varied documents which supply the matter for the history of England. There is only one strictly contemporary Scottish historian, namely Wyntoun, the Prior of

St. Serf's Inch in Lochleven, but his history is very sketchy and slight, and moreover, doubtless in order to popularize his work, he wrote not in Latin prose but in Scottish verse, and it is very difficult to express a date in poetry. Bower wrote some forty years later, and may very probably, when he cannot be verified, be retailing idle gossip which at its very best can only have existed when he was in his 'teens. As to actual documents, the very foundations of historical truth, I have hardly ever seen any of the Duke's own, including only one letter, although they are referred to abundantly in the monetary accounts of the time; the Register of the Great Seal is lost after the third year of Robert III.; and in the Exchequer Rolls the entries are made only under the head of the year, without any nearer specification. Hence we are driven back upon casual charters, diplomatic correspondence, and the like, to be found scattered in all sorts of different directions. I have made a great number of notes of these, and, although I feel sure that there must be more information to be had than I have obtained, I do not think that any very abundant source of knowledge has escaped me.

The Prince was born, according to Bower, upon Oct. 24, 1378. The place was probably either Scone or Perth, as Parliament was sitting at Scone at the time and his father witnessed a Royal Charter there upon the very day. I made some attempt to ascertain where he passed his childhood, by noticing the places where his father, then Earl of Carrick, witnessed charters, but he seems to have constantly accompanied the King, and the movements of Robert II. are so erratic and his journeys so long and frequent, that it seems practically impossible that he could have been followed by an infant. The Prince David was $11\frac{1}{2}$ years of age when his grandfather Robert II., died at Dundonald (April 19, 1390) and his father John, Earl of Carrick, ascended the throne under the name of Robert III. Robert III., as is well known, had been crippled by an accident. He suffered from extremely weak health and although his mild virtues combined, with his prepossessing and dignified appearance, to make him beloved by those with whom he came in contact, there are no evidences

of his having possessed any unusual mental force, whereby to counteract the results of his physical misfortunes. It may be gathered from some indications, such as the Queen corresponding on international matters with Richard II. in 1394, and giving a tournament in 1398, that he was sometimes incapable even of transacting business and taking a part in social amusements. On the other hand the scanty materials for his personal history show that his journeys were sometimes very frequent, and his changes from place to place almost restless. He was particularly fond of the Firth of Clyde, and of sailing about from one place to another on its shores. When he was in the interior his chief residence seems to have been Perth. The state of his kingdom was often deplorable. For nearly the whole of his reign a Regency was established, first under his brother Robert, Duke of Albany, then under his eldest son, David, and then again under Robert of Albany. He appears to have been constantly surrounded by one small group of ministers, of whom his brother the Duke of Albany in particular seems rarely to have left his side.

The witnessing of the Charters of Robert II., as I have remarked, shows that during the early years of David, his father lived constantly with the old King, and as the Prince grew older, probably implies his own presence to an increasing extent. As I have already said, they changed their residence from place to place a good deal, but showed a decided fondness for the shores of the Clyde, the hereditary seat of their race. At the beginning of the year, 1390, Robert II. had been up at Dundee and Aberdeen. Thence he came to Perth, and was afterwards at Linlithgow in the latter half of March. It may be conjectured that he then felt the need of seeking the milder climate of the West. He was at Portincross (Arnele) at the end of March, and died, as I have remarked, at Dundonald on April 19, when his grandson David was aged nearly 11½. His sons John and Robert were with him all the time. His body must have been embalmed, as he was not buried till nearly four months after. One object of this delay may have been to obtain fine weather for the proceedings of the funeral and of the subsequent Coronation, and for the

journeys of those who had to take part in them. In the meanwhile, upon June 17, the disreputable Prince Alexander, Earl of Buchan, commonly called the Wolf of Badenoch, burnt the town and Cathedral of Elgin, with its library and documents.

Robert II. about 13 years previously, had prepared a sumptuous tomb for his own burial. It was kept in St. John's Church at Perth, and was now taken thence and erected in its place at Scone. The Royal Family, doubtless accompanying the body, arrived at Perth before July 18. I conjecture that it must have been now that the Wolf of Badenoch, upon public penance and promise of reparation, etc., was conditionally relaxed from excommunication, at the Black Friars Church of Perth, in presence of the whole Court, etc., to enable him to attend his own father's funeral. The burial and the Coronation took place at Scone with the greatest possible pomp and at an immense expense. On Saturday, August 13, the interment was performed, the Bishop of Glasgow officiating and the Bishop of St. Andrews preaching. The following day, Sunday, the King was crowned and anointed by the Bishop of St. Andrews, this being only the third occasion on which this ceremony had taken place in Scotland. The Bishop of Glasgow preached. On Monday, which was the Festival of the Assumption, the Queen Annabella Drummond was crowned, the Bishop of Dunkeld officiating and preaching. The homage of the Barons, a ceremony usually associated with the Coronation, but which had been omitted, perhaps not to over-fatigue the King (which may also have been the reason for deferring the Queen's Coronation) was performed upon the Tuesday, with a sermon by the Bishop of Galloway. Within the next month the Court moved to Edinburgh.

Prince David must at this time have been with his father and mother, and the solemnities of the royal funeral, the coronations of his parents, and the homage of the lieges to his father must have been among the earliest things which strongly impressed him, unless indeed we should assign such a position rather to the marriage of his eldest sister, Margaret, with Archibald, Master of Douglas, which is conjectured to have already taken place before his father's accession. His

changes of abode can be mainly followed by those of his father, since in his earlier years he must necessarily have been with his parents, and as soon as he becomes a little older we find him so constantly attesting the few charters of his father which are accessible as to lead to the inevitable conclusion that his habitual residence was at Court.

The title of Earl of Carrick, hereditary in his family, was immediately bestowed upon him, and not long after, perhaps in the Parliament held at Perth, in March, 1392, an income of £640, the payment of which was apportioned between the customs of nine different burghs, was settled upon him. This sum, even making a very full allowance for the greater value of money at that period, can hardly be reckoned to amount to the £15,000 which it is now the custom to allow even to the younger sons of the sovereign while still unmarried. It might have sufficed very well for the expenses of a little child, but when we regard the enormous burdens and labour which were imposed upon Prince David only a few years later, it seems, even when eked out by occasional special grants, to be altogether inadequate. And the consequences of this scanty provision appeared later.

With regard to the persons by whom he was surrounded, they were of course for the main part simply those who composed his father's court. The chamberlain of his household first appears in 1393 in connection with the Prince's first year's income. He was William Drummond. In the next year there is a new one, John Logy, who continued more than a year, and was then succeeded by John Stuart of Craigie. For the financial year ending in April 1396, the receipts are partly by this John Stuart, partly by Patrick Hepburn, and partly by John Niddry. The Prince was then 17. John Niddry, an able man of business who had been in the employment of the Crown since before the Prince was born, appears to have been a faithful and attached servant to him, and remained in his service, with one short interval, until the end of his life. As to his actual education nothing appears, but I conjecture that it was probably conducted with the advice of Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, a man who was constantly at Court, and who

seems thoroughly to have merited the confidence placed in him by the King, unless indeed you desire to blame him for the part he took in the Great Schism in the Papacy by adhering, and doubtless urging the Scottish Government to adhere, to the person variously called Robert of Geneva and Clement VII., an old personal friend of his own, by whom he had been nominated to his See, and to his successor, an adherence which can hardly have been weakened when Boniface IX., in 1397, did his best to confer St. Andrews upon the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Fitzalan. However, and by whomever the Prince's education was carried on, it was certainly careful and it was successful, for Wyntoun mentions the fact of his wide knowledge of literature, a fact which, especially under the circumstances of his constant changes and occupations proves not only the ability of his teachers but his own industry, capacity, and taste.

In order to follow the scenes of his boyhood, it may be worth while roughly to sketch the movements of the Court, as far as the very scanty materials I have been able to find enable me to do so. Soon after the Coronation, as I have remarked, the King went to Edinburgh, and stayed there, although not continuously, till about the beginning of February 1391, when he returned to Perth. In March he held a Parliament at Scone, and then, after a few days at Dunfermline, went back to Edinburgh, but from this he went almost immediately to the Clyde. His habit seems to have been to go about by sea from one place to another, yachting, in fact. He stayed in the West, although not quite continuously, till near the end of the year, when he went to Edinburgh once more. After another short journey to the West in February 1392, he went to Perth, where he held a Parliament in March, and stayed in the East till towards the beginning of July, when he again returned to the Clyde. He made a journey including Linlithgow and Dunfermline in October and November, but seems to have gone back to Rothesay for Christmas. This year is remarkable in the history of the Prince, only 14 in October, for the very early age at which he was introduced to public business. At some time during it he was sent to be

present at a great justice aire held at Lanark. In the middle of January, 1393, the King had to go back to Perth, and stayed there at least a month. He was in Edinburgh and Linlithgow in March, and I then lose all trace of him till October, when he was at Glasgow. I conjecture that he passed the summer on the Clyde. From Glasgow he went to Perth, where he held a Parliament at the end of October, and then went again to Edinburgh. He passed Christmas there or at Linlithgow, but held another Parliament at Scone in March, 1394, and after some stay at Perth, returned to the Clyde.

The young Prince was now 15, and discussions on his marriage already began. We have the following letter from the Queen to Richard II., dated at Dunfermline, August 1.*

‘To a most high and mighty Prince R., by the grace of God King of England, our dearest cousin, A., by the same grace Queen of Scotland, greeting and affection. For your friendly letters to us presented by our well-beloved Douglas, the Herald of Arms, we thank you entirely and from the heart, by the which we have understood your good estate and health, to our great pleasure and comfort. And, dearest cousin, as to the treaty touching the marriage to be made between some kindred of your blood and one of the children of the King my Lord and me, please you to know that it is agreeable to the King my said Lord and to us as he has signified by his letters. And in particular that, inasmuch as the said treaty could not hold the third day of July last past, for certain and reasonable causes contained in your letters sent to the King my Lord above said, you have agreed that another day of the same treaty shall be kept the first day of October next coming, the which is agreeable to the King my Lord aforesaid and to us, and we thank you with all our will and heart and we pray you dearly that you would continue the said treaty and make to be kept the said day, because it is the will of the King my Lord above said and of us, as much as in us lies, that the said day be held without fail. And, dearest cousin, we request and pray dearly that it give no displeasure to your Highness that we have not

* The original is in French.

sooner written to you, seeing that we were lying in childbirth of a male child who is named James, and we have been well and graciously delivered by the grace of God and of our Lady; and also because that the King my said Lord was, at the coming of your letters, at a great distance in the Isles of his kingdom, we did not receive these letters sent to us on this matter till the last day of July last past. Most high and mighty Prince may the Holy Spirit always keep you. Given under our seal, at the Abbey of Dunfermelyn, the first day of August.'

By the 'Isles of his kingdom,' I doubt not that the County of Bute is meant. On getting this letter Richard II. empowered certain Commissioners, of whom the chief were the Bishop of Durham and the Earl of Northumberland, to meet at Kelso with the Scottish Commissioners, of whom the principal were the young Prince himself, the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the Earls of Douglas and March. It was hoped that this marriage might be the means of effecting a lasting peace between England and Scotland, instead of the constant bickerings and short truces, the documents concerning which form the staple of the international historical matter at this period. But no more is heard of it. It must have fallen through.

The Court seems to have passed the winter at Perth, but from this time till several years afterwards the documents which I have seen are so excessively scanty that it is impossible to form from them even a general idea of the movements of the King or of the Heir-apparent. In the accounts for the year ending in April, 1396, given in at Perth, it is mentioned that the Prince had been to the North upon the King's business, and in a charter granted by Robert III. at Perth upon the last day of the month, in favour of John Logy, who had been recently the chamberlain of the Prince's household, we find, so far as I have observed, for the first time, the name of 'our first-begotten, David of Carrick' as that of one of the attesting witnesses. In the next accounts, for the year ending May, 1397, we get for the first time a peculiar entry of a sort very indicative of the position in which the Prince was placed by the unwise parsimony of the Government on the one hand and

the duties which he was expected to fulfil upon the other. The tax-collectors of Edinburgh admit a responsibility for £79 17s 9d. (say, about £1500 of our money) given to the Prince in the year before that of the account, viz., that in which he had first been sent to the North on the King's business. The Commissioners refused to pass the item except by the King's own command.

In this year 1396, 1397, the Prince had again been sent to the North upon the King's business, and it is natural to suppose that he had had some hand in arranging the famous Battle of the Clans, which took place in the King's presence upon the Inch of Perth, (not, as stated by Sir Walter Scott, upon Palm Sunday, but) upon September 28, 1396. Upon the morality of this proceeding I do not wish to say anything. It was the very age of judicial combats. I will only remark that if war is inevitable—and here the alternative was a war of indefinite duration waged with all the horrors of savagery—it is better that it should take place under absolutely fair conditions, with every facility for medical and religious help for the wounded, without danger to women and children, and be limited to as small a number as possible, and these the most turbulent and dangerous enemies of the public peace. It is however difficult to escape the conclusion that Prince David was present along with his father at the disgusting spectacle. It is one thing to give a sorrowful and reluctant assent to the necessity of capital punishment and another to go deliberately to see an execution. This battle seems to have been made a sort of gladiatorial show, as the cost of the arena prepared for it was £14 2s. 11d., which I take it would be represented by some £300 of our money. At some time in the ensuing year, *i.e.*, before April, 1398, the Prince was again sent to the North, but this time very probably to try to put a stop to the sort of war which his uncle the Wolf of Badenoch was carrying on against the See of Moray, to which a new Bishop was appointed in September 1397, and was invested in the temporalities in January 1398.

In the May of 1397, Robert III., as though acting on a kind of general principle of marrying as many Douglasses as possible,

entered into a contract, dated in Edinburgh, with the famous Isabel, Countess of Marr and Angus, to marry some one of his daughters to her son George, Earl of Angus.

In October, 1397, the Prince completed his 19th year, and at the beginning of the month, his father, who was then at Dunfermline, appears bringing him forward in the conduct of the most important public affairs. It was there arranged that on Monday, March 11 next ensuing, he should, accompanied by other Commissioners, meet John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, accompanied by English Commissioners, with a view to the renewal of the truce. The Court then seems to have gone to Linlithgow for the winter. There, upon November 9, were executed by the King, in presence of his son and brother, a batch of deeds relating to the arrangements made as to the property of George, Earl of Angus, and the Princess Mary is in them called his spouse. Hence I conjecture that her marriage with him may not improbably have just taken place there and then, if not while the King was still at Dunfermline. The political international meeting took place in the early spring according to arrangement, the Prince being accompanied among others by his uncle, afterwards Duke of Albany and then Earl of Fife. The indenture for the continuance of the truce was executed upon Saturday, March 16, at a place called Hawdenestanke or Haddensdank, which seems to have been rather a favourite one for such meetings. Mr. De Gray Birch, of the British Museum, has favoured me with a note upon it. It seems to have been adjacent to Hadden-rig, in the parish of Sprouston, in the extreme North-East of Roxburghshire, and close to the border. There seem to be no remains of any building which could have accommodated the Commissioners, and perhaps they were encamped in tents. The transaction of business appears to have been completed early in the day, as upon the following day, Sunday, March 17, the Prince wrote from Melrose to John of Gaunt* the only private letter of his

* The printed Historical MSS. of Scotland unfortunately publish this letter as written to Richard II., but the address upon the back to "*hault et puissant prince mon tres cher et aimé cousin le Duc de Guyenne et de Lan—*" is perfectly distinct.

which it has been my fortune to meet with. The text is in the same handwriting as the signature, but at first I felt much doubt whether it were the Prince's own, as the small and crabbed though neat text seemed to me almost too formed a hand for so young a lad. However, I consulted Sir William Fraser, and he showed me very fully formed handwritings by lads early trained to business, and he was moreover of opinion that no clerk would have been permitted to attach the Prince's signature. The letter is in French, and I venture to remark that it contains two mistakes, which seems to argue colloquial facility rather than scientific study.

‘High and Mighty Prince, my most dear and loved cousin, as to the matter of which you and the Bishop of St. Andrews have spoken, I have heard and seen that which you have advised in that matter, and will report it to the King, my Lord, and, according to what shall seem good to him, will proceed in the advancement of the business by the help of God, in the manner you have proposed or otherwise, at the time contained in your writing, or sooner if it can well be. High and Mighty Prince, if there be anything for your pleasure that I can do, courteously be pleased to tell me, and may the Almighty God have you in His most holy keeping. Written at Melross the seventeenth day of March.

‘DAVID, ELDEST SON OF THE KING OF SCOTLAND,
‘EARL OF CARRYK.’

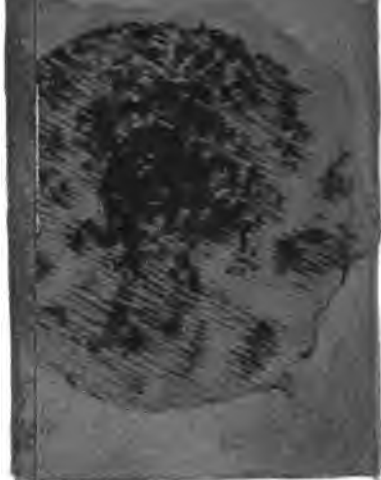
What the subject matter was which John of Gaunt had discussed with the Bishop of St. Andrews, does not appear. It is not, I think, improbable that it may have been some renewal of the scheme for the marriage of the Prince with a member of the Royal Family of England, or it may have been connected with the political intrigues which ultimately culminated in the fall of Richard II.

From Melrose the Prince must have immediately proceeded to rejoin his father, and they were at Perth after the middle of April. A fragmentary record of the Parliament which opened there upon the 22nd, speaks of the Earl of Moray being associated with the Duke of Albany in commanding the army,

if the Duke of Rothesay will not do it. This is the first occasion upon which I have noticed that the two Princes are called by this title, which was an entire novelty in Scotland, but which the King had determined to introduce. David Lindsay had been created Earl of Crawford the day before, and perhaps their creation was on the same day. The Earl of Douglas is said to have refused the title of Duke, preferring to retain his great historic designation. The business of the Exchequer Court went on until Friday, 26th, on the Saturday the Court seems to have moved to Scone, and on the Sunday the two Royal Dukes went through a solemn ceremony somewhat of the nature of a Coronation. This seems strange to us among whom a Duchy has become a mere title, but it would be natural enough in the case of a reigning Duke, and it was evidently from this that the idea was taken. The description in the Register of Moray is as follows:—‘Upon the Lord’s Day, April 28th, 1398, our foresaid Lord; Robert, King of Scotland in the Church of the monastery of St. Michael of Scone created and raised the Lord David his first-born son, then Earl of Carrick, to be Duke of Rothesay, and the Lord Robert, brother of the Lord King, then Earl of Fife, to be Duke of Albany; and he solemnly adorned and invested them with furred mantles and caps and other insignia fit for and used to be given to Dukes only, during a solemn mass sung by the Lord Walter Trail, then Bishop of St. Andrews.’ Bower adds that the Bishop also preached. At the end of Lord Beauchamp’s edition of the *Liber Regalis* there is a Ritual for the inauguration of a Duke, and there are two in Martene *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, but these we can only conjecturally harmonize with what we know of the ceremony at Scone, nor is there time here to do so. The other insignia were probably a ring, a sword, and a coronet. This might indeed be concluded from the Rituals, but it is confirmed by the Great Seals of Robert of Albany and his son Murdoch, as Governors of Scotland. They are there represented as clad in mantles and caps, the cap surrounded by a coronet, and hold a sword in their right hand, while the scale is too small or the engraving too bad to show whether they have a ring or not.

11
Hic p. lencz de pamo
Euporata in pmo
alade de oven in
mo tft p bonuoa
to affradomene lo
a mchoff lo poy

82



— 100% & REMARKS ARE —

The choice of Rothesay as the place whence Prince David took his title is merely an evidence of the affection which this family seem always to have felt for the Firth of Clyde, and probably upon his own part for Rothesay in particular.

The business sittings at Perth occupied most of the week. And there is then, as far as my reading has extended, an almost perfect blank as to the history of the Prince, and indeed of the King, for several months. According to Bower, the Queen in this year gave a great tournament in Edinburgh, at which 12 knights contended, and the Duke of Rothesay took the leading part. It was held in what we should now call Prince's Street Gardens, on the spot afterwards occupied by the North Loch. I have met with nothing to point conclusively to the date of this entertainment; the natural period would be summer or early autumn, and I think it is probably the tournament which the *Registrum Glasguense* mentions as having been held for two days at a Michaelmas in some year about this time. The fact that it was given by the Queen seems to indicate that the King's health was even worse than usual: very likely he was again away cruising in the Firth of Clyde, or may have been laid up at Perth. The year's accounts sent in in May, 1399, enable us to know that the Duke of Rothesay made a journey to the borders with regard to the renewal of the truce, and this may perhaps have been at the end of October or beginning of November, when there certainly were such meetings.

On November 14 we have a curious and interesting fact regarding Falkland. The Duke of Albany, to whom it belonged as Earl of Fife, on that day granted a charter there which was witnessed by the Duke of Rothesay, the Bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen (the latter of whom was Chancellor of Scotland) the Earl of Douglas, and others. As these are the habitual companions of the King, it seems not improbable that he may have been there himself; the next mention of him is at Perth in the ensuing January. The mention of Falkland is interesting, not only on account of its tragic later connection with the subject, but because the entertainment of such a party implies buildings of extent and splendour.

The accounts above named moreover show that the Duke and his Chamberlain, John Niddry, had money difficulties.

In October the Duke had completed his 20th year. The one contemporary writer, Wyntoun, speaks in the highest language of his talents, culture, and virtuous life, his honesty and good manners, and he possessed moreover that qualification of personal beauty which contributes so largely to enhance the popularity of Princes. In a Parliament held at Perth upon January 27, 1399, in consequence of the continued ill-health of the King, he was created Regent, or, as it is called, King's Lieutenant, for the term of three years. He was to be assisted by a Council, consisting of his uncles, Robert, Duke of Albany, and Walter, Lord of Brechin, the Bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, the Earls of Douglas, Ross, Moray, and Crawford, the Lord of Dalkeith, Thomas Hay the Constable and William Keith the Marischal, Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Patrick Graham, Sir John Livingston, Sir William Stewart, Sir John Ramorny, Adam Forster, Abbat of Holyrood, the Archdeacon of Lothian, and Mr. Walter Forster. It was enacted that the Coronation oath should be administered to him, and this is particularly interesting, because it is, as far as I know, the only indication of what the Scottish Mediæval Coronation Oath was. Unfortunately the record is only a translation. The words are :—‘ Ande in efter the said duc be sworne til fulfyl efter his powere all the thyngis that the Kyng in his crownyng wes suorne for til do to haly Kyrke and the pupyl, syn in to the thyngis he is to ber the Kyngis power. That is to say, the fredume and the rycht of the Kirke to kepe wudamyste, the lawys and the lowablez custumes to gerre be kept to the pupil manslaerys, Reiferis brynnneris and generally all mysdoeris thruch strynthe til restreygnhe and punyse, and specially cursit men, heretikis, and put fra the Kyrke at the requeste of the Kyrke to restreygne.’ This is not the place to enter into a disquisition upon the history of the Scottish Coronation Oath. I will merely say that I think that by means of this entry we may recognise the additional clause recommended by John XXI., when granting the unction to the King of Scots in 1329, and that by a com-

parison of the Coronation Oaths of the Kings of France and England, we can at least come very near to a re-construction of the actual text, and trace the origin of the formula, through the Pontifical of Egbert of York, to the period of the early Scottish monarchy of Dalriada.

The King was deprived by this Parliament of the power of interfering with the authority of the Lieutenant.

As I have at least mentioned the name of Sir John Ramorny, I may as well say at once that as far as I have seen any contemporary records concerning him—and they are numerous—he always appears as a man of the highest position, of honour, and of probity. The picture of him drawn by Sir Walter Scott is partly based upon a story in Bower which that writer himself admits to be gossip (*‘ut dicitur’*) and partly upon imagination. He seems to have had nothing more to do with the household or person of the Duke of Rothesay than had any other minister of the Crown, except in part of one year. He died very soon after the Duke. The one year concerned is the financial one between May, 1399, and May, 1400. I have already mentioned the difficulties of John Niddry with regard to his accounts which appeared at the former of these two dates. He appears to have been suspended or to have resigned for a time his office of Chamberlain to the Prince's household, for although he so appears in May, 1400, and subsequently to the end of the Prince's life, Sir John Ramorny appears as Chamberlain for a part of the year 1399-1400.

The Court must have moved from Perth to Edinburgh in the early part of the year, and the Exchequer Court was held in Edinburgh at the end of April and beginning of May. On May 4 the King granted a Commission to the Duke of Rothesay and others to treat with England, and on the 14th they were at Haddansdank and executed an indenture prolonging the truce till September 28, 1400. The terms between the Royal families seem to have been friendly: on May 27, Richard II. grants a passport at the Duke of Rothesay's request, to two persons who appear as though his messengers. Later on the Court again went to the Clyde. The King visited Dunbarton and Renfrew, on August 17 he was in Arran along with the two

Royal Dukes, but by the beginning of October he was at Linlithgow. It was just at this time, the end of September, that Richard II. fell, and Henry IV. assumed his place. The event seems to have made no difference in Scotland. The King received letters from the new monarch (as Duke of Lancaster) on October 3, and answered him on the 6th, as to the truce. We find him at Linlithgow along with the Dukes until the end of November, but he would seem to have gone to Perth for Christmas, as he was there on January 4.

It was in this year, 1399, that the Duke of Rothesay became engaged to be married to the Lady Elizabeth Dunbar, daughter of the Earl of March. And here I am obliged to warn you against an error into which you may possibly be led by reading Lingard. That eminent historian says, that Henry IV. was incensed at the treatment in Scotland of the person whom it is the fashion to call Thomas Ward of Trumpington, but who was there recognised as Richard II., and that he was able to take his revenge with the help of the Earl of March, enraged at the jilting of his daughter. I own to a suspicion that Dr. Lingard has confused the dates: at any rate he has been unfortunate in his manner of expressing himself. The quarrel with the Dunbar family took place in February, 1400, and I can find no mention of the so-called Thomas Ward until about two years and a half later, nearly two years after Henry's invasion, and several months after the death of the Duke of Rothesay. The Court, as I have mentioned, was at Perth at the beginning of January. In February it had moved to Edinburgh, and a Parliament was held there in the second week of the month. It would seem that this Parliament complained that the Heir Apparent should have been engaged to be married without the approval of the Three Estates, and cancelled the engagement. On February 18 the Earl of March writes to Henry IV. a furious and treasonable letter on the subject, which it is worth while here to give at length in its original text and spelling, which are additionally interesting as showing the precise dialect then spoken at the Scottish Court and in the class of society to which the writer belonged.

‘Excellent mychty and noble Prynce, likis yhour Realte to

wit that I am gretly wrangit be the Duc of Rothesay the quhilk spousit my douchter and now agayn his oblisying to me made be hys lettre and his seal and agaynes the law of halikirc spouses ane other wif as it ys said. Of the quhilk wrangis and defowle to me and my douchter in swilk manere done, I, as ane of yhour poer kyn, gif it likis yhow requere yhow of help and suppowell for swilk honest service as I may do efter my power to yhour noble lordship and to yhour lande. Fore treetee of the quhilk matere will yhe dedeyn to charge the lord the Fournivalle, ore the Erle of Westmerland at yhour likyng to the Marche, with swilk gudely haste as yhow likis, qware that I may haue spekyng with quhilk of thaim that yhe will send, and schew hym clerly myne entent, the quhilk I darre nocht discouer to nane other bot tyll ane of thaim be cause of kyn, and the grete lewtee that I traist in thaim, and as I suppose yhe traist in thaim on the tother part. Also noble Prynce will yhe dedeyn to graunt and to send me, yhour sauconduyt endurand quhill the fest of the natiuite of Seint John the Baptist fore a hundreth knichtis and squiers and seruantz gudes hors and hernais als wele within wallit Town as with owt, ore in qwat other resonable manere that yhow likis fore trauaillyng and dwellyng within yhour land gif I hafe myster. And excellent Prynce syn that I clayme to be of kyn tyll yhow, and it peraventour nocht knawen on yhour parte, I schew it to yhour lordschip be this my lettre that gif dame Alice the Bewmount was yhour graunde dame, dame Mariory Comyne hyrre full sister was my graunde dame on the tother syde, sa that I am bot of the feirde degre of kyn tyll yhow, the quhilk in alde tyme was callit neire, and syn I am in swilk degre tyll yhow I requere yhow as be way of tendirness thare of, and for my service in manere as I hafe before writyn, that yhe will vouchesauf tyll help me and suppowell me tyll gete amendes of the wrangis and the defowle that ys done me, sendand tyll me gif yhow likis yhour answeere of this, With all gudely haste, And noble Prynce mervaille yhe nocht that I write my lettres in englis, fore that ys mare clere to myne vnderstandyng than latyne ore Fraunche. Excellent mychty and noble prynce, the haly Trinite hafe

yhow euermare in kepyng. Writyn at my castell of Dunbarr the xvij day of Feuerer.

‘LE COUNT DE LA MARCHE DESCOCE.

‘Au tresexcellent trespuissant et trespoble Prince
le Roy Dengleterre.’

Henry IV. instantly sent the Earl a passport to come to England, and entered into negotiations with him.

Meanwhile the Scottish Court returned to Linlithgow. The person selected as the bride of the Prince was the Lady Mary Douglas, daughter of Archibald, third Earl of Douglas, and sister of Archibald, afterwards fourth Earl, who was already the Duke's brother-in-law, by his marriage with the Princess Margaret. The marriage was publicly celebrated in the existing Church of Bothwell, which was then new and owed its existence to the bride's father. There were great festivities on the occasion, and I conjecture that the date may have been the last week of April, the only one which intervened between the Lenten and Easter period and the month of May. I have never come across any mention of the Duchess of Rothesay during the life of her husband.

This may perhaps be the best place to remark that Bower accuses the Prince of having jilted another person besides the Lady Elizabeth Dunbar, namely, Euphemia Lindsay, sister of William Lindsay of Rossie, and daughter of Alexander Lindsay of Glenesk. If so, the lady must have been much younger than her brother. The statement is entirely without contemporary historical support. If it is true, I can only observe of it, as of the matter of Lady Elizabeth Dunbar, that the marriages of Princes are made so much an affair of public policy (as was indeed the case with the Duke of Rothesay) that their feelings are often disregarded, and they are not so justly open as are other men to the charge of inconstancy. At the worst, the meaning would be that the young Prince was rather a flirt before his marriage. Of profligacy, either before or after marriage, there is not a scrap of evidence. The accusation of Bower himself is one not of debauchery but of frivolity, until either he or, as I think, some later editor of his, possessed by

the spirit of prurience, suddenly breaks into the hypothetical quotation of a beastly Latin triplet. As to the frivolity, I venture to observe that up to the age of 23 and even later, a certain amount of vivacity is not only natural but desirable, and that all the contemporary evidence there is tends to show that the tastes of the Prince were for business and in the direction of literary culture rather than of mere pastimes, and certainly not a line can be produced to show that he ever sacrificed the former to the latter. As for profligacy, there is not a contemporary word to support the charge, and had it been true, I can hardly understand a strait-laced ecclesiastic like Wyntoun, the only contemporary writer, going out of his way deliberately to lie by praising the Prince's virtuous life.

The Court was in Edinburgh in May when the usual meeting of the Exchequer was held, and afterwards returned to Linlithgow. The Royal Dukes were there as usual with the King in June. Meanwhile the usual interminable correspondence and squabbles with England were going on. Henry IV. was probably not unwilling to have some excuse for upsetting the truce, and the disturbances upon the borders supplied many such. He determined to invade Scotland, and summoned an army at York, where he himself arrived about midsummer: a month later he was at Newcastle. He finally entered Scotland on August 14. King Robert seems to have been sent to the Clyde, to keep him out of harm's way. The Duke of Rothesay threw himself into Edinburgh Castle, along with his brother-in-law, who was its governor. The invasion was a very harmless matter. Henry IV. reached Haddington on August 15, and stayed there three days, and was at Leith, where he also stayed three days, on the 22nd. The war was conducted with great mildness, and when the Canons of Holyrood sent to beg that they might not be disturbed, Henry not only granted the request, but declared (in striking anticipation of some more modern statesmen) that he himself was indeed half a Scotchman by blood. At Leith he wrote a rather stupid letter in answer to one of the Duke of Rothesay's, in which it seems that the Prince, probably remembering the Battle of the Clans, had proposed to fight him along with 100, 200, or 300

chosen troops. The offer can hardly have been meant seriously, and was of course refused. Henry immediately left Scotland : he was at Newcastle on September 3.

On his departure, the Duke of Rothesay immediately joined his father upon the Clyde. The King had been at Rothesay on September 5. He was with his son and brother at Irvine on the 12th, and at Renfrew, with the whole of his usual little Court, on October 5. There is nothing to show that they did not remain in the same part of the country over the New Year, for it was at Rothesay on January 12 that the King, in presence of this familiar group, and very probably at the solicitation of the Prince, erected that town into a Royal Burgh. On Christmas Eve the Duke's father-in-law, the Earl of Douglas, died at Threave.

After leaving Rothesay the King came to Perth, and a Parliament was held at Scone at the end of February at which both the Royal Dukes were present. At the end of March the King was at Aberdeen, where he may be supposed to have stayed over Easter (April 3) and on April 29 he was at Dunfermline with his brother, but not his eldest son. The Exchequer Court was held at Perth at the end of May. In June an important event, the death of Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, took place. I have met with no record of the date, but as Wyntoun mentions that the Chapter elected his successor upon July 1, and as an account mentioning payments to him by the customars of St. Andrews, in which there is no mention of his having died, was given in upon June 7, it would appear that his death must have taken place in the middle fortnight of the month. The position of the Church of St. Andrews considerably affected the future of Duke David. The death of the Bishop was followed by another which affected him still more deeply, namely, that of his mother, the Queen Annabella Drummond. I have seen no record of the date, but Wyntoun says that it was in harvest, which points to August or September. Bower says that she died at Scone, and the accounts make mention of her expenses at Perth before her death. She was not, however, buried at Scone, but at Dunfermline, very likely from a wish of her own to lie near her

sainted predecessor Margaret. It is only natural to suppose that her husband and son were with her during her last illness and at her death and burial. The conclusion is that the Court was at Perth almost continuously in this year 1401, from February to September. Of the King there is no further trace until the beginning of March, 1402, when he appears at Portincross, and my conjecture is that after his bereavement he returned to his beloved Firth of Clyde, and there remained till after the death of his son. He is mentioned as having been in Bute.

The career of the Duke of Rothesay must have been somewhat different. At some time in the year, though it is impossible to say when, he was engaged in the siege of the Castle of Reres. Much light is thrown upon the causes of the resistance of Sir John Wemyss by the recently printed *Memorials of the Family of Wemyss* of that Ilk. It was a matter really concerning the Duke of Albany, and which it would be useless, if it were possible, to go into here. It will be remembered that his Lieutenancy of the Kingdom was to expire upon January 27, 1402. The accounts rendered at the Exchequer Court at Aberdeen in July, 1402, three months after his death, and covering the period from June, 1401, thus embracing the last nine months of his life, and the last seven of his Regency, contain four curious entries with regard to his last acts, which show the extremities to which he was driven by a misplaced economy in stinting his resources and at the same time loading him with the most costly labour, and indicate, as I venture to think, that this was the final cause which led to his earthly end being enveloped in obscurity. One of these is a sum of £52 13s. 4d. (say, over £1,000 of our money) which the customars of Perth stated that they had paid at the Duke's order: the Commissioners of the Exchequer seem to acknowledge that such order as alleged would have been sufficient but that the proof of its existence is insufficient, and that the King is to be consulted. In other words, this order, if it ever existed, must have been given before January 27, 1402. Another is of two sums of £10 and £20 respectively, (say, £600 or £700 of our money) taken from the customars of

Edinburgh, as to which the Commissioners have satisfied themselves that it was taken while the Duke had a right to do so, viz., before January 27. This entry has an especial interest because it shows the Duke to have been in Edinburgh within a few months before his death, and confirms the story of Bower that being not long before his death staying in Edinburgh Castle, and gazing at a great comet which was then visible, he remarked that he had heard from astrologers that such a phenomenon heralds the death of Princes. The history of this comet is very interesting in itself, and the story of Bower may throw some light upon the details of the last weeks of the Prince's life. I applied to Prof. Grant, of Glasgow, for information, and, with the courtesy which is habitual to him, he supplied me with what notes he could, especially from the great work upon comets by the French astronomer Pingré. This comet was among the most remarkable recorded, and shares with a few others the distinction of having been visible to the naked eye not only in full daylight but even when near to the sun. It first became visible upon February 8, reached its maximum of brilliance upon March 21, (a few days before the Prince's death) and afterwards ceased to be visible at night though it was seen for eight days more in the day, with much diminished splendour. If therefore it is true that the Prince observed it from Edinburgh Castle, he must have been in Edinburgh Castle after February 8. That being in Edinburgh he should have gone to the Castle to stay with his brother-in-law the Governor is exceedingly natural, and seems to be in itself almost a sufficient refutation of the purient fiction by which modern writers are fond, in the teeth of all the known facts, of accusing him of a marital infidelity which had alienated him from his wife's family. The third case is one in which John Tyndall, customar of Montrose, had paid £24 (say £560 of our money) to the deputy of the Duke of Albany as Chamberlain of Scotland, and the Prince had imprisoned the customar in question until he paid it to him again. The ground of this act doubtless was some disputed point as to the question to whom the money had really been payable, and seems to fix the date after Jan. 27. The last instance is that of John Mortimer, a customar of

Dundee, who assured the Commissioners that the Duke had taken £71 4s. 9d. (say £1500 of our money) from him by force. All this shows that the Duke in his last months was in great pecuniary straits, that he had been at Edinburgh as well as Perth, and that subsequently to the expiry of his Lieutenancy of the Kingdom on Jan. 27, 1402, he was at Montrose and Dundee trying to obtain money.

It is still in connection with these monetary difficulties that I now turn to the condition of the See of St. Andrews, the facts as to which are closely bound up with those of the Duke of Rothesay's last days. On the demise of Bishop Trail the whole temporalities of the See, as a feu from the Crown to an *ex-officio* feuar who, as such, had no hereditary successor, reverted into the hands of the Crown as feudal superior. This was the ordinary rule, and it naturally happened that impetunious Governments were not always very anxious in such cases that the See should be immediately filled up. In this case the Chapter, upon July 1, 1401, had elected as successor to Walter Trail, Thomas Stuart, the Archdeacon of St. Andrews, a meek man, whose most distinctive merit probably was that he was the bastard half-brother of the King and of the Duke of Albany, the latter of whom at least was much attached to him. William Nory, the Sub-prior of the Cathedral Priory, was immediately despatched to Avignon to obtain the Bull for Consecration. The moment was peculiar. The Great Schism was raging, and Peter de Luna or Benedict XIII., whichever you like to call him, was at one of the lowest ebbs of his very varying fortunes. Scotland alone seems to have adhered to him quite faithfully, and her support was not worth much. The French Government could hardly, even in common decency, abandon and persecute him, but they put the strongest pressure upon him to cause him to abdicate, which he, in that clear and eloquent Latin of which he must be owned to have been a master, firmly and consistently refused to do. His Cardinals deserted him, and the army of the Marshal Boucicaut beleaguered his palatial fortress, without actually daring to assault it. The siege cannot have been very close, or, during the space

of nearly five years for which it lasted, he would have been cut off from communication with the outer world, and ultimately compelled by famine to surrender. But great delay in transacting business was necessarily produced. William Nory however in time obtained the Bull and returned. Here however there arose a fresh obstacle. The custody of the Castle of Dunbarton had become nearly, if not absolutely, hereditary in the family of Danielston, and the fortress was now in the possession of a certain priest, Walter Danielston, whom I take to have been probably the eldest son of Sir Robert Danielston, who had died in 1396 or 1397. He was not distinguished for the virtues which ought to adorn the clerical state, but the Government wished to obtain possession of the castle, and when he proposed to surrender it upon being created Bishop of St. Andrews, the Duke of Albany closed with the offer, persuaded his half-brother Thomas to forego his rights, and obtained a fresh election from the chapter, in which, according to Wyntoun, voters were induced to act against their own consciences. It must be added, in justice to Benedict XIII., among whose faults inconsistency cannot be charged, that he would never consent, and Walter Danielston died unconsecrated at Christmas, 1402. He had however been inducted into the temporalities in the preceding summer, probably in May.

How far this extraordinary negotiation had progressed in the early months of the year it is impossible to say, but it must have been in hand. The temporalities of St. Andrews were vacant and in the hands of the Crown, and the whole question of the succession to the See was in a state of confusion and uncertainty. As to the Duke of Rothesay, we have here to fall back upon Bower, but his statements are largely supported by known facts. It occurred or was suggested to the impecunious Prince that he would act wisely in taking possession of the temporalities. There can be no doubt that in determining to do so, he must have argued that he would be not only relieving his own necessities by a justifiable use of the property of the Crown, but would also, by impeding the abominable Danielston intrigue, be rendering a real service to the Church, a matter as

to which, as is evident from the records of payments to ecclesiastical objects made by his command, he was anything but indifferent. It is, however, easy to imagine the feelings with which the persons then conducting the Government must have heard of his intention. His exactions at the custom-houses must have been already almost intolerable. His proposed seizure of the temporalities of St. Andrews, which would moreover have paralyzed all the negotiations for obtaining the Castle of Dunbarton, could not be borne, and his uncle and brother-in-law placed him under restraint. It is one of the statements of Bower that this arrest took place in obedience to an instruction from the King. This is clearly false. The royal document of May 20, which declares that the Prince's death had proceeded solely from natural causes, expressly lays upon the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas, along with their accomplices, the whole responsibility for the act of placing him under restraint, to which they represent themselves as having been driven by motives of public policy, and grants them a complete pardon for it, while mentioning the indignation which the King had felt upon the subject. Bower's statement is simply irreconcilable with this document.

According to Bower, the arrest was effected by William Lindsay of Rossie and John Ramorny, as the Prince was on his way to the Castle of St. Andrews, very slightly attended. The place was between Nydie and Strathtyrum, that is, very near St. Andrews itself, and the *Liber Pluscardensis* adds that it was close to the great cross. I cannot identify this place. Perhaps it was one of the 12 crosses which traditionally bounded the *réuevos* or Holy Girth of the Apostle. The royal prisoner was first taken to the Castle of St. Andrews, which his uncle had thus been beforehand with him in occupying, and which it is even possible may have already been placed in the hands of Danielston. Bower says that Albany and Douglas now held a meeting at Culross, where they discussed the most expedient step to take, and that in consequence they removed the Duke under a strong guard to Falkland. The language of Bower seems to mean that his uncle and brother-

in-law went with him in person : he adds that the Prince was mounted upon a pack-horse, and wrapped in a large reddish-brown cloak like that of a servant. He was taken to the Tower at Falkland, and lodged in a 'befitting chamber.' This tower seems to have formed the most prominent feature of the building at the time, and is mentioned as a sort of synonymous term along with 'manor' to designate the whole residence, till a considerably later period. The new buildings mentioned in the accounts for 1468-9 appear to have changed the character of the place and thrown the tower into the background. The last notice of it which I have observed is for the repair of its roof just 50 years after the Duke of Rothesay's death, viz., in the year 1461-2, and in the accounts for the year 1472-3, the word 'Palace' appears. I was naturally anxious to find any remains of this tower, which had totally disappeared. In excavating in the garden to the north of the standing portions of the Palace, we found the remains of the original enclosing wall, and in the north-east angle a part of a round tower over 50 feet in diameter, retaining a small portion of the ornamental string-course, which shows it to be of about the thirteenth century. In its centre is the well, sunk in the rock. The plan of this part of the buildings it is possible to surmise with a very high degree of probability, from the parallel buildings which remain in a more perfect condition at Bothwell Castle and elsewhere. This great tower with its high pointed roof must have been the main feature of the early group of buildings, and a prominent feature in the landscape for many miles round. Its great size implies truly noble rooms. I cannot doubt that it is the structure to which the Duke of Rothesay was carried, and that the befitting chamber in which he was lodged was some apartment or apartments in it befitting the rank of the captive. Even Bower, late as he is, seems never to have heard of the subterranean cell of more modern romancers.

In a short time it was announced that the Prince had died of dysentery. If the statement of Bower that the waning of the comet instantly followed the Prince's imprisonment be true, that imprisonment can have lasted only a few days, since

the comet reached its maximum brilliancy on Tuesday, March 21, but I must say that I think this can hardly have been the case.

The assertions as to the day of his death vary. The *Registrum Glasguense* says it was March 1. The *Liber Pluscardensis* gives April 7. Bower says that he died during the night between Saturday the 25th and Easter Sunday, the 26th of March, but that it was not known whether before or after midnight. If this be really true, it argues a most singular secrecy as to his imprisonment, which is suspiciously harmonious with the story of his disguise during his journey to Falkland, and the startling circumstances of unusual place and at least possible privacy of detail which attended his funeral. Wyntoun gives Monday, March 27, and may, I conceive, be right, at any rate as the ecclesiastical reckoning of the evening and the morning making the day, would make March 27 commence at sunset on March 26. The *Registrum Glasguense* must, I think, be wrong. The *Liber Pluscardensis* may, I think, be misled by the fact that March 26 is vii. kk. Aprilis, or it may mean that the funeral was upon April 7.

The natural course with regard to his funeral would have been to take his body for burial to Dunfermline, there to lie beside that of his own mother and those of so many of his kingly ancestors. On the contrary, it was taken to Lindores, where there had never been any royal interments. The only item with regard to his funeral expenses is one of £2 1s. 4d. in the Perth accounts. Even allowing that about £50 worth of our money is meant, I can hardly bring myself to believe that the ceremony was conducted upon a scale so mean.

The most sinister rumours regarding the cause of his death at once became current. Parliament sat in Edinburgh in May, and the matter was discussed and more or less sifted. On May 20 the King published the following document :—

‘Robert by the grace of God King of Scots unto all unto whose knowledge this present letter shall come [wisheth] everlasting health in the Lord : for as much as our dearly beloved Robert, Duke of Albany, Earl of Fife and Menteith, our brother,

and Archibald, Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway, our son-in-law by reason of our daughter whom he hath taken to wife, did lately cause our most illustrious son David our first-born, the late Duke of Rothesay and Earl of Carrick and Athole, to be taken and put under personal restraint, and first warded in the Castle of St. Andrews, and then to be kept in ward at Falkland, where he is shown to have passed from this light by the Providence of God and not otherwise. The which [Robert and Archibald] compearing in our presence in our General Council begun at Edinburgh upon the 16th day of the month of May in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and two, and continued for some days [thereafter], and being interrogated upon this matter by our royal authority, or accused [therein], and avowing the taking, restraining, and death as above mentioned, did in our presence set forth the causes which did thereunto move them, as they declared, for the public weal, the which causes we judge not to be inserted herein: and thereupon diligent inquisition having been made thereon, and all and everything touching this matter to be herein considered having been so considered, and the mature deliberation of our Council having been had upon the matters discussed, we hold excused the aforesaid Robert our brother, and Archibald our son-in-law, and their accomplices whomsoever herein, that is, in restraining, keeping, warding, counselling, and all others giving them counsel, to wit, help or favour, or obeying their orders or commands howsoever; yea, and in our aforesaid Council we have openly and publicly declared, pronounced and decreed, and by the tenour of this present, we do declare, pronounce, and by this our definitive sentence do define that they and any one of them are innocent, harmless, faultless, at peace, free, and safe, utterly and anyhow, of any crime against our Majesty, or of any crime, fault, injury, blame, or offence whatsoever which might be anywise imputed to them by occasion of the aforesaid matters: and if we have anyhow conceived against them, or any of them, man or woman, one or more, who have anyhow taken part in this thing, or anyhow cleaven unto them, any anger, wrath, blame or offence, we do of our own free will, of our own knowledge and also from the

deliberation of our Council already named, annul, put away the same, and will it to be annulled for ever. Wherefore we do strictly ordain and command unto all and every our subjects of whatsoever state or condition they be that neither by word nor deed do they impute blame to Robert and Archibald oftentimes aforesaid or to them who took part, consented, or clave unto them in this thing, or whisper anything against them whatsoever whereby their good fame may be wounded or any prejudice begotten against them, under every punishment which the law can therein inflict.

‘ Given under witness of our Great Seal in the Monastery of the Holy Rood of Edinburgh upon the 20th day of the month of May aforesaid, in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and two, and of our reign the thirteenth.’

It is an ominous proverb that imprisoned Princes do not live long. And when we ask the usual question, the answer of which points to the author of a crime, Who profitted by it? the answer undoubtedly is, His uncle, in whose house he died. On the other hand, the motive with the brother-in-law would have been all the other way, but he again, although an accomplice in the arrest, might have known nothing of the murder, if murder there were. It may be suggested that a chill caught upon the journey might have resulted in death—that a Lenten diet of stock fish, salt herrings, and oatmeal would not have tended to health—that starvation at least is a slow and improbable mode of assassination—and that the moment of Easter is not one which superstition, even if there were no question of religion, would have been likely to select for the crime. Of the two persons named by Bower as his keepers, John Selkirk was certainly in the Royal employment from 1384 to 1389, when he probably entered that of the Duke of Albany, and the other, John Wright of Falkland, was certainly customar of Kinghorn under Albany at least from 1411 to 1420, and perhaps received other favours, as the name is not an uncommon one, and it is not always clear which particular person is meant. Of the persons who effected the arrest, William Lindsay was certainly afterwards in high favour with Albany, and when John Ramorny died soon after Rothesay, Albany

settled a pension upon his widow. But this means nothing more than would have been clear anyhow, viz., that they were Albany's trusted friends and servants. My own impression is that the truth as to the cause of the Duke of Rothesay's death is and must remain uncertain. I have only put together these few notes in the hope that, by at least a certain number of hard facts, I may combat a most pernicious tradition to which Sir Walter Scott unhappily lent the support of his genius, and may do, and perhaps induce others to do, an act of justice not only to the truth of history but also to the memory of an unfortunate lad.

BUTE.

ART. IV.—A NEW RELIGION.

THE reader of the following pages may be at once re-assured as to their subject. No addition will be suggested to the 'thousand religions' which, along with 'one sauce,' represent, according to the great French philosopher, the poverty of British invention in a really important sphere, and the frittering away of our mental activities in another of less moment. Our scene of action lies in the East, that most ancient, and still, to judge from the wide-spread interest which such questions arouse there, most congenial home of religious and philosophical speculation.

With reference specially to the region we are now concerned with, viz. Persia, it may no doubt be plausibly asserted that the decided bent of the popular mind in this direction is largely due to outward conditions; as for instance, to the essentially simpler habits of life, and still more to ages of misgovernment. Where there is no outlet for individual energy, and consequently no personal interest in public and political matters; no material prosperity, and but little security for property or even for life, the minds of men will naturally, it may be said, turn to subjects above and outside of their material surroundings. There is much truth in this; it is comparatively

easy to leave all and follow any new guide, whether you have much or little to leave, when the tenure of that little is very uncertain ;—but it is not the whole truth. In India, for instance, where under British authority an order and security unknown for ages prevail, a teacher frequently appears, of unusual asceticism and pretensions to holiness, and soon gathers round him a band of disciples ; and in Persia, for the last thousand years at least, whatever the government, this tendency has been the same. It has been accentuated, probably, by the constant looking and longing for the appearance of the Imam Mahdi, who, like the Jewish Messiah, is to restore all things. The expectation no doubt is shared by Mohammedans everywhere, but it is especially keen in the Shiah branch of that faith, because they have had a series of Imams descendants of Ali, and the twelfth and last having mysteriously disappeared some 900 years ago, his reappearance has always been confidently looked for, and it is accordingly natural for any new teacher to proclaim himself, or to be supposed by his followers to be, either the Mahdi himself or his forerunner.

The Shiah branch of Islam, which is confined mainly to Persia, has always, as is well known, been pronounced schismatic by the rest of the Mohammedan world. In such a question, outsiders almost necessarily take the word of the majority, and for Europe the great neighbouring Khalifates of Egypt and Turkey naturally appeared to be the *orbis terrarum* of Islam, rather than remote Persia, where after all the Shiah faith was only finally established after many vicissitudes in the sixteenth century. The Sunnis also had success—a great test of orthodoxy—on their side, and their doctrines have crystallized into closer accordance with the original teaching of the Prophet than have those of the rival sect ; still, there is much to be said on the other side ; the story and character of Ali, for instance, must always evoke even our cooler sympathies, and we can easily understand the living enthusiasm of his followers to the present day. The claim put forward, for him and for certain of his successors in greater or less degree, of divine attributes, which may be said, shortly, to be the chief distinguishing development of the Shiah faith, has indeed, in

combination with the Sufi philosophy, tended to Pantheism ; but the assertion of the identity of the human spirit with the divine need not perhaps, at all events abstractedly, be condemned by the Christian philosopher.

It would be interesting, but beyond our present limits, to speculate on the causes which led to the development of Persian Mohammedanism on these lines. It may have been partly the protest of an alien race with idiosyncrasies innately opposed to the severe monotheism of their Semitic invaders ; or it may have been the natural action of the teaching of Islam on minds imbued for many centuries with the ideas and principles of Buddhism.

Enough, at all events, has been said to shew a condition of the national mind which would make the appearance of new teachers antecedently probable, and might indicate the lines which such teaching would take. At the same time secondary causes have long been at work which greatly favour the spread of any new teaching. The established creed sits very lightly on all except the lowest class of the population, and outside this class, therefore, but small respect is felt for the clergy, who more than elsewhere in Islam have become a caste, and arrogate a sort of independence of the civil power. The latter accordingly would be disposed to welcome a new and popular teacher as an ally against the clergy, while on the other hand the civil government has been so corrupt that all would-be reformers, as well as the discontented and ambitious generally, would gladly support any new teacher who, whatever his doctrine, would combine with it a denunciation of administrative abuses.

Within the comprehensive pale of Shiah orthodoxy there are numerous sects, among whom teachers constantly arise, each claiming, or admitted by his adherents to possess, a certain amount of inspiration. His doctrines, however, which are usually reduced to writing, are only held to be valid during his life-time, though occasionally he is succeeded by a son or some other who has embraced the same views. But there have been many besides of doubtful orthodoxy, though of equal authority and sanctity ; notable among these was a certain

Hadji Sheikh Ahmad of Bahrein, the founder, early in the present century, of the Sheikhite sect, a school of mystics who, having no political object, were unmolested by the administration as well as by the clergy, having in fact in their ranks many adherents from both these classes. They taught that the twelve Imams absolutely, and all good men in lesser degrees, were impersonations of the Divine attributes, and the former, in consequence, immortal. The Sheikh preached besides and practised a high morality. He resided at Kerbela, the sacred city of his faith, and at his death his mantle fell on a certain Said Kazem, under whom the sect still increased in numbers, and who had many representatives preaching his doctrines throughout Persia. He died without directly nominating a successor, when fourteen of his disciples were deputed to travel through the land and ascertain the views of the faithful on the subject. Among the leading members of the sect were some who had long been desirous to bring its influence to bear on what they considered the two crying evils of the time, viz., the corruption and unwholesome tyranny of the clergy, and the arbitrary character of the supreme government. To this end they essayed to promote the election to the headship of a very young man, whom they might mould to their views, while availing themselves of his character and reputation to forward their designs. This young man, Ali Mohammed, a reputed Said, *i.e.*, a descendant of the Imam Ali, was the son of a merchant of Shiraz, who having received there the usual education of his class was sent in the course of business to Bushire. Here, though shewing himself interested in the society of anyone from whom knowledge was to be gained, he appears, even as a boy, to have been singularly reserved and silent, and greatly given to solitude and meditation; he had early gone to reside at Kerbela, and even in that centre of religious enthusiasm he attracted attention by the singular austerity and purity of his life, and by the air of mystery and reticence which surrounded him. At this time he appears to have come in contact with both Jewish and Christian influences, and indeed his teaching shews traces of the latter, but it seems likely that any leanings in this direction were revolted—as in-

deed was probably the case with the great founder of Islam himself,—by the ignorant and degraded character of the only Christians with whom he was acquainted.

That a young man of this stamp should have devoted himself to the pursuit of religious truth was almost a matter of course, and, apart from his exalted character, would not alone have excited much attention in those countries where, as before implied, the *métier* of a 'seeker after truth' is natural and characteristic to a degree hardly comprehensible in a society like our own. It was also, perhaps, characteristic that he was at once accepted as a prophet in his own native Shiraz, the townsmen of Sa'adi and Hafiz at once recognizing the claims of a sanctity so greatly superior to their own, and rendered more attractive by a singular charm of manner, and, when he spoke, a simple and persuasive eloquence. His retiring and mysterious character of itself attracted disciples, while the paucity of his utterances made them the more valuable. After a short stay, however, he seems to have started, alone or accompanied by a single follower, on a pilgrimage to Mecca. And now his views began to take a more definite shape. While recognizing the authority and the inspiration of Mohammed, and teaching that his own doctrine was rather a development than a superseding of the Prophet's, he nevertheless claimed impliedly to occupy, with respect to him, the position which Mohammed had arrogated to himself in relation to Christ and the Jewish prophets. Throughout his teaching the subordination of the letter to the spirit is very remarkable. He is indeed not the only modern Persian teacher who has sublimated a material hell into 'the being deprived of the Divine principle while at the same time sensible of the deprivation;' he was also like his master, the Sheikh, disposed to a very 'rational' explanation of many of the old miracles. Again, while holding that nothing in Nature is impure, and therefore unlawful, still temperance is indispensable to holiness, and accordingly he advised and anyhow practised abstention from coffee, opium, and tobacco.* One of his most startling inno-

* A later and happier revelation has rescinded this last prohibition.

ventions was a declaration of the equal rights of women with men. From this, indeed, his enemies deduced that if a man might have nine wives, a woman might have nine husbands, and they declared that matters were carried much further than this; but it seems to be a calumny, for he forbade arbitrary divorces, and encouraged marriage. Many formal prayers and ceremonial ablutions were declared unnecessary, but oratories in private houses were recommended. Pilgrimages were to be no longer of high obligation, women especially being absolved on the ground of fatigue. For the rest, politeness and brotherly affection, and tenderness to women and children were enjoined, in very touching language; and to possess one's soul in tranquillity. With full confidence in the future he prescribes how, when the Faith is generally established, temples are to be erected on the sites of the martyrdoms of its chief teachers, *his own included*. And he lays down that though enemies may be plundered, no one is to be killed in the name of religion; torture and capital punishment, too, are to be superseded by a system of fines.

One of the later developments is especially characteristic. As is generally known, the letters of the Arabic alphabet have each a numerical value, from which many coincidences as to the hidden meanings of words are deduced. The letters of the word *wajūd*, existence (sc. of one God) make up the number 19: accordingly this number (which has been held sacred by the Sheikhite sect), was introduced in all sorts of relations. Thus, the fast of Ramadhan, hitherto a lunar month, was to be 19 days; there were to be 19 days in a month and 19 months in a year. The new teacher was to be one of 19 fore-runners of the Mahdi, and all weights and measures were to be adapted to the same unit. We are occasionally threatened at home with the abolition of our own varied but by no means unscientific divisions of time and space and weights and monies, and the substitution of a decimal system; we should, it is to be hoped, make short work of a reformer who took the number 19 for his unit!

All this doctrine was developed gradually; but the whole time occupied by the mission of the young prophet was won-

derfully short; it is in fact difficult to realize that hardly six years elapsed between his pilgrimage to Mecca and his martyrdom in 1850, and that he was barely 30 years old when he died, having elaborated a new and important body of doctrine and practice, and established the most wide-spread and influential sect in Persia.

How far the lofty spiritual pretensions of the Teacher emanated from his own brain, or to what extent they were suggested to or forced on him by his more devoted disciples, it is not easy to say. From what has gone before it will be understood that such pressure would be exercised from three sides at least; first by his *Murids*, the faithful disciples, whose previous training and national tone of thought would naturally lead them to recognize in such exceptional holiness and wisdom the signs of at least a partial inspiration, or even incarnation; secondly, from the common people, always on the look-out for the coming Imam, the Sahib es-Zemán or Lord of the Age, under whom they expect, as the Jews under the Messiah, to make the best of both worlds, and anyhow to terminate the oppressions and miseries of the present. They could not indeed, in their ignorance, decide on the claims of a pretender, but for this they were ready to take the word of the learned, which would fall, if favourable, on willing ears. And thirdly, there were the discontented spirits, more active than numerous, who gladly availed themselves of such a movement. Their desires were not unreasonable; they wished to check the power and arrogance of the clergy, who professing to be under invisible spiritual guidance admitted only a qualified subjection to the state; then the injustice of the judges and the extortions of officials called for redress, as well as the arbitrary doings of ministers and even of the Shah himself.

At all events there was no doubt after his return from Mecca that his views were decidedly advanced. He had now composed the volume which was to be for his followers, in relation to the Koran, pretty much what our New Testament is to the Old, and proclaimed himself, or was proclaimed by his followers, to be the *Bab*, i.e., the Gate,—in short, as we should put it, the Way to Eternal Life. His claims naturally were

disputed, and the miraculous evidence which is required to substantiate such claims was demanded. The Oriental notion about miracles seems to our ideas peculiar, and not very logical; reminding one of the attitude of the Jews towards the miracles of the New Testament. Orientals do not see any great abstract improbability in a miracle, and consequently are not very critical as to the evidence; on the other hand they by no means think that by itself a miracle proves much, for the laws of Nature are not understood by them to be immutable, or Divine, and therefore to require a divinely given power to abrogate them. The Bab, in answer to the demand for a sign, pointed to his writings. He had brought with him a commentary on a Sura of the Koran from which he drew novel and unexpected meanings. He could, besides compose a thousand verses in an hour, which was obviously a miracle, and the objection that they were in indifferent Arabic, and had none of the classic elegance of the Koran, was set aside as frivolous. But in truth the feeling on both sides was too warm by this time to be much influenced by nice questions of style or syntax. Excited crowds assembled to listen to the now outspoken utterances of the new teacher, as he denounced the notorious vices of the clergy, pointing out their shortcomings by references to their own Koran, which he still professed to respect, while reserving the fuller developments of his doctrine for more private audiences of his followers as they were able to bear them. At last the local civil authorities took alarm, their fears being naturally fanned by the clergy, and they applied for guidance to Teheran. The Bab, no way disconcerted, sent at the same time an appeal to the Shah, pointing out the danger to religion from the utter corruption of the clergy, and the necessity for the reform which he was preaching, and begging his Sovereign's permission to come with a few of his followers to the capital, and there, in the presence of His Majesty and his chief nobles, to be allowed openly to discuss the points at issue with the assembled chief Mullahs of the kingdom. Here at least was a rational test of the truth of his mission, and it was a bold as well as a straightforward move, for the penalty of failure would be death. At

headquarters the proposition caused much perplexity; the Shah and his ministers did not love the clergy, and it seemed probable that an offer likely to lead to their discomfiture would be accepted; the keener wits in the capital were looking forward, therefore, to a political and intellectual treat, when priestly counsels prevailed, and orders were sent to Shiraz that all public discussions on the matter should cease, and that the Bab should confine himself for the present to his house. Morally, however, the result was a defeat for the clerical party, who had not dared to meet their adversaries. The Bab obeyed orders and stayed at home, but his ardour only increased, his doctrines were rapidly circulated by the disciples who visited him, and he was now proclaimed to be not merely the Gate, through which men might approach and perceive the truth, but the 'Point,' or culmination of the truth, and himself a manifestation of the same. The sect retained, for outsiders at least, the name of Babis, and the earlier title was transferred to his principal follower, a certain Mullah Hussein Bushrawi, a man of great learning, talent, and energy, who was now despatched, the first missionary of the cause, to preach its doctrines in Northern Persia. After various successes at Ispahan and elsewhere, he arrived at Teheran, where the Shah and his minister, in the spirit of Athenian curiosity, sent for him to hear what he had to say. But his eloquent appeal to the sovereign to put himself at the head of the new movement, and earn fame and applause, fell on unsympathetic ears. Any policy that required active effort was eminently distasteful alike to the *fainéant* king and to the shrewd, cultivated, cynical minister. The Mullah, in short, bored them, and he was advised, if he valued his life, to leave the capital without loss of time.

He therefore continued his journey through Khurasan, preaching usually with great success; many members of the more intelligent classes becoming converts from conviction, and the common people from the wish, father to the thought, to recognize in the new prophet the Restorer of all things. But the clerical party were now thoroughly alarmed; Bushrawi was more than once forcibly expelled from the towns; his followers, ardent and enthusiastic, were ready to meet violence

by violence, and though apparently against the preacher's will it was evident that war must soon break out. He accordingly began to concert measures with his fellow-missionary, also a distinguished convert, Mohammed Ali of Balfurush, with a view to permanently establishing a centre for their adherents in the northern province of Mazanderan, which besides offering a greater choice of defensible positions than Khurasan was inhabited by a quieter and less fanatical population. And they were joined by a third ally, whose romantic story would indeed have attracted attention anywhere, but whose appearance under the conditions of modern and Persian Islam is certainly an unique phenomenon. It will be remembered that the enfranchisement of women was one of the leading injunctions of the Bab, and among the early adherents to his doctrine was a young, very beautiful, and accomplished lady, the daughter of a famous Mullah at Kaswin, a town much given over to theological learning. As the *fiancée* of a cousin whose father also was an eminent doctor of religion, she naturally had become familiar with these subjects, and, having listened to the teaching of the new faith, not only embraced it eagerly, but, throwing off the conventional restraints of her sex, came forth as a preacher, calling on all men to follow the new light, and especially urging the duty of women to take their places at such a crisis beside their husbands and brothers. That the mere appearance, in this capacity, of a young and beautiful woman—for in the ardour of preaching the veil would sometimes fall aside—should have attracted the multitude was to be expected, nor was it wonderful that, with a simple and moving eloquence superadded, she should have turned the heads even of grave doctors as well as the hearts of the multitude. She was known as Kurratu'l 'Ain, *i.e.*, Delight of the Eyes, or Hazrat-Tahirah, Her Excellency the Pure, a title which, according to the general testimony of both friends and foes, was indisputably her due. Although educated women are not altogether rare in Persia, it is hardly to be wondered at that the immediate family of Kurratu'l 'Ain should have highly disapproved of so startling a departure both from the conventional and from the orthodox. To say the truth, we can quite con-

ceive that the presence, in an ecclesiastical family circle, of a young lady professing specially intimate and mystic relations with the Divine, might in any part of the world lead to friction. No restraint, however, seems to have been placed on her, but after a time her views were publicly denounced from the pulpit of her uncle. This unhappily led to the murder of the learned doctor by some of the more fanatical adherents of the new sect, and its fair advocate, finding her position in her native town then no longer tenable, entered with the other leaders of the movement on a more general propaganda. As a proof, however, of the moral character of her teaching it is recorded that when some would-be disturber of the peace wished to take advantage of the 'fitrat' or inter-regnum between the previous and the new dispensation, an occasion when religious duties are believed not to be binding, she repudiated the doctrine, saying that at all times the faithful must follow the spirit and not the letter.

Conversions now multiplied rapidly, and after one or two serious collisions with the orthodox elements of the populace, excited by the preaching of the clergy, the two leaders above mentioned, with some 2,000 of their followers, took the final step of establishing themselves in a local habitation, which should serve as a rallying point for their friends, and give to the movement a more definite position. Sheikh Tabarsi, on which they now retreated, was, from its position among the mountain forests, well suited for purposes of defence, and it was rapidly fortified, armed and provisioned, the singular though untrained ability of the leaders being well seconded by the energy and enthusiasm which such a movement inspires. At length the government perceived the necessity of acting, and after some little delay, caused by the confusion following the death of the reigning Shah, the forces of the state were set in motion. But to their astonishment the government troops, led by the Commander-in-chief and princes of the blood, were shamefully defeated, brilliant sorties and surprises by the besieged carrying havoc and slaughter among them. Superstition, too, fought on their side. Not only were the leaders popularly believed to be in some sort 're-incarnations of certain famous

men of old, but it was understood that death in such a cause was only temporary, and that the slain would return to earth within forty days. On the other hand many of the troops half believed in the Babi claims, and gold pieces and other charmed missiles were in request, as among our own Covenanters, against an enemy under such special protection. After a siege of many months, however, when almost annihilated by fighting and starvation, the remaining handful of heroes surrendered on promise of their lives being granted, and were then summarily massacred. But if locally stamped out by this and subsequent executions, their numbers in all the other provinces of the kingdom were too numerous to be dealt with in this way.

For now the drama of Sheikh Tabarsi was repeated on a much larger scale in the frontier town of Zinjan. Here an influential Mujtahid, one of those semi-inspired religious teachers who are the characteristic product of the Shiah system, having long vexed the consciences and tempers of the faithful by his novel and eccentric ordinances, was summoned to Teheran, and informed that in the interests of peace he must not return again to Zinjan. During his stay at Teheran he fell in with the Babi apostle Mulla Hussein, was rapidly converted, and threw himself heart and soul into the new movement, and being irritated against the government he raised a force of several thousand men, and, returning at their head to Zinjan, proclaimed the Babi faith. An army was of course despatched against him, and after a long and terrible siege, during which the town was nearly destroyed, the survivors, with the Mujtahid at their head, surrendered on promise that their lives should be spared. But again they were nearly all deliberately massacred, the leaders being sent to Teheran, where the Prime Minister ordered their veins to be opened, and they died denouncing this breach of faith, and prophesying (so it is said) a like fate to the minister, which duly befel him; but as Persian governments go it was perhaps not a very hazardous prediction. It may be added here that few of the recorded Babi miracles go beyond what

we might describe as a 'curious coincidence,' or at most a 'special providence.'

It is difficult to ascertain with what feelings the Bab himself viewed as the consequence of his teaching this outbreak of civil war. For us it is easy to see that such a religious movement as his, insisting on a higher morality and conceptions of a far more spiritual character than those of his surroundings, must have tended to bring not peace but rather the sword. Personally he seems to have been essentially inclined to contemplation, a dreamer rather than a man of action; indeed, not the least strange part of the story is that during the whole of the short time of his mission he was practically a prisoner, first at Shiraz, then, under the friendly protection of the Governor, at Ispahan, and afterwards under stricter surveillance in various places in the north-west of Persia. His reputation, therefore, was much at the mercy of enthusiastic disciples and interested and intriguing malcontents, for either class could disseminate in his name the views which they wished to prevail. No subversive political teaching, however, could be brought home to him, unless indeed we must so class the comparatively enlightened and humane reforms we have before quoted, which seem to have been quietly evolved while he lay in his last prison in proximate expectation of death, for the government felt it was time to take urgent measures with the author and source of all this disturbance, which had now its ramifications in every class of society. Under no illusion as to his coming fate, he showed himself not unworthy of the exalted character he claimed, and still fascinated all who had access to him by his patience, gentleness, and singular charm of manner; and the reports of all this—losing nothing in the telling—to the world outside, and still more of his great holiness, his confidence in his lofty pretensions, his mystic periods of illumination, did not tend to diminish his influence. To produce by his death the impression desired, it was necessary that this should take place publicly and beyond all doubt, and he was transferred to Tabriz, an important city, under every circumstance which could tend to shake his constancy or humiliate him, and thereby diminish the respect of the multi-

tude. Two of his disciples accompanied him. When he reached Tabriz the governor sent for the principal Mullahs, and suggested that they should enter into controversy with the prisoner, whom they could of course easily confute. It was quite decided that he was to die; still it would be more satisfactory, both as regarded the effect on the public mind, and even to the official conscience, that the prisoner should himself afford some justification for his sentence. The Mullahs, however, prudently declined, and it is said that some of the attendant officials then assayed the task, but were distinctly worsted in argument. To the questionings of the governor he replied with perfect calmness and dignity. He had in fact committed no overt act against the government, and opinions as heterodox as his had frequently been held without molestation. At the same time the government cannot be severely blamed for holding him responsible for the deeds of violence, or for the seditious teachings of his avowed and not disowned followers. The death sentence was, anyhow, a foregone conclusion, and next morning he was led out between his two faithful followers, all heavily chained, and paraded through the streets, continually beaten and insulted. There was great excitement. Large numbers of the mob were of course on the side of the administration, and attracted by any cruel spectacle; but there were also many sympathisers, and many others half believing in the sanctity of the prisoner, and consequently shocked at the proceedings. After some hours of this torture one of the disciples, Said Hussein, who had been long with him, and is thought to be responsible for many of his utterances, seemed to waver and break down. He was told his life would be saved if he would curse the Bab. He did so. Then, offered immediate freedom if he would spit in his face, he complied. He was at once released, and fled from the place, but bitterly repented, and two years after, as a martyr, witnessed a good confession. The other disciple, Mirza Mohammed Ali, remained firm. Young and rich, and of good position, he had chosen this line, and now when his wife and little children were brought to him to implore him to recant, he respectfully kissed his master's hand, acknowledged his claims before the

assembled people, and only begged as a favour to be allowed to die before him. At length, when the day was nearly over, the two prisoners were brought to the citadel, and ropes being passed under their arms, they were let down over the wall to the open space below, where a platoon of soldiers was stationed ready to fire. And now a strange event occurred, which very nearly changed the fate of the day, and perhaps of the kingdom. There was silence for a moment, and the Mirza was heard to ask his master if he was satisfied with him. Then the soldiers fired. The Mirza was killed, but the Bab remained untouched, only the rope which bound him was cut by a bullet, and he fell to the ground. He rose to his feet, however, immediately. A half-suppressed murmur of wonder and satisfaction at the miracle issued from the crowd, and had he at once mingled with them he must have been safe. The officials would have been powerless, indeed for the moment they were themselves shocked, and more than half under the impression that a miracle had been worked; but their unfortunate victim, exhausted by the sufferings of the day, and stunned or confused, took refuge, by a sort of impulse, in the nearest shelter, a guard-house, where he was speedily cut down by an officer, and the soldiers, thus finding that he was mortal, finished their work.

It is interesting to reflect on what might, if the Bab had escaped, have been the effect both on the government and on the religion of Persia of so well-accredited a miracle. It is not impossible that both might have been changed. As it was, his death had by no means the result hoped for by the government. It could, indeed, according to his teaching, have no prejudicial effect on the cause, for the portion of divinity which animated him would be transferred to another of the mystic 19, who together form the Divine Union by which in this new Manifestation the affairs of the church will be governed—he himself being, as it were, only *primus inter pares*, and besides, as he expressly said, only the precursor of Him who is to be revealed.

A successor was a once nominated, in the person of a young but very distinguished disciple, Mirza Yahya, the

letters of whose name represented the mystic number 19, and who is now known as Subh-i Ezel, the Dawn of Eternity. He issued tranquillizing orders to the faithful, advising them to attend devoutly to their religious duties and to avoid politics, but finding that he was specially watched by the police, he withdrew across the frontier to Baghdad. A rival doctor who had put forth claims to the leadership, and had also retired to the same region, was seized by some members of the sect and summarily drowned in the Euphrates.

Meanwhile, the direct attack on the fountain-head of their religion transformed many of his followers into embittered opponents of the Government. The movement had been intended by its founder to be, at all events for the present, religious and social only, and so far as it had taken a political and aggressive form it had done so, as it were, incidentally, but now the blow struck at the founder turned the wrath of the followers directly against the authority from which it came. They reflected, too, that the Shah had not only slain their master, but had refused to listen to his message when sent to him by the mouth of Bushrawi. Accordingly, an agitation having first been created by the circulation of repeated rumours of the Shah's death, an attempt was made upon his life, the would-be assassins declaring themselves to be Babis, and acting on authority, but no amount of torture could wring any further information from them. Great consternation was felt, for the faith was known to be very widely held, especially among the more intelligent classes. A number of arrests were made, among them the famous Kurratu'l 'Ain, who was then living in Teheran. She was placed in honourable confinement in the house of the chief of the police, and there seems to have been no wish to deal hardly with her, for as usual her beauty and goodness had fascinated all who had to do with her. Her host came one day to congratulate her on her approaching release, for he was authorised to promise her that if, before the court, she would only deny that she was a Babi, she should have life and liberty. Her reply is said to have been that, on the contrary, she knew she would be put to death on the following day, which actually came to pass, for

she scorned to tell the required falsehood or to dishonour her master. The remainder of the accused were put to death, many being previously tortured. Among the victims were many women and children, but all shewed unflinching constancy, even the latter singing as they went to execution, 'We come from God, and are returning to Him.' By a clever arrangement of the Prime Minister they were apportioned for execution among the various high functionaries, so that the vengeance, which would otherwise have concentrated on himself and on the Shah, might be weakened by dissemination. Even the Shah's physician, Dr. Cloquet, was requested to take his share, but the witty Frenchman excused himself on the plea that he was already answerable for so many deaths in his professional practice that he could not thus increase his responsibilities. Among those who perished in this massacre was Said Hussein, the disciple who seemingly, under stress of suffering, had deserted his master just before his execution. It was said that his remorse had ever since been unceasing, and that he rejoiced now to meet his fate, heaping insults on his judges, so that they might increase the severity of his tortures. Tradition on the subject, however,—and it may well be in accord with the facts—has since taken a very pretty turn. It is impossible that so true and brave a man could ever have acted a base part. His apparent desertion of his master was, therefore, really planned between them so that he might escape and carry some important messages from the Bab to his followers! These barbarous cruelties, and the number and character of the victims, added much to the sympathy felt in private for the cause, but it was seen to be highly dangerous to shew any such sympathy, and in fact it tacitly became bad form even to speak of the sect henceforth in other than opprobrious terms—a circumstance which may help to account for the evil reports of them brought back by travellers or others who have mixed only with the official classes.

From his residence at Baghdad the new chief was in a favourable position for influencing the thousands of pilgrims who came yearly to Kerbela, and the Persian Government eventually begged the Turks to remove him to a greater distance

from the frontier; he and his followers were, therefore, sent in 1864 to Adrianople, whence they still kept up secret communication with the faithful in Persia. About this time it was revealed to a certain Behá Ullah, an elder brother of the successor to the Bab, that he was actually 'He whom God will manifest.' This startling claim was denied—it might be long to quote the arguments on either side—by Mirza Yahya, and quarrels arose, which ended by the Turks sending the latter to Cyprus, and Behá to Acre. But they adopted the curious plan of sending with each leader a few of the adherents of the other, so that on the arrival of any Persians on a visit to either, they might hear something to his prejudice! As far as Behá was concerned, his followers settled this difficulty by massacring their erring companions, and the larger number of the sect appears now to have recognized his claims, the admission of which would seem to imply, among other things, nothing less than an immediate expectation of the approaching end of the Age—for Behá is now an old man; but this is a belief by no means confined to the followers of Behá. His writings, which are diligently though secretly circulated among the faithful, are now accepted as necessarily superseding those of the Bab; which, as the rival party plausibly say, it was hardly worth while producing at so much cost if they were to have so short a period of currency.

The latest authorities represent the sect as still, notwithstanding isolated instances of persecution, arising from religious intolerance or private animosity, the most numerous and influential in Persia. A valuable paper, containing some careful notes of the history of the movement written in a highly sympathetic spirit, and some interesting personal reminiscences of certain members of the sect, by Mr. E. G. Browne, appeared in the Asiatic Society's Journal for 1889. The principal authorities on the subject are the narrative of Mirza Kazim Beg, which originally appeared in the *Journal Asiatique*, and the always interesting *Réligions et Philosophies* of the Comte de Gobineau.

COUTTS TROTTER.

P.S.—Since the above pages were written, there has also appeared a remarkable work, of special value as regards the later developments of the movement, to wit, *A Traveller's Narrative written to Illustrate the Episode of the Báb* (Cambridge: University Press), translated from the Persian, with an introduction and copious notes by Mr. E. G. Browne. The extracts he gives from the writings and conversation of Behá are certainly very remarkable, not only for their spirituality and elevation of tone, but for the breadth of view and general knowledge they disclose; his eloquent plea, addressed to the Shah of Persia, for toleration—naturally no doubt a popular doctrine for a minority—being enforced by references not only to the modern but to the mediæval history of Europe! The details of the schism in the sect are curious, and Mr. Browne's account of his interviews with the divinely inspired rivals is interesting and picturesque; psychologically, not the least curious thing in his book is the mental attitude of the accomplished author towards the movement generally.

ART. V.—JOHN MAJOR, SCOTTISH SCHOLASTIC,
1470-1550.

1. *A History of Greater Britain, as well England as Scotland, compiled from the Ancient Authorities.* By JOHN MAJOR, by name indeed a Scot, but by profession a Theologian, 1521. Translated and Edited with Notes by ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE. To which is prefixed a Life of the Author by ÆNEAS J. G. MACKAY. (Scottish History Society.) Edinburgh, 1892.
2. *Magistri Johannis Majoris libri. . . Termini; Summulæ; Exponibilia; Insolubilia; Obligationis, etc.* Paris, 1506.
3. *In Primum [Secundum, Tertium, Quartum] Sententiarum.* Paris, 1509-1528.
4. *In Matthæum ad literam Expositio.* Paris, 1518.
5. *Introductorium in Aristotelicam Dialecticam.* Paris, 1521.

6. *Octo Libri Physicorum cum Nat. Philosophia et Metaphysica.* Paris, 1526.
7. *In Quatuor Evangelia Expositiones.* Paris, 1529.
8. *Ethica Aristotelis cum Commentariis.* Paris, 1530.

TO many it will appear strange that a famous Scotsman's History of Scotland, written in Latin in 1521, should have remained for three hundred and seventy years without a translator. The work has many points of national and popular interest. It was written years before John Knox and the Reformation gave a new character to his countrymen and a new colour to their history, by a learned divine of European reputation, devotedly attached to the Church of Rome, and yet a thorough Scot, who scarcely wrote a chapter which does not bear witness to his genuine love of country and home. John Major, too, was the first man to write the chronicles of Scotland, or rather of 'Greater Britain,' in a broad and independent spirit. He says, indeed, half apologetically and with some humour, that he intended to tell his story *theologico ferme stylo*. His pen would have refused to write in any other style. His Latin is rugged, abrupt, and concise often to obscurity, as the Latin of a professional *Sententiarius* might be expected to be. He cannot refrain from throwing his reflections into the form of syllogisms, and delights in closing a paragraph with a triumphant *Igitur*. But this is not all that he meant by the theological style. Major is not content to compile mere annals. He passes judgment upon the facts of conduct as they are presented to him. This he approves, that he disapproves. 'Now the manner of the Scholastics,' he writes, in a passage quoted from his *In Quartum Sententiarum*, by Mr. Constable, 'and a laudable manner it is, is this: that every man shall say freely what he thinks. . . Aught else is unbecoming to a theologian.' 'To forbid discussion,' he says again, 'is to entangle me and the error of Mahomet.' Major therefore discusses freely the conduct of kings and prelates, the condition of the people, the tenure of land, the relation of noble to peasant, and national characteristics generally. He has strong opinions, and shows on some points remarkable force.

fessor Masson has called him 'the first Scottish radical;' and he must have stood almost alone among his countrymen in his earnest advocacy of the union of the kingdoms. It was in his belief in the unity of their destinies that he combined their history under the one title of 'Greater Britain.'

While the mannerisms of the theologian, the quaint language, the undercurrent of pleasant irony, combined with singular simplicity and directness, give a certain piquancy to his sufficiently original narrative, these characteristics undoubtedly render all the more difficult the task of the translator. To Mr. Archibald Constable the highest praise is due. He has spared no pains to understand his author's way of thinking, and is perhaps the only Scotsman of the last three centuries who has read from cover to cover Major's *Commentary on the Fourth Book of the Sentences*. Readers will admire the antique flavour of his English, the neat scholarship, and the excellent taste which here go to the making of a model translation.

It is not, however, the aim of the present article to pass under review the subject matter of the *History* as such. The main interest of the work, indeed, to many minds will consist not so much in the objective narrative as in the author's personality and in the relation such a man as Major held to his own time and the times which followed. As a literary production its charm lies in its antiquity; and its features which most pleasantly appeal to our fancy are not those which accord best with our present modes of thought but those which are most foreign to them. M. Renan remarks in his excellent essay on Averrhoës, 'Il ne faut pas demander au passé que le passé lui-même,' and he adds that political history is ennobled since we have ceased to seek from it lessons of conduct; while the interest of the history of philosophy lies less perhaps in the positive instruction we can draw from it than in the picture it gives of the evolution of the human mind. Something of this kind has apparently been felt by the editor of the present volume. The book is, at any rate, put forward not only as a curious and ancient history of Scotland, but as a picture of John Major and his school of thought. Mr. Æneas Mackay has prefixed to it a new and comprehensive biography of the

author, in which his opinions, philosophical, theological, and political, are treated with some fulness. There is further added an Appendix, in which, besides a bibliography of the literary work of Major and his disciples, there is printed an almost complete collection of the dedications, epistles, and dialogues which serve as prefaces to his numerous publications.

This article will, then, deal with Major not as an historian but as a professional schoolman, and will attempt to illustrate his character and position as a theological teacher by way of comment or criticism upon the views presented by Mr. Constable and Mr. Æneas Mackay. This is the more necessary as it had long been a tradition among Scottish writers that Major was in some sort a 'precursor of the Reformation,' that his opinions were at least much influenced by the new learning, and form a transition between orthodox scholasticism and the teaching of Knox and Buchanan. Colour is given to this notion by the fact that Major held political doctrines which foreshadowed those of Buchanan, and that he stoutly maintained the ecclesiastical principles known as Gallican, placing the authority of councils above that of the Pope and generally minimising the papal powers in relation to the State. Mr. Mackay is not ready to defend quite so untenable a position. He very truly remarks that 'Major stands firm in the paths of the Roman and Catholic Church, and treats all deviation from its doctrine as pestilent and poisonous heresy. But like the best Romanists of his age, he favours reforms within the Church and by the Church itself.' Yet Mr. Mackay takes pains to emphasise certain passages which seem to suggest to him opinions—singular, novel, daring and suspicious, if not absolutely heterodox. Thus, Major's language on excommunication is characterized as 'bold' for an ecclesiastic, and it is suggested that by 'allowing excommunication for contumacy' he left 'a loophole' which explains 'how he and men of his views were tolerated.' He is quoted, too, as 'condemning the multiplication of miracles,' and asserting that 'miracles do not prove holiness,' and that 'a vow of chastity might be a vow of the foolish virgins if it hurt the State.' He

is said to show 'a skeptical tendency.' The fact that he was invited by Wolsey to take a chair in the Cardinal's new college at Oxford shows 'how near he stood—and was deemed by some of his contemporaries to stand—to the parting of the ways between the mediæval and modern plans of education.' Finally, 'he may be considered,' writes Mr. Mackay, 'as Ockham has also been, an unconscious precursor of the Reformation, in spite of his resting finally in all questions of faith in rigidly orthodox conclusions.' This estimate of Major's theological position is further implied by the favourite pupil of Scotus, in Mr. Mackay's theories that Major, a secular priest, was devoted to the Franciscan order; that he belonged to the Scotist school, 'which separated itself from the hitherto orthodox school of Thomas Aquinas'; that the Scotists, though they claimed as much as the Thomists to be orthodox, were perhaps 'the more vehement in their assertions of the soundness of their doctrine in order to allay suspicions;' and that, in fact, the subtle Doctor himself, for certain reasons, has been 'looked upon with suspicion by the Church.' Moreover, we are told, 'the Franciscans generally—for there were exceptions—opposed the absolute power of the Pope,' and 'their doctrine of evangelical poverty cut at the roots as has been well pointed out by Mr. Owen, both of the temporal power and the excessive wealth of the prelates,' etc. 'No one,' says Mr. Mackay, 'accepted more completely than Major this doctrine.'

Now, seeing that John Major is the single genuine Scottish schoolman whom Scotland can boast of—for there is far too much doubt about the nationality of Duns Scotus to claim him, as Major does, for a countryman*—Mr. Mackay has started or revived a question of considerable interest. To some, perhaps, his view of Major's position will appear to rob his life and character of their greatest charm. For Major has been certainly regarded, especially by Roman Catholics, as a typical representative of the pre-reformation schoolman, a good and solid

* Mackenzie, without sufficient authority, makes John de Bassolis, to be also a Scotsman.

specimen of the old fashioned orthodoxy; a man who learnt as little from Erasmus as from Luther, and who as a Catholic rather lagged behind than marched with the times; an honest, amiable and genial professor, of the highest moral character, who, indeed, keenly felt the ecclesiastical abuses prevalent in his time, and, after the manner of his class, spoke out his mind clearly and strongly, but whose loyalty to his church and creed was untainted with the least suspicion of a leaning towards the methods or ideas of the New Learning.

In any case we ought to know more of the man and his work, and get our knowledge direct from his books. We all understand something of Luther and Calvin, Erasmus and Colet, for—different as they are—their ideas live, and have helped to make our age what it is. But between ourselves and the scholastics of Major's kind there is a wider gulf—a gulf which parts them mentally, in a very marked degree, from even their own natural successors, the Tridentine schoolmen of the succeeding generation. Major, therefore, if only as an intellectual fossil, a unique Scottish specimen from certain strata of European thought, deserves reverent study from all theological antiquaries. But, first of all, it is only fair to set his character free from any prejudices which might be created in the reader's mind if the criticisms, just referred to, were left unexplained.

Major's political liberalism—the only matter in which he was liberal at all—was essentially the liberalism of the Middle Ages. His theories on popular rights were, as Mr. Hume Brown, in his life of Buchanan, has sufficiently indicated, in substantial agreement with the doctrines of Aquinas, Scotus, Gerson, and John of Salisbury. There is no need to seek for them in the more revolutionary ideas of Ockham or of Marsiglio of Padua, nor were they so peculiar to Major that Buchanan must be supposed to have derived his own theories from the master whom he despised. It is no paradox to say, also, that Major's restricted views of papal supremacy were a further proof of the rather antiquated conservatism which seems generally to have distinguished his theology. These Gallican views came to the front as an almost necessary outcome of the

weakness and confusion of the central authority during the great schism and the quarrels between rival popes. The attempt to establish a sort of parliamentary government by way of periodical councils as the ruling power of the Church proved a lamentable failure. The Council of Basle, by a decree, discarded by Rome, in vain declared that councils were above the Pope; and, in the reaction which followed the practical victory of the papacy, the views of the Conciliar or Gallican party were almost confined to France. Major held to the old doctrine, not because Ockham taught it, but as he says, because it was the doctrine of his university, of all France and of the Council of Basle. There was nothing either singular or novel in his teaching on this matter. It was the teaching of Gerson before him and of Bossuet after him. Practically, it amounted to very little. Next to the authority of Scripture, Major puts the decrees of the Pope, 'which have passed through fire and water,' and he maintains, against the opinions of many divines, the infallibility of the canonization of saints, which rests upon papal definitions.

With regard to evangelical poverty it has not been shown that Major ever let drop a word which was not strictly in accordance with the Catholic spirit. Other orders besides the Franciscans made vows of poverty, and such vows must necessarily have been defended by Major, who knew well enough how to distinguish between evangelical precept and counsel. He may have admired the Franciscans, but he preferred the Carthusians, whose life he expressly extols as the ideal of Christian perfection. The Franciscans in their golden age, were, as a body, the most enthusiastic friends of the poor and the oppressed which the world has yet seen. A fanatical party among them, called the 'Spiritual Franciscans' or 'Zealots,' goaded by the luxury and avarice of the papal court, proclaimed that Jesus and the Apostles embraced lives of absolute poverty and had no possessions whatever. This apparently harmless proposition had its sting, which was felt by John XXII., who condemned it. The Franciscan Zealots were obstinate, and found a champion in Ockham, a theological genius, whose system of logic and metaphysics was largely followed

by Major. The disturbance for a time shook the order, which above all others was in principle committed to, and as a rule observed, the most absolute loyalty to the Holy See. But Major could have had not the least interest in, or sympathy with, the exploded cause of some rebellious friars. Indeed he—so far from accepting the so-called Franciscan doctrine—denounces the condemned proposition as formal heresy, quotes at length the constitution of John XXII., reminds his pupils that the definition of a pope interpreting scripture must be believed, and winds up a long argument with a word of kindly advice to his Franciscan friends, not to trouble themselves about the poverty of Christ or the affairs of Ockham, but to keep their own excellent rule (*In Quart. Sent.*, dist. xxxviii. qu. 13; Cf. *In IV. Evang.*, fo. cxxvii. b.) Major does assert that ‘miracles do not prove sanctity,’ and rightly so in the mind of every Catholic. In what sense he was opposed to the multiplicity of miracles we shall presently see. When, again, he declares that many excommunicated persons go to heaven, he states a fact which at least no canonist of his day would have dared to dispute; and when he ‘allows’ that the censure in question falls on the ‘contumacious,’ he is making no concession, nor leaving any ‘loophole,’ but simply laying down the elements of the law as defined in every text book. For the mere validity of excommunication, according to Catholic law, it is essential that the offence for which it is inflicted should be a grave sin against a precept of the church, *peccatum externum, consummatum, conjunctum cum contumaciâ*. ‘Joined with contumacy,’ says Gury, referring to Liguori, ‘because the principal end of this censure is to break down obstinacy.’ ‘Does ignorance of the law excuse a man from the censure?’ asks Liguori. Certainly, is the answer, ‘for how, if thus ignorant, can a man be contumacious.’ In fact, as Major very properly remarks, an innocent man may be, and often has been *unjustly* excommunicated. A man *justly* excommunicated may become contrite and restored to grace, and yet unable to get absolution before death. The uninstructed and superstitious laity were over fearful of the effects of a merely material sentence, and wise ——— Major in this instance was a wise man—

did their best to assure the faithful that such thunderbolts were innocuous against a good conscience. Robert of Sorbonne, a stern moralist of the thirteenth century—whose name Major would have held in veneration—lecturing or preaching on the ethics of matrimony, lays down the duty of a man whose supposed marriage was, through some secret impediment, invalid. He imagines the man to plead, ‘If I were to act as you advise, I should be cited before the judge or the bishop, and probably excommunicated.’ ‘What of that?’ answers the preacher. ‘Better any day suffer excommunication, with bells ringing and candles lighted, and have your body cast to the dogs, than continue to live in sin. *Such excommunications would only give you the more merit.*’ This is quite in Major’s manner—boldly put, if you will, but thoroughly medieval and Catholic in spirit. Similarly, if Major is wrath against wealthy bishops squandering or alienating the patrimony of the poor, or if he denounces the robberies of usurious merchants, his language is moderate compared with that of another learned doctor, also of the thirteenth century, who could think of no remedy for this ‘calamity’ of Christendom but that the pope should call a General Council and with the aid of princes ‘compel all the rich to work, either spiritually or corporally, for their daily bread, as the apostle commanded, so that there may be no more idle men.’ Thus, remarks M. Hauréau, who prints the passage [*Notices et extraits de quelques MSS. Latins*, Vol. I., p. 171], all the world was to consist of either *curés* or artisans. This Christian socialist of the Middle Ages is, it appears, the Englishman, Robert of Courçon, canon of Noyon, afterwards Cardinal.

For all that concerns Major’s early life in Scotland and England, his professional career in the colleges of Montaigu, Navarre and the Sorbonne at the University of Paris, his literary activity, especially in the sphere of Logic, the reader must go to the ample and interesting sketch, drawn up with the aid of many new sources, by Mr. Mackay. The selected list at the head of this article gives a very inadequate idea of the number and variety of Major’s publications, continued with scarcely a break, for 27 years, *i.e.*, from 1503, the thirty-third

year of his age, when he printed his 'Exponibilia,' to 1530, in which year he dedicated his commentary on the Ethics of Aristotle to Cardinal Wolsey. But the *magnum opus* of his life was the Commentary on the Four Books of the Sentences of Peter Lombard. His first book went through three editions, 1510, 1519, 1530; the second also through three, 1510, 1519, 1528. The third was printed twice, in 1517 and 1528; and the fourth passed through the press four times under the author's eye, 1509, 1512, 1516, and 1519. For this great production the logical, physical and metaphysical treatises were as a mere scaffolding. The exposition of Scripture, was, like his History, a parergon. His great renown was founded on his teaching as a scholastic theologian. Now scholastic theology after Major's time passed, as has been said, into a new phase, and reached indeed, so its votaries declare, its golden age in the early part of the seventeenth century. Before the end of that century it had passed its prime and lost its original productive power. It however preserved some vitality, from a bibliographical point of view, till the middle of the eighteenth century. Its shadow haunts religious houses and episcopal seminaries to this day. It is impossible to realize Major's mental situation without some understanding of the methods and principles of his favourite and well nigh obsolete science. Who then were these Schoolmen, this Master of the Sentences, these Thomists and Scotists, and at what were they all aiming?

Scholastic, more properly called Speculative, theology is said to have derived its name from the schools founded in connection with religious houses in the time of Charlemagne. Theoretically it begins where positive or dogmatic theology ends. The creeds of the Church, the dogmas of the faith, are the assumed first principles upon which the theologian attempts to build up a science—the queen or 'goddess of sciences,' as Gavin Douglas calls her in the dialogue prefacing one of Major's works—by the aid of natural reason. It is true that the scholastics very commonly offer proofs of revealed dogma or even of natural religion, but this is rather to test the question, often much debated, whether such truths are, or are not, capable of rational demonstration. The system is essentially one of free

enquiry outside the boundary of defined dogma. The schoolmen indeed revelled in this liberty, such as it was. They were at once zealots for the faith and passionate, if sometimes foolish, lovers of philosophy. It was an accident that the philosophy utilized for their purpose was in the main that of Aristotle, again and again proscribed and as frequently revived. Speculation soon ran wild. Foreseeing possible danger to the creed itself, and desirous of bringing divines back to the safer paths of the older theology, Peter Lombard (who died Bishop of Paris, c. 1160) constructed his immortal *Sentences*. He collected together passages of the Fathers bearing on the chief topics of dispute, balanced opinions on this side and that, and often suggested rather than pronounced decisions of his own. The matter of his four books is arranged in a series of sections appropriately called *Distinctions*, each of which contains on an average some dozen *Questions*. The first book contains 48 distinctions concerning the divine attributes; the second 44 distinctions on creation, angels and men, free will and grace. The third book treats in 40 distinctions of the Incarnation, the virtues and commandments; while the fourth discusses the seven sacraments, the judgment, heaven, and hell. It is not a large work. The whole may be comprised in a small 4to volume of less than 600 pages. How it came about that Peter Lombard's treatise was at once adopted by all the schools as the one universally recognised text-book, and so remained for four centuries—not indeed dropping out of use for two centuries longer—is something of a mystery. The Master of the *Sentences* was not himself a great authority, and was not free from errors. His plan was not altogether new. It will be noticed, too, that important topics, the *Loci theologici*, questions on the authority of Scripture, tradition, councils, and Popes, find no place in his scheme, and there is little room for the discussion of the questions which lie at the basis of the more modern treatises of moral theology. His book was, however, the success of the Middle Ages. No book, save the Bible, was so commented upon. The text itself has been printed, say, little more than eighty times, but the extant commentaries in print or MS. are literally to be counted by thousands. In England

alone, before the Reformation, there were at least 160 commentators, among whom are found 46 Franciscans, 42 Carmelites, 28 Dominicans, 10 Augustinians, 6 Benedictines, and 2 Cistercians. New commentaries on the sentences, and commentaries on the commentaries of Scotus on the sentences, continued to issue from the press till the middle of the eighteenth century.

It is needless to remark that the comparatively sensible object which the Master set before himself was not realised. The old evil was rather aggravated, for divines seeing the decisions of the ancients served up for them in so convenient a fashion, were the more readily tempted to dispense themselves from any further reference to the fathers. Theology entered upon a new stage with St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274). His powerful intellect, his wise moderation, and the comparative lucidity of the method which he instituted in his *Summa*, did not indeed induce theologians to abandon the sentences upon which St. Thomas himself commented. But his great name led to the formation of a definite school, which counted its disciples far beyond the limits of his own order. In this there was manifest danger to freedom of thought, for theological conclusions, when generally accepted, are apt to become crystallized into dogma. The threatened dictatorship of the great Dominican was happily averted by the searching criticisms of a modest and devout Franciscan, known in the schools as the 'subtle doctor,' and out of them as 'the prince of sophists.' This John Duns Scotus (d. 1308) was immediately hailed as the chosen master of his order. Henceforward, until this dualism was in turn disturbed by the intervention of a third school, that of the Nominalists under William Ockham, divines were roughly ranged in the two equally orthodox and legitimate camps of Thomist and Scotist.

It is impossible to barely name here a tithe of the differences between them—differences in principle and in detail which cover the whole range of speculative theology. It is important to bear in mind that in all matters regarding the rule of faith Thomists and Scotists were at one. 'To Scotus no less than to St. Thomas,' says Dr. Werner, quoted in Addis and Arnold's *Dictionary*, 'the Pope is the supreme guardian and

divinely instituted exponent of the deposit of faith.' Both also recognised Aristotle as the highest philosophical authority, though Scotus adopted many Platonic ideas, and some of his disciples went so far as to extol Plato above Aristotle himself. The object of both doctors was to establish harmony between metaphysics and dogma. Ueberweg, who gives in brief the clearest account of Scotist characteristics, remarks that Scotus was essentially a critic, that his early mathematical training had taught him what was meant by proving, and that he accordingly refused to recognise in many of the pretended proofs offered any real proof at all. Thus creation out of nothing and the immortality of the soul were demonstrable to St. Thomas but not so to Scotus. With the latter the strictest and most childlike faith in Christian doctrines was united to a sturdy scepticism in regard to the arguments by which they were commonly maintained. His temper in this respect was somewhat akin to that of Cardinal Newman. His fundamental principle in psychology was 'the will is superior to the intellect.' With Aquinas it was quite the other way. According to the Dominican God commands what is good because it is good; according to Scotus the good is good because God commands it. The theology of the most subtle of the schoolmen, coloured perhaps by the influence of St. Bonaventura, was in fact the most emotional. St. Thomas places beatitude in the knowledge of God, Scotus in the love of God. A modern writer not unfairly contrasts 'the serene masculine discernment of the Dominican order' with the more 'feminine, sentimental, and impressionable intellectualism of the followers of St. Francis.'

It has been said that Scotism is now dead. This is true of the system, as a whole, for the excessive realism upon which its philosophy is based—the tendency to make real entities of every universal or mental abstraction—is hopelessly irreconcilable with modern modes of thought. But many leading and characteristic ideas of Scotus have become the common possession of the modern eclectic schools. The triumph of Scotus was the Immaculate Conception, which has even passed into a dogma of his church. The so-called Scotist theory of

the incarnation which teaches that the Word made man was decreed before the foresight of the Fall, and that Jesus would have come into the world in impassible flesh, as the crown of creation, if Adam had not sinned—a doctrine, by the way, to which Major is indifferent, treating it as problematical—has been largely taken up outside the Franciscan ranks. The Jesuit Suarez held it. Father Faber popularized it among Catholics in England, and the Abbé Combalot* in France. It has been even adopted by Lutheran theologians in Germany. The Scotist doctrine on the *moral* causality of the sacraments—defended by Major—in opposition to the *physical* causation of the Thomists has become generally received. More important than any of these are the fundamental differences between the two schools on free will, grace and predestination, the Scotist leaning to the Pelagian side, against what is commonly called the ‘Calvinistic’ tendencies of the Thomists. Scotist doctrine is here only dead, inasmuch as it is lost in the more radical, novel, and successful opposition to Thomism in a similar direction on the part of the Molinist section of the Jesuit school; and in view of the supposed prevalence of Thomist doctrine at the present day it is noteworthy that the two saints, Francis of Sales and Liguori, recently raised by Pius IX. to the dignity of ‘Doctors of the Church,’ were both conspicuous for their adherence to what is called the Pelagianising theories of the Jesuits, Molina, and Lessius.

But to return to the Middle Ages. An incident of one among many of the old scholastic disputes will illustrate the readiness with which the rival parties, when their passions were excited, hurled at each other charges of heresy, in contrast with the more prudent temporising, if not serene toleration, of the See of Rome. There was at one time hot debate regarding the blood shed by Christ on the ground or on the cross during the Passion. The Dominicans asserted that every drop of blood re-assumed by Christ after the Resurrection remained, in the interval of his death, hypostatically united

* *La connaissance de Jésus-Christ, ou le dogme de l'incarnation envisagé comme la raison dernière et suprême de tout ce qui est*, 1841.

with the divinity, and was adorable by *latria*. The Franciscans denied this. James de la Marche preached the Franciscan doctrine from the pulpit in Easter, 1462. The Dominican inquisitor called upon the holy Franciscan to retract his opinion as heretical. He, on the contrary, repeated it on the following Tuesday. The case was then brought before Pius II. The Pope, says Billuart, a zealous Dominican doctor, would not condemn the Franciscans because they were useful to him just then in preaching the crusades. The Franciscan doctrine, which, by the way, is rejected by the prudent Major, was subsequently rendered barely tenable by a decree of the Council of Trent. Suarez, at least, calls it *nec pia nec secunda*. Pius II., however, had contented himself with forbidding the Dominicans to censure it as heretical. When the cause of St. James' beatification was introduced, the devil's advocate brought up against him this erroneous teaching. It was finally decided by the sacred congregation that the opinion in question was in the fifteenth century 'probable,' and accordingly Benedict XIII. canonized the bold preacher without scruple.*

It must not be imagined that every Dominican was a strict Thomist or every Franciscan a Scotist. There were a number of independent thinkers on either side. Major constantly singles out for praise men of this sort on the ground that they were not content simply *jurare in verba magistri*. Thus he often mentions with approval Henry of Ghent, a Dominican who departed from Thomism in the direction of Platonism and Scotism. Richard Middleton, another favourite of Major's and an eminent doctor, was one of what M. Hauréau calls the 'unfaithful Franciscans.' The first broad departure from the two dominant schools was taken almost simultaneously by Durandus a S. Portiano, a Dominican, and Peter Auriol the Franciscan (d. 1345), who in a marked degree initiated or rather revived the philosophy of the Nominalists. Peter derided the search for the principle of individuation—the main effort of Thomist and Scotist alike—as utterly vain, and declared that the theories of Scotus on genera and species were a revival of

* The whole story is told in Faber's *Essay on Beatification*, p. 45.

the errors of Plato. But it was reserved for William of Ockham (d. 1347), commonly said, though not apparently without doubt, to have been a pupil of Scotus, to formulate into a complete system this opposition to the prevalent realism. He in consequence earned from his disciples the title of 'venerabilis inceptor.' He sums up the Scotist theory of universals with the rude conclusion, 'Ista opinio est simpliciter falsa et absurda.' The Dominicans were delighted, for though Ockham was no friend of theirs, his hardest blows fell upon their rivals. 'A most bitter antagonist of his master,' he was, says Wadding,* but he 'sinned not so much in impugning the doctrine of his master as in rebelling against the teacher of the universal Church John XXII.' The editor of the *Opera Omnia* of Scotus consoles himself with the feeble rumours which he had somewhere read, that Ockham repented, and was in Ireland venerated as a saint. The originality and acuteness of Ockham would have made him a far greater power in the church had it not been for the prejudices excited by his revolutionary attitude towards the papal power. As it was, his philosophy had a notable influence upon the doctrine of his age, and is said to mark the final stage of mediæval scholasticism.

Now certain critics of Major tell us that he was a Scotist—they tell us also that he was a Nominalist. Can we make him therefore personally responsible for the tendencies, good or evil, which underlie both or either of the two opposing schools?

Historians of philosophy whose interest in the Catholic schools generally ceases when the moment of the Reformation is reached, and whose aim is to discover the relations which may exist between the mediæval Catholic and modern non-Catholic systems justly examine with magnifying glasses any primitive metaphysical germs which seem to reveal the sources of modern evolutions. M. Hauréau closes his interesting and suggestive analysis with the air of a prophet. He appears to be keenly alive to the latent dangers of Scotism. 'Pantheism,' he declares, and not of course without ground,

* *Vita Scoti* (Mons, 1644), p. 128.

'is the normal conclusion, the rational conclusion of realism,' and he pronounces Scotus to be the true forerunner of Spinoza. On the other hand, he finds that 'the modern spirit' which, 'according to M. Rémusat, showed itself long ago in Abelard,' came to maturity in Ockham. 'Ockham's philosophical conclusion' is, in fact, 'exactly that of Locke or that developed by Kant.*' This may be true enough of the principles in question; and it is a fair and intelligible form of speech to describe the original thinker and formulator of a system, however unconscious he may have been of its ultimate issues, as the precursor of the man who logically carried them out. But it is impossible to think of Major—a man who originated nothing and who developed nothing, a mere retailer of the current ideas of his age—as the precursor of anything. He was simply an educational product. Moreover, as he personally was unconscious of any tendency in his Scotism, such as it was, towards Spinoza, or of any proclivity in Nominalism towards Locke, so also was his church. While Major taught at Paris there were maintained at Salamanca—the orthodox centre of the new scholastic revival—by the side of the *Cathedra major* devoted to the elucidation of the sentences, three so called minor chairs, the *Cathedra Thomæ*, the *Cathedra Scoti*, and the *Cathedra Nominalium*, otherwise styled the *Cathedra Durandi*.† Wadding says that the Chair of Scotus, founded at Coimbra, was equal in authority and emoluments to that of St. Thomas, while the Scotist Chair at Alcalá held there the first place. It cannot surely be said that the Church regarded the doctrine of Scotus with suspicion.

But in truth Major was a thorough eclectic. He belonged strictly to no school except so far as he faithfully adhered to the traditions of his own university. He prided himself on his independence. In order to get a good text of Scotus' *Reportata*, he encouraged two Franciscan friends to edit the work carefully. He himself edited the work of Adam Goddam, one

* *Histoire de la philosophie scholastique*, Vol. II., Chap. xxx.

† Dr. Carl. Werner, *Der Uebergang der Scholastik in ihr nachtridentinisches Entwicklungsstadium* (Wien 1887), p. 5.

of the 'unfaithful' Franciscans, and an opponent of Scotus. He often differs from the Nominalists or attempts to reconcile them with the Realists. For Gabriel Biel he seems to have as much dislike as for Caxton. He frequently quarrels with Ockham on important points. He has a partiality for Scotus, whom he likes to call *Conterraneus*, and where Major's philosophic principles permit it, he probably agrees more often with Scotus than S. Thomas: and in this wide sense only can he be called Scotist at all. He will reject an opinion of Scotus tenderly with the remark 'utinam tam vera quam pia!' and as a rule adheres to him just on those points where the subtle Doctor is largely followed by more recent theologians. Major as a theologian is for his date moderate and safe. He lays down the timid rule 'sententia communior, ergo verior.' He dislikes novelties, and apologises if he is found on the side of the *neoterici*. He had some learning, a good memory, and much shrewd sense. He was fond of anecdote, and addicted to digressions; his books are therefore a storehouse of information on all manner of antiquarian lore, the habits of 'brownies,' the incomes of bishops, curiosities of natural history, and agricultural prices. He had read, and quotes constantly, the Latin classics, but the spirit of humanism had not touched him.* For the ways and ideas of Erasmus and Colet he had an undisguised aversion. He was indeed a great censor of morals, but there was nothing of the practical reformer about him. The liberal Catholics of his day minimised miracles, made a jest of the religious orders and would lessen their number, exaggerated the barbarities and inaccuracies of the Vulgate, and cried for a new version or a return to the original texts. Their method of biblical exegesis was new. They were offended by the abuse of logical forms, by the place given to Aristotle, and by the trivial questions which occupied the schools. They would reform the ritual, and would give the communion cup to the laity. Colet on one occasion, referred to by Mr. Constable, lost his temper and his manners in deriding the veneration given to relics. How far Major was from any such attitude will be at once apparent. His admiration for Aristotle amounted to worship. He seems to have regarded him not only

as the ultimate authority on all matters of natural science but as a saint. He is angry with an opponent who suggests that two religious orders would suffice for the church. He holds to the integrity of the Vulgate down to the least syllable, to the old methods of interpretation, to the old ritual, to the old ways of teaching. He was a good man, an amiable man and beloved by his pupils, but he was every inch a mediæval scholastic.

It is time, however, to offer the reader some taste of a commentary on the Sentences in the first decades of the sixteenth century, and to let the professor speak for himself, though there be no room to give any idea of the prolixity, the intricacy, and tediousness of his method, where a dozen arguments are followed by as many objections, distinctions, and answers, on a single insignificant and barely intelligible point.

Take for example the question (*In Tertium*, dist. ii. qu. 1) whether the Divine Word could assume an irrational nature. On this matter there are two or rather three opinions, says Major. Henry of Ghent, a disciple of Albertus Magnus who, as has been said, went over from the Dominican to the Scotist school, maintains with Picus of Mirandola, the negative. Middleton, an English Franciscan, viewed the question, very wisely it may be thought, as 'problematical.' A third opinion 'more common and therefore the truer' holds the affirmative, which is proved thus. 'The word did *de facto* assume an irrational nature, for in the triduum of the Passion the soul of Christ was separated from the body and no longer informed it. Yet the body was hypostatically united to the Divine Word. At this point Gabriel Biel—the famous Nominalist who to the great injury of Major and his successors, has sometimes been described as 'the last of the scholastics,' interposes in support of 'a sophistical evasion,'—viz., that the body was not

* 'He belonged essentially to an exhausted movement' writes Mr. Hume Brown, in *The Vernacular Writings of George Buchanan*, (Scot. Text Soc., 1892, p. xiii.) In this work, which has appeared since the present paper was written, Mr. Brown expresses very forcibly the just estimate of Major which he had previously formed in his *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer*, pp. 38-43.

immediately united—alleging a dictum of Alexander Hales, the master of Scotus, to the effect that if the hypostatic union had been withdrawn from the soul it would also have left the body of Christ. Of what worth is this testimony of Alexander, asks Major, if he does not bring proof of it? ‘I say here that many things whether asserted by this man [Gabriel] or by Alexander are to be utterly rejected. It is false to say that the body was hypostatically united *mediante anima*.’ Major proceeds to argue that God could ‘assume,’ in some or other union according to its nature, any created thing. The objector urges that in such a case the following syllogism might hold good: *Deus est asinus; omnis asinus est animal stolidum*, therefore God is *animal stolidum*. Major is not to be frightened. He would concede the proposition, *Deus est asinus* and *Deus habet longas aures*, but would deny that *Deus est animal stolidum* for, on the contrary, in the case supposed, the ass would know all things. Further questions whether God could hypostatically assume ‘a sinner,’ or could assume ‘whiteness,’ involve some distinctions and evasions. On the latter hypothesis it appears that you could not say ‘God is white,’ but you could say at least ‘God sustains whiteness.’ Finally Major returns to the more fascinating question of the ass; for an opponent has argued that ‘an angel could not become an ass, therefore neither could God.’ The answer is triumphant, *Nego antecedens, connotative captis terminis*, for God might assume both the angel and the ass, and then,’ etc. But the professor bids his pupils remember that it would be imprudent in the public schools, before a number of laymen, to moot such propositions as that God could be a cow and at the same time assume hay; or assume both a mouse and cheese and so eat Himself, or assume heat and cold, and so be in contradiction to Himself, for to maintain such things, though proper enough for those who have understanding, might in addition to other inconveniences give scandal to the ignorant.

Fortunately for intellectual progress it was not the ignorant only who were scandalized. ‘I have seen John Major’s commentaries on Peter Lombard, says Melanchthon. ‘He is now, I am told, the prince of the Paris divines. Good heavens!

what waggon loads of trifling! What pages he fills with disputes whether there can be any horsemanship without a horse, whether the sea was salt when God made it. If he is a specimen of the Parisian, no wonder they have so little stomach for Luther.' But Major was not irreverent, and he had at least on other subjects some sense of humour. He certainly did not wish to subject the cardinal doctrine of Christianity to a *reductio ad absurdum*. He was no sceptic, but wrote as he did in the fulness of a faith which could move mountains.

The reader who is not afraid of being shocked should turn for some similar curiosities to the questions (*In Quart.*, dist. x.) concerning the localisation of the body of Jesus in the host, whether Jesus is in the eucharist so many feet in height, whether the head is joined to the neck, the feet separated from the head at the same distance as in heaven, whether the body is turned upside down, etc. In the interests of his science, Major vivisects the dogma with a coolness and cruelty which are amazing. On the more general question (*In Quart.*, dist. x, qu. iv.), whether God can place any one body at the same time in two different places, a few lines may be quoted:—

* Here I find two opposite ways. One is that of blessed Thomas and his followers, Aegidius Romanus, Henricus Gandavensis and Durandus maintaining the negative. The other is that of Altisiodorus [William of Auxerre, an ancient theologian, and great favourite of Major], Alexander Hales and Conterraneus. I will state on the said question what my judgment is; for on my part I do not regard it as a problem, but I hold the affirmative part to be most certain, and so I think would anyone, *non jurans in verba magistri*.'

Major's first proof of this conclusion, viz., that St. Ambrose said mass at Milan, while at the same time he assisted at the funeral of St. Martin at Tours; or that the body of St. Baldred is preserved in three places, Aldhame, Tynningham, and Prestonkirk, is given in one of Mr. Constable's notes to the 'History.' His fifth proof is delightfully scholastic, thus:—

Fifth argument. God can put an angel or a soul in two separate places, therefore a body. Our adversaries do not deny the consequence. The antecedent is thus proved. The soul of Sortes is in his head and in his foot, but God can make his soul cease to inform the middle parts of his body, the soul remaining in the extremities, and so in two separate places.

The seventh argument is that God can transubstantiate bread into an angel; then, where there is a multitude of such transubstantiated loaves really distinct, we shall have one and the same angel in different places. A climax is reached when, a few pages further on, Sortes is placed simultaneously in Nineveh and at Babylon, and *he (Sortes) leaves at the same time both places, and meets himself on the road.*

A characteristic example of a question in casuistry is the following:—

‘It follows that in the ordinary way of eating, reckoned lawful by all men, you may eat flesh-meat in Lent and yet fast well. This is shown in the eating of beans and peas, which generally contain little animals (bestiolæ). Invincible ignorance excuses a man from sin in eating such dead animals, nor is it requisite to depart from the usual way of eating them by breaking the beans and catching the *bestiolæ*. . . . As to the beaver, the bridge-builder [*de fibro Pontifico*—is this a joke of Major’s ?] who always keeps his tail and hinder parts in the water, and his anterior part out of the water, you may eat the posterior without breaking your fast, but not the foreparts. For this is the way in which fish is distinguished from flesh. The fish cannot naturally live long out of water, but the hinder part of that beast, when it is in the air, must often be moistened with water, but not so the foreparts—so they say. There is, however, an objection from Physics against this beaver, for, from what has been said, it would appear that the two parts are specifically distinct, and in consequence that out of them there cannot be constituted one thing. This is not conclusive, for you have a similar case, for instance, in a twig, one part of which may be dry and the other living wood . . .’ and so on. (*In Quartum*, dist xv., qu. 3)

In 1518, two years after the appearance of Erasmus’ epoch-making edition of the Greek Testament, Major, following in this the fashion of scholastics, published an attempt at Biblical exegesis. His *Commentary on St. Matthew* bears not a trace of the new learning. In one respect only does Major here differ from the majority of his mediæval predecessors. He is less devoted than they are, as a rule, to the mystical sense. He has not learnt how to extract the literal meaning of his author from text and context, nor does he show any interest in the studies of this kind.

The literal sense is a thing to be briefly stated in the traditional manner, and the text then becomes a convenient peg

upon which to hang questions, scholastic and casuistical, for which Peter Lombard had not provided sufficient room. Thus the words 'Whosoever will force thee one mile go with him other two,' are made plain by the comment, 'that is, if any one compels you to go from Leith to Edinburgh, you will say, "Yea, sir, even unto Corstorphine."' Upon this we are at once led to a debate on the law of retaliation. These doubts and difficulties form the kernel of the book, and the index-maker, James Godquint, has been good enough to tabulate them to the number of 303 in a volume of 102 leaves. Some are purely speculative, and are substantially repetitions of what Major had said before in his commentaries on the sentences, and some concern dogmatic or historical facts, but a large number are practical cases of conscience. Moral theology had not in Major's time taken up the position it assumed in ecclesiastical studies at a later date. Space is made for a defence of Constantine's donation, and of the right of the Pope to the temporal principedom, or of the power of councils to grant indulgences. The text lends itself easily to discussions whether a priest or religious can satisfy his obligation of saying his breviary at the same time that he fulfils the precept of hearing mass, whether the Pope would sin by breaking the fast, and what Major calls 'a beautiful question regarding Bertha,' which nowadays would be confined to a formal treatise, *De Matrimonio*. The doubts, the conclusions, the objections, and the answers are marshalled in the same way as in the theologies.

In the *Commentary on the Four Gospels*, published in 1529, the literal exposition, or rather the historical paraphrase, is a little more extended. Some of the scholastic questions on St. Matthew, of the 1518 edition, disappear, or are abridged, to make room for a number of other dubitations of a similar character. The method is perhaps a little less formal. A bitter animus now makes its appearance against the Lutherans, and some of their positions are assailed, but in controversy of this kind Major does not shine. His exposition of Christ's temptation in the desert gives a fair example of his Biblical style at its best.

'After a stomach rumbling from want of food, a handle is given to the

old fox to tempt Christ. At one time he knew much of John, the son of Zachary, but now that John openly confesses himself unworthy to loosen the latchet of the shoes of Jesus, the devil applies all the resources of his wit to discover the truth. On the other hand Christ strove to utterly overthrow his tyrant before the crafty serpent could find it out. Thus we see in the "tentative" examination for Arts in the church of St. Genevieve the candidates endeavouring with all their might to defend their theses, while the examiners are aiming with their sharpest darts to strike the target. Now the object of Christ in the present instance was not to reveal himself as the Son of God. Although all lying is blameworthy, to be silent about the truth is not seldom of advantage. Three sorts of men let their tongues blab whatever occurs. The drunkard, the fool, and boys tell you the truth. The astute tempter artfully, and with pre-meditation, prepares his sophistical device. In one way he surpassed the bachelors of the first licentiate. It is fair to suppose that this tempter was Lucifer himself, who, with his soft words and tricks, circumvented our first parents. The verbose sophist by his dilemmas, and his sorites got round the strong-minded Eve. Drawing nigh, he now says, "If thou art the son of God," etc. . . . At his first approach (as I conjecture) he saluted Christ with courtesy, pretending benevolence in order to deceive. So the cautious disputant in the *Rue du Fouarre* stuffs the head of the Moderator with flattering speeches, that he should not frown down doubtful matter. Now if the Lord turned the stones into bread he could have proved himself the Christ. If not, the devil would have concluded him to be mere man. Therefore, the horned dilemma was trusted to extort the truth from either side of the reply. Neither Zeno the Eleatic nor Protagoras the Thessalonian could have more cunningly laid the net of the syllogism. But to the conditional of the tempter, the Lord, in reply, passing by the antecedent, refuted the consequent—introducing divine scripture, and giving us the rule that not with our own strength, but by the sacred page, should we contend with the sly demon. . . . Whence we derive this law. Between any things whatsoever, differing in species, Almighty God can interpose a medium partaking of the character of both.'

In similar fashion Major runs over the remainder of the narrative, and not without further references to the manners of an angry president of the Sorbonne disputations. Then follow the questions:—

'Secondly, you may doubt, perhaps, whether the fast of Lent was instituted by divine or human law. Here know that the execrable Lutherans, with their pestilent satellites, confounding divine and human things, throw to the winds and explode every fast imposed by our forefathers. They rely upon the erroneous ground that the Church cannot establish laws obliging under pain of mortal sin, they even rashly assert that the Church

is at fault in exacting such laws. It is the opinion of others that the Lenten fast is prescribed by the divine law. To this I do not assent, as I have declared these many years past in the xvth Distinction of the ivth Book of the Sentences. . . . And lest I should seem to stand alone in this, there are Alex. Hales, Thomas Aquinas, and Richard Middleton, who maintain the same. Platina in his Annals of the Roman Pontiffs states that the fast of Lent was instituted by Pope Telesphorus. Some refer it to Simon Barjona; for Simon Barjona or Peter the first pope might lay down laws for the people in the pontifical manner.'

The story of John Baptist naturally leads to a discussion upon his relics.

'Is the head of the Baptist in many places? It is a question of fact. I do not doubt that God can put a body, whether whole or in part, *circumscriptum*, in separate places, but I do not think that he did so in this case, although some declare that the head of John is at Amimurci [?], and in the monastery of St. Silvester at Rome. The greater concourse of pilgrims is at Amiens. Crowds go from Britain to Amiens to venerate that sacred head, and many miracles are there wrought. Therefore I should rather believe the head to be there than elsewhere.'

He proceeds to suggest the way in which the relics were obtained, in the time of the Emperor Julian, and how it came about that various bones are preserved in the church of St. Laurence at Genoa, and the index finger in the basilica at Florence. But he continues:—

'It will not be out of place to recall to mind the miracle which occurred in reference to his relics near Babylonia of Egypt, where there is a monastery dedicated to the Baptist, and where his relics are contained in a little ark. There was a long established custom observed there, on the feast of the Saint's Nativity, by both Christians and Saracens, who assembled together in order to despatch the chest in a boat to another monastery sacred to St. John. They discharge the chest into the river Nile against the stream, and the box floats with such speed as to outstrip the fleetest horse. Every year numbers of people witness this miracle. Now between the two monasteries of St. John there is a distance of ten miles. The candid reader will pardon me if I sometimes digress from the explanation of the text, especially when other matters not out of harmony with the text, and worthy of note, are introduced. For the censure of the critics I don't care a straw. It is their nature to secretly snap their jaws at everyone.'

The ethics of homicide are treated at some length.

'Murder is a greater crime than adultery, but adultery with a queen is a greater crime than the murder of some vagabond. Every homicide is not

a sin, for to preserve chastity any one may kill the aggressor. It is impossible to convict of sin a queen or princess who cuts the throat of a cook or some one of that sort who makes an attempt on her virtue, if there is no other way of escape. . . . It is not lawful for a private person to slay an usurper who has forcibly overcome opposition and is settled in the kingdom. . . . I think such a one should not be slain by a private person. It is for the chiefs of the State to consider the matter. Eglon was a public enemy of Israel and a foreigner who disturbed Israel and Aioth [Ehud], was a public person at the head of the State, but even if he had been a private person it would have been lawful for him to remove Eglon.'

Commenting on Matthew xxvii. 9, Major touches on an ancient suggestion, that the evangelist here wrote Jeremias for Zackery, by some 'secret counsel,' in order to show that what was said by one prophet was said by all or by any.

'This secret counsel I do not receive. Nor is the Gloss, proposing the word *per prophetam* and omitting the name of Jeremias satisfactory, nor the suggestion that in ancient copies it was so written, nor that by an hallucination of the writer the one name was written for the other. For to say there was a lapse of memory on the part of the evangelist is sheer insanity. Such follies with regard to the evangelist I cannot read with patience. Since the received version (*receptissimus usus*) of the church has the name of Jeremias, this must stand. Holy Church directed by the Holy Spirit does not halt. Moreover, I blow to the winds all such suggestions, for if Zacharias was also called Jeremias the difficulty vanishes.'

In like manner Major lets us know his opinion of the Vulgate on the question whether we should read *si* or *sic* in John xxi. 22.

'The Greeks read *si*. They say it is the easier reading, and that in the New Testament we should go to the Greek fountain, that *sic* should be deleted as an error, so Laurentius Valla and others with more acerbity. But our codices have *sic* without controversy. If you alter or take away one word, you may alter a second or a third and thus take away from our bibles all their strength and solidity. Nor should we give so much credit to the Greeks, who often differ among themselves, in what concerns the most received version of the Latin church now in use for more than a thousand years.'

On the Immaculate Conception Major always speaks with warmth. In addition to the common arguments in favour of this doctrine, he argues, as has been already said, that the Council of Basle defined it with an explicit decree.

‘Opponents cavil against this council which they say produced a *basiliak*, but this will not do, for though there were disputes between Eugenius and Felix the whole church received this decree *nemine contradicente*. Our faculty of theologians, also, at Paris, following in the steps of the council, admits no bachelor of theology until by oath he has assented to this doctrine. Sixtus V. sanctioned it. It is rash to maintain the opposite. It is madness. Good God! (he exclaims,) how many preachers of the contrary opinion in my time have collapsed and been ejected from the pulpit by wise men and the populace. In no pulpit should such men be heard, but they should be expelled *confusibiliter*. Know, says Aristotle, that those who refuse to venerate the gods and honour their parents are not to be convinced by arguments but beaten with stripes. In truth, the man does not venerate Christ who asserts that the flesh, which he assumed was at any time obnoxious to sin.’

In the discussion of this question in the *In Tertium* (Dist. ii., qu. 4.), Major confirms his argument ‘by miracles which no one but a fool will deny.’ One of these is that ‘a preacher at Cracow, who declared that the mother of God was conceived in original sin, dropped dead, as a sheet of the times (*fasciculus temporum*) reports, before his sermon was finished.’

The discipline of the Roman Church in refusing to the laity communion under both kinds is rigidly defended without hesitation or reserve.

‘If the Bohemians say that they are obliged by the divine law to the double participation conceded to them, they maintain damnable heresy. . . . John Hus, and Jerome of Prague, the criminal authors of heresy, were burnt at Constance for their rash ventures. If the present poison, more mature than that of the Bohemians, had been sharply repressed the pernicious dogma would not have spread so far.’

Major closes his commentary on the Gospel of Mark with six questions, one of which is, Whether Mary was assumed, body as well as soul, into heaven? He of course replies in the affirmative.

‘It is not a matter which should be brought into controversy. Mary died, and at her death there were present the Apostles, gathered together from all parts into which they had been dispersed. So says Dionysius. . . . It is not to be thought of that the Lord would suffer his mother’s body to lie in the earth unknown and without due veneration. Secondly, it is piously believed that the body of John the Evangelist was assumed into heaven, therefore without a doubt the same should be conceded regarding

the body of the "deipara." . . . This was the opinion held by Augustine in a certain sermon, and many men of weight follow him. You will say, perhaps, that this is a pious belief (*de pietate fidei*). If you mean by a pious belief one that it is lawful to deny with impunity, this is not enough. For if anyone in preaching were to call in doubt the bodily assumption, he would be compelled to sing his palinodia and to retract. I am not ignorant that Thomas Aquinas says in the 43rd distinction of the IVth Book of Sentences that it is merely a pious belief, or that Richard Middleton and many others subscribe to his opinion, or that Jerome is, as it were, in doubt about it. . . . But you may divide pious beliefs into two kinds. Opinions of the one kind it is not sinful to call in doubt although the opposite is better calculated to nourish piety. . . . A pious belief of the other kind is an irrefragable truth although it is not contained in, or deducible from the Bible. The case proposed is a belief of this last kind.

These specimens, which may be multiplied indefinitely, should be sufficient to show, once for all, how very far Major stood from the position taken up by any of the liberal or minimising parties within the church. Neither his language nor his ideas were those of the humanists. He showed no leanings towards the doctrinal and ritual reforms afterwards suggested or developed by Bishop Nausea, Hermann von Wied, Gropper, and others in Germany, or by the bishops of Henry VIII. in England. He seemed, on the other hand, blind to the lessons which Luther was teaching to the best minds on the Catholic side. See for example, by way of the sharpest contrast, the impression made by the Protestant Reformation on a far greater man than Major, the Dominican, Thomas de Vic, Cardinal Cajetan. He is best known as the scholastic commentator on St. Thomas Aquinas, and the haughty legate who was sent by Leo X. to browbeat Luther. He was, or rather he became an earnest and humble student of Scripture, learning Hebrew in his old age in order to make his own translation. 'I intend,' he wrote, in the preface to his Commentary on the Pentateuch, 'to expound the text according to the Hebrew verity, for the Hebrew and not the Greek or Latin interpretation is authoritative, which we are compelled to embrace, and which all the faithful do embrace.' His interpretation of both Old and New Testaments is surprisingly free. He doubts the authenticity of the Vulgate readings in important passages. He rejects without scruple the received explanations of many

texts commonly adduced to prove the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of penance and extreme unction, and denies that the discourse of Christ in John vi. has any reference to the Eucharist. On Justification he inclines, like Pole, Contarini, and others, to Lutheran ideas, and he is in favour of the use of the vernacular in church services. He was accused of heresy by his brother Dominican, Catharinus, and, at a later date, defended from the charge by the more large-minded Benedict XIV. He died in 1534, many years before the meeting of the Council of Trent, and represents the fluctuating attitude assumed by many scholars and thinkers of real eminence before the Tridentine settlement. Major never thus wavered. As a theologian he seems to belong rather to the fifteenth century than to the stirring years of the sixteenth in which his lot was cast.

Major was not a bishop or a missionary preacher; he possessed no ecclesiastical jurisdiction or rank. It was therefore hardly in his power, even if he had the desire, to initiate, or co-operate in, practical reforms in any sphere except that of ecclesiastical education. Here he at least held a high and influential position, and his name was something to conjure with. Mr. Mackay calls attention to the interesting fact which has hitherto escaped the notice of Major's biographers that he was invited, nay pressed with solid inducements, by Wolsey to accept a chair of theology in the Cardinal's newly-founded college at Oxford. Mr. Mackay would have us infer from this that Major was regarded by his contemporaries as at least standing very near to the parting of the ways between the old and the new academic methods. We perhaps scarcely know enough of Wolsey's mind on the matter to draw so definite a conclusion. The English statesman would at least have regarded with favour an eminent Scot who was an avowed advocate of the union of the two kingdoms. Major, however, declined the offer, and preferred to return to Paris and there carry out his literary projects. He may have had other reasons for this besides those which he gives in the epistle dedicating his *Ethics* to Wolsey. He may have felt unequal to throwing himself into a new movement. In any case the

view entertained of Major as an educational reformer by his contemporaries and successors on the Catholic side deserves consideration.

The judgment of the progressive party within the Church, of the men who drew their inspiration from the Council of Trent and aimed at the revival and purification of theological studies, is on this point unmistakable. We may take first the testimony of the erudite Spanish scholar, John Maldonatus, of the Society of Jesus. Maldonatus was born about the time that Major left Paris, he studied under the pioneers of the new Catholicism at Salamanca, and when the Jesuits at length (in 1563) succeeded in establishing a college at the University of Paris, he was appointed by the Society to their Chair of philosophy. He too, like Major, became a lecturer on the Sentences, but he is best known for his commentary on the Gospels, which, whatever its defects, remains to this day the standard work of its kind, unsurpassed, nay unequalled in ability and lucidity, within the Roman Church. Maldonatus, before opening his classes, delivered an inaugural discourse, in which he passes under review the recent history of theological studies at Paris.*

'To the epoch of Peter Lombard,' he says, 'succeeded an age to which we hardly know whether to assign praise or blame. It is to be felicitated inasmuch as it was troubled with few heresies, but, on the other hand, it is a matter of lament that this very tranquillity was the cause of the decadence and almost of the ruin of good letters. Thanks to the piety of the most Christian kings who had a high esteem for theologians, men of this profession multiplied greatly at the University of Paris. The most of them were men of knowledge and talent, but seeing that they had no war to sustain against heretics, they laid down their arms, that is to say, they neglected the sacred books, the holy fathers and the ancient manner of teaching theology. . . . They concentrated their thoughts on the philosophy of Aristotle, and employed their lives and faculties in inventing, proposing and resolving an infinity of intricate questions to exhibit the subtlety of their minds. The schools resounded with Suppositions, Appellations, Exponibilia, Contradictoria, Insolubilia, Syllogisms, and disputes without end, puerile cries and noisy arguments which, when there

* Printed for the first time by J. M. Prat, S.J., in his *Maldonat et l'Université de Paris au xvi^e siècle* (1856).

came the day of serious battle with the enemy, were more calculated to inflict injury on, than to secure victory for, the truth. This is just what happened when in the first years of this century heresy raised on a sudden the standard of revolt. It took us by surprise, disarmed and ill-prepared as we were for the attack. . . . Our enemies reached such a point of audacity that even their women did not scruple to say that they knew the scriptures better than the most learned of our theologians.'

Few men of his age had a better right than Maldonatus to so speak. If he mentions no names it is plain enough whose methods are here censured as out of date, and whose weapons are condemned as rusty, unprofitable or dangerous. Melchior Cano, the famous Dominican, author of the *De locis theologicis*, and master of Maldonatus, uses almost identical language, though with less pointed reference to Paris. But the testimony of a third Spanish scholar, Louis de Carvajal (quoted at length by Prat) is perhaps still more to the point. Carvajal was an actual contemporary of Major at Paris, and afterwards entered the order of St. Francis of the Strict Observance. He was a man of learning and piety, had distinguished himself by a reply to the attack of Erasmus upon the religious orders, and assisted at the Council of Trent. In his treatise '*De Restituta Theologia: liber, in quo theologia repurgatur a sophistica et barbarie*,' etc. (Coloniæ, 1545), he uses language stronger than that of the Jesuit regarding his old university, and he is less reticent of names. He complains bitterly of the injury done to all the sciences, to Medicine, Civil or Canon Law, as well as to Theology, by the 'tyranny of barbarism.' 'And what of Dialectics?' he asks. 'O most ignorant and garrulous sophists—for my discourse is addressed to you, I say, the Laxi, the Enzinæ, the Dullaerts, the Pardi, Spinossæ, Coronelli, Quadripertiti, and the remaining high priests of this quality!'—and he proceeds to inveigh against the men who had invaded the sacred schools of Christendom with a sophistry that had always been a laughing stock to the ancients, and he rings the changes on those 'monstrosities'—Suppositions, Obligations, Exponibilia, Iusolubilia, and the rest—which had 'well-nigh suffocated the youthful mind, and made literature impossible.' Carvajal's list of names is very significant. Gaspar Lax, who wrote on logic, was a favourite

pupil of Major. Antony Coronel was devoted to him, and assisted in the editing of some of his works. John Dullaert of Ghent, who wrote commentaries on the Categories, was another of the Scotsman's disciples. The *Medulla dialectices* of Jerome Pardus was edited by Major himself. Ferdinand de Enzinas, professor of logic at Paris (circ. 1520), though not named in Mr. Constable's volume, was another writer of the same school. By the *Quadripertiti* Carvajal no doubt indicates Major's countryman and scholar, Robert Caubraith. Thus does the advanced guard of the counter-reformation—Franciscan, Dominican, and Jesuit alike—justify the satires of Melanchthon, Buchanan, and Rabelais, and hold up the 'Prince of Paris divines' and his school to censure or ridicule, not, be it observed, for any shade of liberalism, but for obscurantism, '*barbaries*,' and obstruction.

Their criticism is severe and somewhat coloured by rhetoric, but, from the Roman Catholic point of view, it is substantially sound. Indeed, Major himself seems in some measure to be conscious of his own shortcomings as a teacher in the face of the new conditions. The last words perhaps which he penned—the preface addressed, in September, 1530, to his notorious namesake, John Major of Eck, the clever, prompt, indefatigable antagonist of Luther—are written in the tone of an apology:—

'It is nearly twenty years (he writes) since I published on the First Book of the Sentences a number of little questions in which I discussed or refuted to the best of my ability several positions regarding the liberal arts, *de intensione formarum*, and similar matters, for such was the manner of writing adopted by theologians. Nevertheless, though I have passed the greater part of my life in explaining Aristotle, this custom, I avow, displeased me, inasmuch as I found it little to the taste and pleasure of my auditors.'

Major had written in like manner, two years before, to Noel Beda, that in combining with the sacred science questions of mere physics and metaphysics, he had but followed in the footsteps of the divines of the past two centuries, '*tanquam invitus*.' In this plea of unwillingness he may have somewhat deceived

himself; he at least admirably concealed in his writings any feeling of constraint. He continues to Dr. Eck :—

‘Then there arose, about a dozen years since (if I remember right), this new and detestable calamity of the Catholic Church, the execrable heresy of Luther and of those who, from him, have learnt to blaspheme Heaven. In order to confute them the students of theology at Paris began to neglect the definitions of the sentences, and to betake themselves to the study of Scripture, so that our academy of Sorbonne abandoned the “Great Ordinaries,” as we call them, to deal with easier topics. . . . But the faculty began to fear lest the minds of the scholars should grow torpid, and should degenerate into crass ignorance. They gave orders, therefore, that the bachelors should sustain, as before, in their public theses the more scholastic and subtle questions according to the older methods, and permitted them only to take up a single thesis of a more practical and simple character. *Wherefore I accommodated myself to the style of the times.*’

The truth is that the theological faculty, after a moment’s hesitation, hastened to arrest any incipient tendencies to educational reform. ‘John Major,’ writes Père Prat, summing up the situation in a single sentence, ‘obedient to this order, *abstained from any attempt at reform*, and thus contributed to retard a movement *which by his example he should have promoted.*’

Major’s *Exponibilia*, *Insolubilia*, *Summulæ*, and *Termini*, his Commentaries on Peter Lombard and the Gospels were soon forgotten. There was danger of his interesting and instructive personality passing with them into oblivion. This should not be. It will not be to the honour of the guardians of Scottish literature if its most precious relic of pure, unadulterated, mediævalism be either ignored or misunderstood. The *History of Greater Britain*, with its accompanying record of the author’s life and work, should, at least, revive the memory, if not promote the study, of a national worthy whose mental figure and equipments form a notable landmark in the history of European thought.

T. G. LAW.

ART. VI.—HYMNOLOGY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

A Dictionary of Hymnology, setting forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of all Ages and Nations, with Special Reference to those contained in the Hymn Books of English-speaking countries, and now in common use; together with Biographical and Critical Notices of their Authors and Translators, and Historical Articles on National and Denominational Hymnody, Breviaries, Missals, Primers, Psalters, Sequences, etc., etc. Edited by JOHN JULIAN, M.A., Vicar of Wincobank, Sheffield. London: John Murray, 1892.

MR. Julian's eagerly expected *Dictionary of Hymnology* proves to be a monumental work. He has laboured upon it with a painstaking research and an unwearied enthusiasm which are beyond praise for more than twenty years. During its preparation two hundred languages and dialects have been ransacked, ten thousand MSS. have been studied, whilst all the chief libraries of Europe have been carefully laid under contribution. Thirty thousand hymns have been annotated, five thousand authors and translators have found more or less extended notice in the columns of this vast cyclopædia. The amount of detailed attention required may be seen from the fact that seventeen changes have been recorded and accounted for in the first four lines of 'Jesus, lover of my soul.' The accepted history of some of our most popular hymns has proved to be erroneous for 'a mass of information, hitherto inaccessible to the student of Hymnology, has been collected from many private sources.' Mr. Julian has had upwards of a thousand correspondents in all parts of the world, and has spent more than £300 on postage. In one case a year and a half passed before he received an answer to his enquiries; delays of six and nine months were frequent. Other details show even more clearly the vastness of this work as a literary undertaking. It contains three million words and figures, more than two million of which have been written by the editor himself either

originally or in revision. 14,027,000 types have been set up weighing eight tons; every line has been revised in proof five to ten times. If the matter in this dictionary had been printed in the same type as the Speaker's Commentary, it would have exceeded in size the six volumes of that work devoted to the Old Testament. By using sixteen different kinds of type, some of them very small, it has, however, been possible to pack into 1616 medium octavo pages, all the wealth of matter which Mr. Julian has been gathering together for so many years. The Dictionary is somewhat cumbrous, but for a volume of such size it is comparatively easy to handle. The exhaustive cross reference index enables any one who uses it to find what he wants in a moment. Everything has indeed been done to make the Dictionary of the utmost possible service to students, and done, we must add, with eminently satisfactory results.

The articles on National and Denominational Hymnody are rightly described by the editor as a new and valuable feature in this great work. The arrangement of subjects usual in a dictionary makes it difficult to gain a connected view of the history of hymnology in each age and nation, but any one who studies the articles on Psalters and Hymnody will gradually find himself in a position to trace the various steps by which the Christian Church has become possessed of not less than 400,000 hymns in more than 200 different languages and dialects. Lord Byron's tribute to the first great leader of church music gains new meaning as we thus trace his influence in succeeding ages. 'David's lyre grew mightier than his throne,' conveys after all but a faint idea of the ever-growing influence of that minstrel king who 'opened a new door in the side of sacred literature—a Bible within a Bible.' The Psalms were our Lord's hymn book, from which He and His disciples gathered comfort, when, 'having hymned,' they went forth to the Mount of Olives. St. Ambrose bears witness to the charm of the Psalter in the fourth century, when he says that if other parts of the Scripture were read in church you could scarce hear anything, but when the Psalter was read all were silent. St. Augustine found in 'those faithful songs and sounds of devotion, which exclude all swelling of spirit,' a

voice to express his most intense and varied feeling in the crisis of his life at Milan. 'What utterances would I send up unto Thee in those Psalms, and how was I inflamed towards Thee by them, and burned to rehearse them, if it were possible, throughout the whole world, against the pride of the human race.' (*Confessions*, ix. 4 § 87). The Psalms early found their place in English Church life. When the watchman who had been posted on the tower of Lindisfarne saw the signal of Cuthbert's death for which he had been waiting, and hurried with the news into the church, the brethren of Holy Island were singing the words: 'Thou hast cast us out and scattered us abroad; Thou hast also been displeased; Thou hast shown Thy people heavy things; Thou hast given us a drink of deadly wine.'

It is important to note such facts, for in his article on Greek Hymnody, Mr. Leigh Bennett clearly points out that the distinctively Christian hymn has its root in the poetry and worship of the Old Testament, whose songs and rhythmical passages passed directly into the services of the Greek Church. The Alleluia was early incorporated with Christian song. St. Jerome notes how the Christian ploughman shouted it at his work. Sailors encouraged one another by a loud alleluia as they plied the oar. St. Germanus of Auxerre and his soldiers used the word as their battle cry when they won the Alleluia victory over the Picts and Scots in 429. It became the recognised Easter morning salutation, and soon gained a fixed position in the liturgies of the day, especially on the great festivals. The Ter Sanctus, derived from the hymn in Isaiah vi. 3, had also been used in Jewish ritual. 'The Hosanna which so constantly accompanies it in early liturgies was partly the echo of the Triumphal Entry, but partly also of the older refrain used at the Feast of Tabernacles.' Antiphonal singing, which Ignatius introduced among the Greeks at Antioch, may be traced to the choir of the old Jewish temple. The refrains and short ejaculations of praise which are a marked feature of Greek hymns are also a legacy from the Jewish to the Christian Church.

The great hymns of the Nativity, which we owe to St.

Luke's research, were probably used as canticles at a very early period. They may fairly be described as the first and grandest songs of the Christian Church. The rhythmic fragments in the Epistles may throw some light on the hymns which St. Paul bids the churches at Ephesus and Colossae use. 'Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light,' perhaps bears the evidence of such use. Two of the 'faithful sayings' of the Pastoral Epistles and the grand fragment (1 Timothy, iii. 16,) 'on our Lord's Incarnation and triumph,' betray a similar origin. Clement of Alexandria's, 'Bridle of Steeds untamed,' is the oldest of all Christian hymns. Its phraseology is adapted to the perfect Gnostic of the second century, but 'there is nothing in its bright versicles—full of childlike trust in Christ, as the Shepherd, the Fisher of Souls, the Everlasting Word, the Eternal Light—that is not to be found in the pages of Holy Writ.' The greatest early hymnist, Gregory Nazianzen, who wrote in classic metres, has been compared to our own Ken. Certain passages in his troubled history furnish a striking parallel to the life of our devout and high-souled bishop. Gregory's morning and evening hymns are far inferior to Ken's, but in all his other productions the Greek hymn-writer distinctly bears the palm.

The compositions of Synesius lie on the borderland between Christianity and Neo-Platonism, but they contain many fine specimens of speculative adoration of the Triune Godhead, such as the Platonic philosophy inspired. Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in 629, was the author of long poems on the chief events of New Testament history. That on the 'Holy Places' has special interest from the insight it gives into the appearance of Jerusalem and its sacred sites in the seventh century. Basil speaks of the 'Thanksgiving at Lamp-lighting,' which was already old in the latter half of the fourth century. The Greek form of the 'Gloria in Excelsis' is of early date, and the *Te Deum* seems to have had a Greek origin. These facts form landmarks in the history of early hymnody in the East.

The younger Pliny tells us in his famous letter to Trajan

that the Christians were accustomed to meet before day, and sing a hymn to Christ as God, 'by turns, one after another.' There was, however, a certain reserve as to their general introduction into the services of the Church. Antioch indeed adopted this form of praise so early as 269, but even in the fourth and fifth centuries the more conservative monastics had scruples as to the use of anything save the Psalms. The Council of Braga in Spain, which met in 561, actually forbade the use of hymns. They seem indeed to have made their reputation out of doors among the people, and then to have gradually established their right to a place within the Church. Hymns have in all ages been a favourite means of propaganda. The early heretics were quick to perceive their efficacy as a vehicle for spreading their own opinions. The Church was not slow to learn the same lesson. The Gnostic hymns of his day led Ephrem the Syrian to adopt similar metres and rhythms. His metrical homilies, sung in the religious services, were longer than hymns and more distinctly didactic in character, but they rendered great service to the churches of Syria. The Arians of Alexandria and Constantinople taught their songs to millers, sailors and merchants. Athanasius and Chrysostom thus learned what an important part hymns might play in the service of orthodoxy, and used the weapon with great success.

Greek hymnology reached its most splendid development at the close of the eighth century. St. Andrew of Crete, whose Great Canon, 2500 strophes in length, is sung entire on the Thursday in Mid-Lent 'cum labore multo et pulmonum fatigatione' is one of the great hymnists of the time. The strophes of his canon 'have not the point of those of John of Damascus, and make no use of refrains. The aim of it is penitential; a spirit of true penitence breathes through it, it has many beautiful passages, and is rich in allusions to the personages of the Bible, either as warnings or examples to the penitent, but its excellences are marred by repetition and prolixity.' The Laura of St. Sabas, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem became the centre of a school of hymn-writers, of whom Cosmas and John of Damascus hold foremost rank among the Greek

ecclesiastical poets. The Canon on the Ascension of John of Damascus is full of triumph, and gladness, and dramatic realisation. His Easter Canon is the grandest effort of sacred poetry in the Greek Church. A spirit of rapt contemplation is the chief characteristic of Eastern hymnody. Where an English hymn opens up the human blessings, and seeks to bring home the great truths of religion to heart and conscience, the Greek hymnist is absorbed with the doctrine itself. The human aspect is either made secondary or entirely overlooked. The contrast between the genius of the Greek and the Latin race is strikingly evident in the hymnology of the two churches, as indeed in the whole course of their history. One is speculative, the other practical. The Eastern hymns on the Divine Perfections and the Incarnation differ widely from 'our self-regarding mode of praise.' This habit of thought has, however, its disadvantages. By its discouragement of the development of human emotion, aspiration, and benefit, the range of subjects and reflection is narrowed, and in the later poets the repetition of the same types, epithets, and metaphors, issues in sameness, conventional diction, and fossil thought. It is impossible to avoid the conviction that the great bulk of Greek hymns would have had a richer value if inspiration had been sought in the deep spiritual analysis of St. Paul, or the interpretation of the changing moods of the soul, which are of such preciousness in the Psalms.

We have dwelt in some detail on Greek hymnody because the East first taught the value of hymnology to the Latin Church. Hymns made their way with Christianity as it spread over the Roman Empire. Jerome indeed complains in the preface to his *Commentary on the Galatians* that hymns were unacceptable in Northern Gaul, but that region was a striking exception to the rule. The hymns were at first sung in the original Greek, for Latin had not yet come into common use. It is somewhat surprising to find that no name can be associated with any Latin hymn till we arrive at the times of St. Hilary and Pope Damasus. Ambrose of Milan is the founder of Latin hymnody. It was he who taught the whole congregation to take its share in singing the psalms and hymns

which, up to that time, had been recited by individuals singly or by clerks. During his memorable struggle with the Arian Empress, Justina, the Archbishop and his faithful people enlivened their long vigils with hymns of praise and trust. St. Augustine adds that this singing was imitated 'by many, yea, by almost all of Thy congregations throughout the rest of the world.' The effect which the Ambrosian hymnody produced on St. Augustine finds memorable expression in the Confessions. 'How greatly did I weep in Thy hymns and canticles, deeply moved by the voices of Thy sweet-speaking Church. The voices flowed into mine ears, and the truth was poured forth into my heart, whence the agitation of my piety overflowed, and my tears ran over, and blessed was I therein.' A learned prefect of the Ambrosian Library at Milan has paid a well-deserved tribute to the style of the great prelate's hymns—clear, sweet, and yet vigorous, grand, and noble. Closeness of thought is combined with singular brevity of expression. Archbishop Trench shows how suitably the faith, which was in actual conflict with the powers of the world, found utterance in such hymns as these, 'wherein is no softness, perhaps little tenderness, but a rock-like firmness, the old Roman stoicism transmuted and glorified into that nobler Christian courage which encountered, and at length overcame, the world.'

Benedict expressly adopted the hymns of Ambrose and his successors in his 'Order of Worship.' The vast community which owned the rule of himself and his successors spread rapidly over Europe. Its customs and usages of worship were followed in England as well as over the north of Europe 'and, with local variations, in the remainder of Western Christendom.' The glorious strains of the hymn 'Exultet jam angelica turba coelorum,' said to have been composed by Augustine when a deacon, were sung by the deacon at the Benediction of the Paschal Candle. The name of Benedict must therefore be linked with that of Ambrose in the history of Latin hymnody. Prudentius of Spain wrote some noble hymns which found their way into general use. Before the eleventh and twelfth centuries closed the place of hymns in public

services had been fixed and settled. They found their way into the Missals, Breviaries, and other offices of that time. Each church also added local hymns in honour of its own founders and patrons. With a few striking exceptions the clergy and the monks had become the chief poets of the age. Their verses 'were no longer confined to the direct worship and praise of the Creator, of Christ, of the Holy Ghost; to the honour of the Blessed Virgin and of the Apostles, and certain principal saints, and appropriated to the various solemnities of the Church relating to them, such as were those of Ambrose, Gregory, Prudentius, Fortunatus, and their successors. They became amplified and refined into eulogies, descriptions of, and meditations upon, the Passion and Wounds of Christ, on His Sacred Countenance, on His Cross, on His Sweet Name, on the Vanity of Life, on the Joys of Paradise, on the Terrors of Judgment; into penitential exercises, of the Holy Sacrament, of the lives and sufferings of numerous Saints—most especially into praises of the Blessed Virgin, on her dignity, on her Joys and Dolours.'

When Jumièges was destroyed by the Normans in 851, some of its monks took refuge at St. Gall, bringing their Gregorian Antiphonary with them. The anthem preceding the Gospel, which was known as the Gradual, ended on Festal days 'with a long Alleluia, which was a musical jubilation on a certain number of notes, called Neumes, without words, on the final A; also called the Sequentia, as following thereon.' These Neumes owed their origin to two chanters sent by Pope Adrian to Charlemagne. One opened a school at Metz, the other became musical preceptor in the monastery of St. Gall, where he was detained by illness. The Neumes were exceedingly difficult to remember. A young monk called Notker was therefore delighted to find that in the Jumièges music words had been attached corresponding to the number of the Neumes. This made it comparatively easy to recall the cadences. He set himself to contrive words for other musical Sequences sung at the different festivals of the year. Every note now had a corresponding word attached. These unrhymed Sequences became known as Notkerian Prosa.

Gradually they were rhymed, and increased in beauty and popularity. Then an entirely novel and original system both of versification and music, derived from popular airs, was introduced by the Church musicians in the north of France. The Sequences composed by Adam of St. Victor are singularly fine and impressive. His musical and flowing verses are saturated with Scriptural truth and imagery. The *Dies Irae*, almost the solitary Sequence which Italy has produced, and the *Stabat Mater dolorosa* are among the most precious treasures thus bequeathed to Christendom. Its latest gems were due to Thomas Aquinas, but at the beginning of the fourteenth century the glory had departed from Latin hymnology.

King Alfred tells us that when Aldhelm saw how the people who had flocked to attend Mass at Malmesbury, trooped away from the church before the sermon, he took his stand, disguised as a gleeman, on a bridge which they must cross, and gathered them round him to hear his songs, with which he generally managed to weave a little instruction. The anecdote suggests that sacred songs formed part of the gleeman's repertory. The hymn which Coedman composed whilst sleeping in the stable is the earliest piece of Saxon poetry extant. St. Cuthbert also refers to a hymn sung by Bede in his last illness. No collection of mediæval English hymns has yet been made. If some one would undertake this task, considerable light might be thrown on the devotions of the laity in olden times. But if we know little of English hymnody in these early days, Latin hymns were widely used in our island down to the time of the Reformation. The English Reformers unhappily refused them a place in the book of Common Prayer, even though they formed an integral part of the offices on which that book was based. Luther, on the other hand, who had learned to love these hymns in the monastery, freely used them after he broke with Rome. Two renderings of 'Veni Creator' are the only traces of Latin hymnody in the Book of Common Prayer. But if such Latin hymns were dying out 'the fashion of Psalm-singing was mastering the people.' It quickly became an integral part of the national life. On the accession of Elizabeth, the enthusiasm aroused by the Psalter was almost as great as that

with which Clement Marot's version had been greeted in France; or at the field-preaching in the Netherlands. Sometimes six thousand voices were thus raised in praise at St. Paul's Cross after the sermons of the bishops. Psalms were introduced at St. Antholin's, and quickly spread to other London churches. Certain men and women from London are said to have disturbed the six o'clock matins in Exeter Cathedral by singing psalms. They were prohibited by the Dean and Chapter, but were supported by the Queen's Visitors, Jewel, and other influential men, who sharply reproved the authorities. The Dean and Chapter appealed to Archbishop Parker, but he bade them 'permit and suffer' congregations to 'sing or say the godly Prayers set forth and permitted in this Church of England.' This use of godly prayers as equivalent to psalms is interesting. In June, 1559, permission to sing hymns in public worship was granted by a royal injunction. 'For the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning or end of Common Prayer, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn or such like song to the praise of Almighty God in the best melody and music that may be devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived.'

Thomas Sternhold, the father of English metrical Psalmody, died ten years before this injunction was issued. He was groom of the robes to Henry VIII., who bequeathed him a legacy of a hundred marks. His psalms were originally composed for his own 'Godly solace,' and sung by him to his organ. His young master, Edward VI., chanced to overhear them, and invited Sternhold to repeat them in his presence. The first edition of nineteen Psalms was dedicated to the King. Wood says that Sternhold had musical notes set to the Psalms, and hoped that the courtiers would sing them instead of their amorous and obscene songs. His Psalms are godly ballads in the older form of Common Measure, known as the Chevy Chase Measure, with only two rhymes. It was not till 1562 that the complete Psalter was published by John Daye. It was some years later before it assumed its final shape. Sternhold himself is responsible for forty versions. John Hopkins, who seems

to have been a Gloucestershire clergyman and schoolmaster, wrote sixty which are also in common metre but with four rhymes to a stanza. William Whittingham was the scholar of the company. He had fled from the Marian persecution to Geneva, where he married Calvin's sister and succeeded Knox in the pastorate of the exiled English congregation. He had a prominent share in the preparation of the Genevan Bible. On his return to England he was made Dean of Durham. During his tenure of office he protested against the wearing of habits and is said to have destroyed the image of Cuthbert, but he has at least the merit of introducing metrical Canticles into the Cathedral services. The Old Version has twelve psalms of Whittingham's. 'Few books have had so long a career of influence.' Psalm-singing soon came to be regarded as the most divine part of public worship. When a psalm was read the heads of the worshippers were covered, but all men sat bare-headed when the psalm was sung. The New Version by Tate and Brady, published in 1696, did not easily displace the Old. Bishop Beveridge in 1710 made a vigorous onslaught on it as 'fine and modish,' 'flourished with wit and fancy,' 'gay and fashionable.' He says one vestry had cast it out after it was introduced by the clergyman. Beveridge strenuously defends the Old Version as a venerable monument of the Reformation.

In Scotland, where services had been established in the vernacular after the breach with Rome, the metrical Psalm was preferred to the chanted prose Psalm, both because it was more convenient for popular use and was deemed to be nearer to the Hebrew structure. The Psalter has indeed had 'a mighty influence upon the Scottish mind and heart.' So late as 1749 metrical psalmody was the only part of the service in which Scotch congregations joined. The singing of hymns, other than the Paraphrases of 1741-81, did not become at all general among the United Presbyterians till after 1852. The Established Church was eighteen years later, and the Free Church three years later still. Calvin had adopted Marot's version of the Psalms, and when Marot himself fled to Geneva the Reformer induced him to revise his earlier versions and

add new ones. After his death Beza continued the work. In the completed Psalter published in 1562, forty-nine versions are by Marot, the rest by Beza. French tunes and French metres found their way from this collection into the Scotch Psalter. Sternhold's psalms were also known at Geneva and thence exerted some influence on Scotland. The 'Dundie Psalmes,' or 'Gude and Godlie Ballates,' were the first version used in Scotland. The book was probably issued in a rudimentary form as early as 1568. The earliest perfect edition we possess, that of 1578, is a poetical miscellany. It contains sixteen 'spirituall Sangis,' eleven from the German; one from the Latin; twenty 'Ballatis of the Scripture,' one of which is from the German. Its last section is entitled 'Psalmes of David with uther new pleasand Ballatis Translatit out of Enchiridion Psalmorum, to be sung.' It contains twenty-two psalm versions, thirteen of them being from the German; three hymns from the German, one from the Latin; seven adaptations from secular ballads, and thirty-six other items. 'Some of the pieces, though rude, have a wonderful pathos, and even beauty. Reading the anti-papal satires, one does not wonder at the rage they excited among the Roman ecclesiastica.'

In 1564 appeared the complete Scotch Psalter, prepared by order of the General Assembly. 39 of the versions were by Sternhold, 37 by Hopkins, 16 by Whittingham, 25 by Kethe. The Assembly ordained that every minister, reader, and exhorter should have and use a copy. Charles I. sought to enforce the use of another version, which was largely the work of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling. The opposition aroused led Alexander largely to rewrite his version. It was then bound up with Laud's luckless Service Book of 1637, which was indignantly rejected by all Scotland. The General Assembly was restored and Alexander's monopoly came to an untimely end. When the Westminster Assembly met, in 1643, Parliament instructed it to prepare a Psalter for use in both kingdoms. This was done with much care. But the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was not satisfied with the result. It therefore appointed four persons to make further revision. The book was published in 1650, and is to this day

Hymnology of the Christian Church.

the one Psalter used by Presbyterian Scotland. Even the sometimes rude in style, its faithfulness, vigour and terse cannot be denied. It is woven into the very fibre of national religion.

We have seen how the popularity of psalm-singing entirely destroyed the influence of Latin hymnody in England. During the Reformation epoch we catch a few echoes of Lullam's muse. With the exception of two pieces, nearly the whole of Coverdale's 'Goostly Psalmes and Spiritual Songs' is a more or less close rendering from the German. It was a misfortune that Coverdale's example was not followed, but Calvin's influence was dominant and he was not prepared to admit anything into public worship save paraphrases of Scripture and 'even of Scripture little outside the Psalms, became the stern rule of our hymnody for the next century and a half.

The metrical paraphrases, which were partly liturgical, mainly drawn from Scripture, gradually prepared the way for hymns. 'The real cradle of English hymns is the English Bible.' That volume seemed to the Reformers the divinely given wellspring of praise. Much of it actually consisted of songs of praise, and in those days of heated theological dogmatism and rigid adherence to the actual language of the Bible appeared to be the one safeguard against error. The Song of Solomon was most frequently reproduced in these paraphrases, twelve chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, St. Paul's Epistles and other somewhat unlikely parts of Scripture were versified. It was thought that the Bible was universally capable of musical expression. This feeling, though strained and unnatural, bore good fruit. 'That grand note of our greatest hymn, impregnation with Scripture, is in great measure the heritage of the paraphrases.' Dr. Watts is careful to state in the preface to his hymns that he 'might have brought some . . . and applied it to the margin of every verse.' To these paraphrases also we owe the division of our hymns into objective and subjective. Their free and joyous praise with its less introspective expressions of sorrow and penitence are a heritage from the Psalms; the delineation of more varied emotions and moods is mainly the reflection of the

Testament paraphrases. The free grouping of texts which characterized the later paraphrases naturally led to the type of hymn with which we are familiar in Watts. 'The habit of sermon and commentary made it an almost irresistible impulse to interweave the familiar parallel passages, to make one passage a theme of expansion by others, to omit and combine for the sake of unity; all the while, as they believed, keeping within the letter of Scripture. Then came the license of some connecting verse as a piece of machinery. And only one step more converted the Scriptural Paraphrase into the Scriptural Hymn.' Dr. Watts gave a somewhat loose interpretation to the word paraphrase, but he kept the thought steadily in view. His first hymn, 'Behold the glories of the Lamb,' is based on Revelation v., and his best poetry bears the same stamp.

Before the publication of Wither's collection our hymns were few in number. They had already, however, won a place in English devotion. Dr. Donne often had his own verses, 'Wilt thou forgive that sin?' sung in his presence at St. Paul's. George Herbert on the last Sunday of his life called for his viol and sang to its accompaniment his own words, 'The Sundays of man's life.' J. B. P.'s 'Hierusalem, my happie home,' which bears date 1601, is one of the treasures of English hymnody. In 1623, George Wither gained permission to have his 'Hymns and Songs of the Church' bound up with every copy of the Metrical Psalms. Besides the usual paraphrases it contained hymns for all the festivals. Instead of fame and profit, however, the work brought him persecution and loss. In 1641, many of these pieces were republished in *Hallelujah, Britain's Second Remembrancer*, dedicated to the Long Parliament. That collection cannot be accused of any want of variety, for, 'When washing, On a boat, Sheep-Shearing, House-Warming, For lovers, Tailors, Jailer, Prisoner, Member of Parliament,' are some of its headings.

We owe to this period some fine hymns. Samuel Crossman, Prebendary, and afterwards Dean of Bristol, published in 1664 some pieces which are still sung with delight in many a congregation, 'Jerusalem on high,' and 'Sweet place alone.' Ken's three hymns were written within ten years of that time;

Richard Baxter's tender hymn of resignation, 'Lord it belongs not to my care,' appeared in 1681.

Singing almost became a lost art for Nonconformity during the rigour of the Conventicle Act. An amusing account of the way in which Benjamin Keach succeeded in gradually restoring it to the worship of his own Baptist Church is given in Mr. Spurgeon's history of his Tabernacle. Keach had risked much for devotional music. His congregation had been surprised by its singing. He had himself been trampled on by a trooper's horse and thrown into prison, but his conviction that singing the praises of God 'was a holy ordinance of Jesus Christ' was only deepened by such troubles. He wrote a little book in defence of hymns, and managed at last to get them safely restored to Dissenting worship. Keach also published two volumes of hymns. Other collections sprang up, though they had no great merits. Dr. Watts made a memorable advance on his predecessors. Mr. Julian pays a high tribute to the soft richness of his diction; his free, vigorous rhythm, especially in his Long Metres; and to the pervading joyfulness and buoyant faith which light up even his saddest hymns. Watts often complained of the fetter put on him by 'the old narrow metres,' as well as by the necessity of giving each line a complete sense in itself, and 'sinking it to the level of a whole congregation.' His faults are 'bombast and doggerel,' but to him we owe that proportion of parts and central unity which has become so marked a characteristic of our hymns. Those written before his time have little unity. The change originated probably in the slow singing, which limited the number of verses; in the clerk's habit of skipping and combining verses in the metrical Psalms, and in the preacher's desire to condense into a closing hymn the substance or application of his sermon.

The work which Watts began was carried on by the Wesleys, who are 'almost as interesting from the hymnologist's as from the Church historian's point of view.' The old Rector of Epworth—Samuel Wesley—was the author of the Good Friday hymn:—

'Behold the Saviour of mankind
Nailed to the shameful tree,'

which was found lying singed on the grass after his parsonage had been burned down; Samuel Wesley, jun., usher at Westminster School, wrote 'The Lord of Sabbath, let us praise,' and other hymns of high merit; John Wesley's translations from the German reliqued English hymnody to that of Germany, and his fine classic taste affected the whole tone of Methodist hymnology. 'But after all,' says Canon Overton in his interesting biographical article, 'it was Charles Wesley who was the *great* hymn-writer of the Wesley family,—perhaps, taking quantity and quality into consideration, the *great* hymn-writer of all ages.' His evangelical conversion opened his lips in praise, and to the end of his days he sang on with undiminished fervour. He is said to have written six thousand five hundred hymns, 'and though, of course, in so vast a number some are of unequal merit, it is perfectly marvellous how many there are which rise to the highest degree of excellence. . . . It would be simply impossible within our space to enumerate even those of the hymns which have become really classical. The saying that a good hymn is as rare an appearance as that of a comet is falsified by the work of Charles Wesley; for hymns, which are really good in every respect, flowed from his pen in quick succession, and death alone stopped the course of the perennial stream.'

Charles Wesley's poetic faculty was for himself something like another sense. Every mood of the religious life, every incident of the Evangelical Revival found expression in his poetry. His hymns were one of the chief factors in the making of Methodism. Dr. Stoughton justly says the system 'never could have become what it did without its unparalleled hymn-book. That, perhaps, has been more effective in preserving its evangelical theology than Wesley's *Sermons* and his *Notes on the New Testament*. Where one man read the homilies and the Exposition, a thousand sang the hymns. . . . You catch in them the trumpet-blast, the cry of the wounded, the shout of victory, and the dirge at a warrior's funeral.' Dr. Schaff, in his masterly article on 'German Hymnody,' is of the same mind. He writes—'It is a remarkable fact that some of the greatest religious revivals in the Church—as the Reformation,

Pietism, Moravianism, Methodism—were sung as well as preached, and written into the hearts of the people, and that the leaders of those revivals—Luther, Spener, Zinzendorf, Wesley—were themselves hymnists.’ The force of those words will be felt by every student of Church history, not least by those who are familiar with the work of Mr. Moody and Mr. Sankey in England and Scotland.

A few hymns crept into the Scottish Psalter of 1564-5, but they do not seem to have received direct ecclesiastical sanction. None of them were transferred to the Psalter of 1650, or to the Translations and Paraphrases. The General Assembly having already made various unsuccessful attempts to secure a suitable collection of sacred songs, appointed a Committee, in 1742, to prepare a volume of Scripture paraphrases. Some of the Scotch contributions are good, but the collection of 1741-1781 ‘is hardly what might have been expected from the gifts and graces of the ministers of the Church of Scotland’ at that time.

The article on Children’s Hymns by Mr. W. T. Brooke of Walthamstow, ‘whose acquaintance with early English hymnody,’ the editor says, is unrivalled, will repay careful study. The early vernacular carols and hymns do not appear to have been composed expressly for children, though young folk naturally rejoiced to sing them. The history of juvenile hymnody begins with the Reformation. Wither’s ‘Hallelujah’ contains a hymn or two for the young, and Herrick wrote a child’s grace. Jeremy Taylor’s *Golden Grove* contained some ‘Festival Hymns’ ‘fitted to the fancy and devotion of the younger and pious persons, apt for memory, and to be joined to their other prayers.’ Dr. Watts was the first great hymn-writer for the young. His ‘Divine and Moral Songs for Children’ mark an epoch in this branch of our hymnody. The numerous editions published in town and country for more than a century, showed what a need these songs supplied. Charles Wesley also remembered the children. His ‘Gentle Jesus, meek and mild’ is perhaps the chief classic among our nursery hymns. A [unclear] sprang up in all parts of the country, psalm [unclear] the young multiplied.

Jane and Ann Taylor's 'Hymns for infant minds' have endeared themselves to every generation since they were written. Mr. Brooke thinks Mrs. Alexander's 'Hymns for little children' 'unequalled and unapproachable,' whilst the Methodist Sunday School Hymn-book 'ranks first in merit of any collection for children yet made.' Certainly the Church's later gift of song has been abundantly consecrated to the service of the nursery and the Sunday School.

We may turn to the article on 'German Hymnody' by Dr. Schaff. He is justly proud that Germany surpasses all other lands in its wealth of hymns. The number cannot fall short of a hundred thousand; about ten thousand have become more or less popular. Ever since the Reformation Germany has been adding to her treasury of sacred song. Some of the most exulting strains were sung amid the conflicts of the Reformation, others belong to later days of quickening and revival. 'Thus these hymns constitute a most graphic book of confession for German evangelical Christianity, a sacred band which enriches its various periods, an abiding memorial of its victories, its sorrows, and its joys; a clear mirror, showing its deepest experiences, and an eloquent witness for the all-conquering and invincible life-power of the evangelical Christian faith.' In the Middle Ages German hymnody is full of hagiolatry and Mariolatry. Luther was himself the first evangelical hymnist. He gave the people the Bible, through which God spoke to their hearts, he gave them the hymn-book by which they poured out their hearts to God. Dr. Schaff styles Luther the Ambrose of German hymnody. His sacred songs proved, next to the German Bible, 'the most effective missionaries of evangelical doctrines and piety.' Others caught his spirit, and used their gifts of sacred song to promote the Reformation cause. German hymnody had its dark age between 1757 and 1816, when Rationalism wrought havoc in the country. Purists set themselves to remove the uncouth language, irregular rhymes, antiquated words, and Latinisms, which disfigured many old hymns. Klopstock altered twenty-nine of them. 'He was followed by a swarm of hymnological tinkers and poetasters who had no sympathy with the theolo

poetry of the grand old hymns of faith; weakened, diluted, mutilated, and watered them, and introduced these misimprovements into the churches. The original hymns of rationalistic preachers, court chaplains, and superintendents, now almost forgotten, were still worse, mostly prosy and tedious rhymes on moral duties. . . . Instead of hymns of faith and salvation, the congregations were obliged to sing rhymed sermons on the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, the delights of reunion, the dignity of man, the duty of self-improvement, the nature of the body, and the care of animals and flowers.' Yet this was the classic age of German literature. A better time dawned at last; 'rich in hymns which combine the old faith with classical elegance of form, sound doctrine with deep feeling.'

Roman Catholicism during the second half of this century has given us a group of hymn writers whose names have been household words among all the churches. It is a significant fact that John Henry Newman, Frederick W. Faber, Edward Caswall, and Frederick Oakley, the chief hymn writers of that communion, were all clergymen of the Church of England, and went over to Rome. Mr. Orby Shipley, whose *Annus Sanctus* is a work of great hymnological interest, was also an English clergyman before he joined the Roman Communion. Until Newman's accession Roman Catholics were scarcely aware of the 'treasures of hymnody in their own office books,' or awake to the vast possibilities of congregational singing. 'Considering how many are the hymns of singular power and beauty, venerable also, through their long use, which are contained in the Roman *Missal*, *Office*, and *Breviary*, it is surprising that Roman Catholic poets did not long before the present century, render them more frequently into English verse.' There were some attempts in this direction. The Jesuit Southwell, who suffered for treason in Queen Elizabeth's reign, wrote a few good hymns and carols. The English Roman Catholics who settled on the Continent during days of persecution, issued some translations from the Latin with versions of the Old Church hymns.

'ation of 'Veni Creator Spiritus,' and Pope's

'Vital Spark,' were notable Romanist contributions to the general service of praise. But it is Cardinal Newman who ranks as 'one of the great restorers of Roman Catholic Hymnody.' His most popular hymn, 'Lead, kindly light,' was indeed written before he renounced Anglicanism, and his *Tract* 'On the Roman Breviary,' published in 1836, contained translations of fourteen Latin hymns. He carried on this work when he sought a new home. Mr. Julian holds that his influence on hymnology has not been of a marked character. He says, 'two brilliant original pieces, and little more than half a dozen translations from the Latin, are all that can claim to rank with his inimitable prose.' We are inclined to consider this a just verdict, yet much may be said for Mr. Earle's view in the article on Roman Catholic Hymnody. He thinks Newman's influence as 'in himself a type of rhythmical utterance, and the author of several hymns and translations of supreme excellence' has been deep and widespread. His 'Praise to the Holiest in the height,' from the 'Dream of Gerontius, is also a noble hymn, though it has not attained the popularity of the earlier piece. Edward Caswall's version of St. Bernard's 'Joyful Rhythm' on the name of Jesus 'has become a national treasure. It was published in his *Lyra Catholica* two years after he resigned his living and in the year before he was received into the Roman Catholic communion. Caswall's translations of the Latin hymns are only surpassed in popularity by those of Dr. Neale. His faithfulness to the original and his purity of rhythm go far to explain the charm of his renderings. Frederick Faber, the most fruitful of modern Romanist hymnists, did more than any other man to promote congregational singing in his adopted communion. 'He certainly perceived and appreciated, as a scholar, and from his standpoint as a Roman Catholic, the double advantage possessed by a church which sings both in an ancient and modern tongue, making two-fold melody continually unto God. He did not prize the less the magnificent hymns of Christian antiquity in Latin, because he taught congregations to sing in the English of to-day.' In the preface to his 'Jesus and Mary,' he says it was natural 'that an English son of St.

Philip (Neri) should feel the want of a collection of English Catholic hymns fitted for singing. The few in the *Garden of the Soul* were all that were at hand, and of course they were not numerous enough to furnish the requisite variety. As to translations they do not express Saxon thoughts and feelings, and consequently the poor do not take to them. The domestic wants of the Oratory, too, keep alive the feeling that something of the sort was needed.' Hence Faber became a hymnist. He had already written hymns which 'became very popular with a country congregation.' We gather that he refers to Elton in Huntingdonshire, where he was rector before he left the Anglican church. He had been taught the power of hymnology before he went over to Rome. We may add that he learned his art from Protestant models, for he set himself to emulate the simplicity and intense fervour of the Olney hymns and those of the Wesleys. Speaking of them as a whole, Faber's hymns are too luscious and sentimental, nevertheless some of them are treasures which we would be sorry indeed to lack in our Common Book of Praise. Mr. Earle says, 'to these three—Cardinal Newman, Caswall and Faber—the Roman Catholic hymnody in England principally owes its revival.' Anglicanism produced them all. Roman Catholic congregations thus owe no small debt to the Church of England, and in some sense they have well repaid it. The noble hymns are dear alike to all sections of the Church. They show that deep down beneath all our differences lie great fundamental truths in which true Christian people are at one. Such hymns are what Dean Stanley would have called the homely facts which turn away the wrath 'kindled by an anathema, by an opinion, by an argument.' The hymns which Romanist and Protestant alike delight to sing are a step towards that true catholicity of spirit which, amid all our divergences, we delight to cultivate.

The definition of a hymn given in the Dictionary might easily be overlooked as it comes at the beginning of the article on Latin Hymnody, not in a separate form. Augustine says a hymn 'is a song with praise of God. If thou singest and praisest not God, thou utterest no hymn. A

hymn, then, containeth these three things; song, and praise, and that of God. Praise, then, of God in song is called a hymn.' The writer of the article, (Mr. J. D. Chambers, M.A., Recorder of New Sarum) cites Gregory Nazianzen's *Modulata laus est hymnus*, and refers to a definition in the Cottonian MS. which says a hymn must be praise of God or of his saints, be capable of being sung, and be metrical. Lord Selborne, in his *Book of Praise*, holds that 'a good hymn should have simplicity, freshness, and reality of feeling; a consistent elevation of tone, and a rhythm easy and harmonious, but not jingling or trivial. Its language may be homely, but should not be slovenly or mean. Affectation or visible artifice is worse than excess of homeliness; a hymn is easily spoilt by a single falsetto note. Nor will the most exemplary soundness of doctrine atone for doggerel, or redeem from failure a prosaic, didactic style.'

Rigid adherence to those canons would have much reduced the size of Mr. Julian's Dictionary, but such variety of taste exists in hymnological matters that one is thankful to find that many hymns of lesser worth have gained a place in this standard book of reference. Any one who wishes to appreciate the labours of Mr. Julian and his staff of helpers should turn to the annotations and biographical sketches which form the staple of this huge volume. Twelve columns deal with the text of the *Dies Irae*, discuss its authorship, liturgical use and translations, of which there are more than a hundred and fifty. Daniel says every word of this glorious sequence 'is weighty, yea, even a thunderclap.' Archbishop Trench grows enthusiastic in his description of the triple rhyme falling on the ear like blow following blow on the anvil. Thomas Celano's confidence in the universal interest of his theme made him handle it with an unadorned plainness which renders it intelligible to all. His Great Judgment hymn has written its own history broad and deep on the Middle Ages. What influence a hymn may exert is seen in St. Bernard's 'Jesu dulcis memoria.' It was probably written when he was in retirement, smarting under the indignation of his contemporaries over the disastrous failure of the Second Crusade, of which he had been

the preacher. It is true that his 'Joyful Rhythm on the name of Jesus' labours under the defect of a certain monotony and want of progress, but the fascination of the theme and the tenderness and warmth of the minstrel's touch have made the hymn a sacred heritage. A few hymns have been more extensively translated into English, 'but no other poem in any language has furnished to English and American hymn-books so many hymns of sterling worth and well-deserved popularity.' St. Bernard seems as if he had scattered abroad the sacred fire and raised up a whole choir of singers who shared his own devotion. Around Luther's most famous hymn—'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott'—the battle-song of the Reformation, a history of its own has gathered. 'Jesu, Lover of My Soul,' is one of Charles Wesley's lyrics, the popularity of which increases with its age. Few hymns have been so extensively used. The transformations of its first four lines make them unique as an editorial curiosity. Mr. Julian knows no portion of a stanza which has undergone so many alterations. He awards the psalm for popularity among Charles Wesley's hymns to 'Hark, how all the wellkin rings.' 'Amongst English hymns, it is equalled in popularity only by Toplady's "Rock of Ages," and Bishop Ken's Morning and Evening hymns, and is excelled by none. In literary merit it falls little, if anything, short of this honour.' With this suggestive estimate we may close our studies in the Dictionary of Hymnology. We could have wished that the masterly articles on hymnody had been woven together so as to form a connected history of the subject of church psalmody since apostolic times. We have endeavoured to make some approach to such an outline in the limited space at our disposal. It may probably help some student to follow out the history in detail for himself. A rather awkward sentence occurs in the notice of Beza, which says 'he was honoured till his death,' as though the world then discovered that he was not worthy of honour. Dr. Grosart in his notice of Dr. Punshon, says 'he preferred evangelizing to stated preaching.' The fact being that Methodism with its three years' system gave its ministers no opportunity for stated preaching in Dr. Punshon's day. These

are mere trifles, however. The catholicity of temper, the prodigious research, the unfailing accuracy in matters great or small, make this ponderous Dictionary of Hymnology a monumental work. There is not a page which does not furnish some delight for the lover of 'psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs.'

J. TELFORD.

ART. VII.—THE DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, the renowned King of Sweden, fell at the battle of Lützen, on the 16th November, 1632. The exact manner of his death is a question which has not yet been satisfactorily answered. Some writers have asserted that he was assassinated, while others have suggested that he met his death by getting separated from his followers, and coming suddenly upon the enemy, was fired at and hit, and falling from his horse, was killed by some of the Imperial Cavalry. The statements made in the various records of the period, and the results of the investigations of the foremost historical writers, have been so contradictory that they have only increased the doubt. It is true that the Duke of Lauenberg was suspected of being either the assassin, or of having employed some one to kill the King. He had only a short time before left the service of Austria and entered that of Sweden, and after the King's death again joined the Imperialists. The historians Pufendorf, Chemnitz, and others, spread the suspicions against him, and did not hesitate to brand him with the everlasting disgrace of being an assassin. Oxenstiern, the Swedish Chancellor, was convinced that he was the murderer; and Torstenson, one of the noblest and most generous of men, also seemed to feel that the Duke was guilty; but though the suspicion was strong, no proof was brought against him.

I have recently been examining the Archives in various cities in Germany, in the hope of finding some items of

interest, hitherto unpublished, regarding the Thirty Years' War. Among the State Papers deposited in the Castle of Marburg, I found a Narrative, written by an eye-witness, giving an account of the death of the Swedish King. This document, which is dated Lützen, 16th June, 1633, has not, so far as I am aware, been noticed in any English work.* Its writer, Hans von Hastendorff, was in attendance on the King, and was severely wounded in the course of the battle. His 'Narrative,' (which is in substance as follows,) begins with a few general remarks about the King and the wars in which he had been engaged; and then describes the coming together of the opposing forces at Lützen. 'Gustavus had not intended to fight on that day, but God willed it otherwise.† . . . The morning was so densely foggy that it was scarcely possible for one person to see another. . . . At about 8 o'clock it lightened a little, and the enemy made a reconnaissance. They were attacked by the Finns, and driven back, but the fog again coming down, they were unable to extricate themselves, and get back to their main army. Their reserves, however, being brought up, the battle began in earnest. . . . An officer despatched from the Finns came to the King, and handing over to him several standards which they had taken, gave an account of the struggle. Thereupon the King issued orders for the rest of the army to advance and second their efforts. . . . The fighting continuing notwithstanding the fog, the King accompanied by certain atten-

* In J. H. Noodt's contribution to the History of Schleswig-Holstein (published in 1749) reference is made to a '*Fragment* by Hans von Hastendorff,' who is stated to have been a page in the King's retinue, and who, 'it appears to be certain, had been an eye-witness of what he related.' [*Gustav Adolf der Grosse, König von Schweden, ein historisches Gemälde*, by Fr. Ludwig von Rango, Leipzig, 1824.] This is the only notice of von Hastendorff's 'Narrative' which I have seen.—J. M.

† A marginal note by von Hastendorff states that 'on the 29th October, (eight days before the battle) the King, speaking to his Chaplain, said, that he saw clearly that the Lord would allow a misfortune to come upon his army, for his people had forsaken God, and placed their trust in him [the King] and were too confident.'

dants rode out to see how the battle was progressing. The words of the Narrative are :—

We were five who rode out from the camp; the first was the King Gustavus who is called the Great; two were at once despatched to the Finns with orders that they were not to press too eagerly after the enemy; the fourth was ‘a great Lord’ (whom, however, the narrative does not name, but adds that he was) ‘notorious throughout all Germany;’ and the fifth was Von Hastendorf himself, who remained with the King the whole time because he was ‘well acquainted with all the roads.’ He narrates that while they were riding ‘a cannon ball came and struck me as well as my horse. I lost my leg, and my life was not worth much. Gustavus hastened forward and when about fifty paces distant from where I lay wounded, I saw a traitor shoot him in the head.* The blood at once ran over his face so that he could scarcely see, yet he fired both his pistols at the traitor, but failed to hit him. The King staggered around on his horse about twenty times, while the traitor sat at some distance watching to see how it would end. When the King could no longer retain his seat, he dismounted and let his horse go, and laying himself on the ground, he, in a clear voice commended his soul to God, and advised all those who lay near him to do likewise.

‘The traitor, who had seen all this, now came forward and cut and struck at the King, and gave him nine wounds. Then the King recognising him, and addressing him by name, said, “God turn your heart, and forgive you for your evil deeds, even as I forgive you!” To those lying near him he said, “See, all ye who have yet life, how I, as a return for my kindness [to this man] am murdered!” Thereupon the traitor rode away. The King had his sword in his hand. He was covered with blood . . . so that it was scarcely possible to recognise him. . . It happened here, as David spake, “He who has eaten my bread has lifted up his foot against me;” for in this manner was the King Gustavus treated by the fourth one of the party who rode out from the camp.’

* This was about nine o'clock.

The death of the King is narrated as follows:—"When he had laid himself upon the ground, he said, "Lord Jesus, sinner that I am, sustain me, for my grave will be here. Lord Jesus, forgive him this evil deed! Lord Jesus into thy hands I commend my spirit, my body and my soul. Thou hast pardoned me thou faithful God. Lord Jesus, in thee I live, in thee I die; living or dead I am thine. Lord Jesus, strengthen me in this hour. Be faithful, dear soul, till death; soon, soon thy Jesus will give thee the Crown of Life." Raising his head and looking around he said, "Lord Jesus, support the righteous cause; thou knowest that I have a righteous cause, and thou wilt not forsake it." Then addressing himself to those of his own people who lay near him, he said, "Here lies Gustavus Adolphus murdered. My daughter shall inherit my kingdom. The mother while she lives will administer the government. She is now a widow and my daughter an orphan. Lord Jesus govern the kingdom to thy glory. Lord Jesus forgive the sins of all these who lie near me; those who have been wounded by the enemy relieve from pain and misery, and strengthen their hearts and give them courage so that they despair not; and when we part from this world give us joy and peace in the world to come. For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life. Lord Jesus into thy hands I commend my spirit. Thou hast pardoned me, thou faithful God. Lord Jesus, be merciful to me a sinner. O Jesus, Jesus!" These were his last words.*

Von Hastendorff then makes some observations on the great things that Gustavus had done Germany, and how he had striven for religion and the fatherland. 'Germany,' he says, 'may well mourn, for here a great hero has fallen.' He ends his narrative as follows—"As I lay in my distress with pains and lamentations praying God to help me out of my trouble, there came three individuals riding with great speed.' Recognising them and guessing what they wanted, he called out, 'Gustavus for whom you are looking, lies near me dead!'

* He died at twelve o'clock noon.

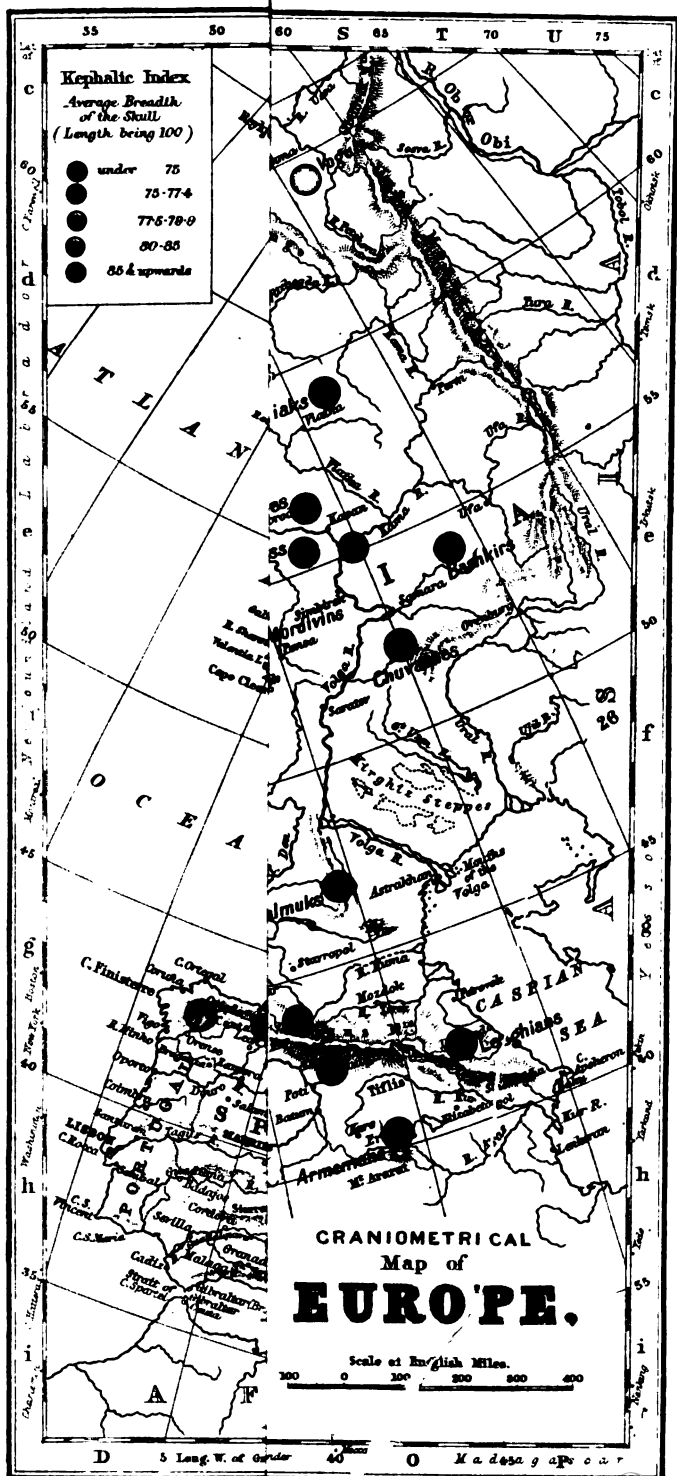
Thereupon they began to weep and lament. One of them rode off to bring a surgeon; the others, who remained, were deeply agitated. Soon numbers of people drew near, and lamenting over the King his remains were carried away.* But, adds Von Hastendorff, 'I was left lying there wounded, and therefore do not know anything further. . . . This is all true that I have written, because I saw everything with my own eyes . . . and that it all so happened as I have written I attest with my own name.'

'HANS VON HASTENDORFF.'

At the end of this document there is a rough diagram showing the place where von Hastendorff lay wounded, after he was shot and lost his leg, with the relative position of the spot where the King was murdered. It is to be regretted that in his 'Narrative' he did not give the names of all the 'five who rode out from the camp;' but as Noodt in his *Schleswig Holstein* has stated that he (von Hastendorff) was certainly an eye-witness of what he described, there can be no reason to doubt the truth of his statement. The Narrative is also indirectly confirmed by the words of the Apothecary Caparus, who embalmed the body of the King. In his report to the Swedish Council, he states he found that the King had received nine wounds caused by shot, by cutting, and by stabbing. [Von Rango's *Gustav Adolf der Grosse*].

A possible reason why von Hastendorff did not give the name of the assassin may be this. The Duke of Lauenburg had powerful friends, and any one accusing him of having committed the foul deed, (even supposing that he had been the miscreant,) would have done so at the risk of his own life. Indeed, in a note to that part of the 'Narrative' where it is stated that the 'traitor' gave the King nine wounds, von Hastendorff added, 'As long as I live I shall always regret that I dare not tell what I witnessed at Lützen on the 6th of November. I would die for it, I doubt not. But God is a judge,—that I assure you—you murderer and traitor!'

* This was about three o'clock in the afternoon.



The Duke of Lauenburg after he re-entered the Austrian service, also changed his religion and became a Papist; and as General de Peyster (author of a *Life of Torstenson*, and other works bearing on the Thirty Years' war,) in a letter on this subject, has remarked, 'he was such a contemptible turncoat, in religion as in every thing else, that this is almost sufficient to make one form a judgment as to his criminality in regard to the murder. It was the opinion of those who, at the time, were most likely to know the truth; and such is my opinion after examining so many authorities.' Few people have studied the history of the Thirty Years' war so thoroughly as General de Peyster, and if anyone is qualified to form an opinion on the subject at the present day, he is.

Perhaps the names of those who accompanied the King on that memorable morning, when he left the camp at Lützen, may be found in the Archives at Stockholm, or elsewhere in Sweden. As a historical fact, it would be interesting to get the disputed point regarding the King's death settled,—if von Hastendorff's 'Narrative' is not considered decisive. I am persuaded that he referred to the Duke of Lauenburg as the 'murderer and traitor.'

Although there were several Scottish officers with Gustavus at Lützen, it is rather remarkable that this unfortunate occasion, was the only one, in the course of his German Campaign, in which he engaged the enemy, without the assistance of his Scottish Brigade.

JOHN MACKAY.

ART. VIII.—THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE.

Being the First Rhind Lecture 1891.

IN accordance with the will of my valued and lamented friend the founder of the Rhind Lectureship, I am taking for my subject the anthropology of ancient Europe and its connection with that of modern Europe, and especially of our

own country; including the descent and connections, or relations of physical types. If from these we can deduce anything as to the laws which govern the changes that have taken place in these types, or as to the causes of their development, so much the better. I scarcely hope to do that; but I may perhaps be able at least to place some of the problems of anthropology before you.

Now, these are of course many; but there are two which above all others are at present constant subjects of debate; and one of them is what may be shortly denoted as the Aryan Question, while the other is the question of the degree of permanence of types, of the stability or permanence of form and colour, of the influence upon physical character of media, of surroundings and external agencies, whether directly or by way of natural selection.

The Aryan question was originally a philological one: it was philological discovery that gave it birth—the discovery of Sanskrit and Zend, and of their relation to the principal European languages—and while everybody devoutly believed in the powerful and rapid influence of media, and was not particularly curious as to the mode of working of these media, while everybody thought that negroes were black because the sun had burned them so, and nobody troubled his own head about the form of the heads of other folk, there was no difficulty in believing that all people who spoke Aryan (or Indo-German) languages were of one blood.

Then came the knowledge of the Indian and Persian sacred books, of how the Veda introduced the white-complexioned friends of Indra from the north-west, and how the Vendidad brought the noble Aryan from a cold country, where there were only two months of summer, and which apparently lay closer to Sogdiana and Bactria, to the Jaxartes and the Oxus, than to any other part of ancient Iran. And so it was that the Roof of the World, the tableland of Pamir, and the villages that seamed its skirts, came to be looked on as the cradle of the Aryan race.

I believe it was my old friend, Dr. Robert Gordon Latham, who was the first to rebel against this doctrine. He was the

father of many paradoxes, most of which perished still-born or in their cradles; but this one, though ill received at first in the land of its birth, thrived wonderfully in Germany, where philologists found arguments in its favour more cogent perhaps than those of its parent, whose chief point indeed was the simple one that, whereas there were far more Aryan-speaking men in Europe than in Asia, the *onus probandi* lay on those who would derive the greater from the less, rather than the less from the greater. The same kind of argument might have been used to derive the Jews from Poland, or the British people from the United States, or rather from North America, or the Portuguese from Brazil.

Other and important elements and considerations have since been introduced into the question, or recognized as bearing upon it. Many of these are philological: much, as you are aware, is deduced from study of the words which are common to all or most of the Indo-German languages, and may therefore be supposed to have belonged to the original Aryan tongue. On this part of the subject I am quite incompetent to enlarge; but I would like to take the opportunity of expressing some doubt whether sufficient notice is taken of the easy transference of meaning, in the words which are used for the purpose of this line of argument, which may considerably affect their value. Thus the Latin *æ*s appears to be identical with the German *eisen*. Geiger drew attention to this case of transference; but, however well known, it seems sometimes to be forgotten or underestimated.

The investigation, by a distinguished Hungarian traveller, of the Galchas, the race who inhabit Karategin, Durwaz, Shig-nan, Wakhan, the elevated valleys of the Oxus and the Zerafshan, which constitute precisely the cradle of the Aryan race, according to those who cling to the earlier theory, has also given some of us new lights on the subject. For whereas we northern Europeans have most of us long-oval or oblong heads, and the same is the case with high-caste Hindus, who, by the original hypothesis, were our near kinsfolk; we were accustomed to assume, that we were the genuine descendants of the potentially gifted Aryan; while the anthropologists of the

central latitudes of Europe, including the great Broca himself, having heads whose breadth was greater than four-fifths of their length, sat contentedly under the imputation of belonging to an inferior race, which, among other benefits, had received from us at least the rudiments of their admirable languages. For had not Broca himself shewn, pretty conclusively, that head-form was a vastly more permanent characteristic of race than language?

Wood, and I believe Burnes, and perhaps one or two Russian travellers, had indeed penetrated the inmost recesses of Pamir, but Ujfalvy was the first to submit a competent number of the Galchas to scientific investigation. And in his hands they turned out to be a sturdy, thick-set, short-headed population, dark-haired on the whole and hazel-eyed, though including a certain proportion of blonds, and on the whole yielding, to the callipers and measuring tape, figures not unlike what may be gotten in Auvergne, or in the Alpine valleys of Savoy or Piedmont.

Now these Galchas, with their neighbours the Badakshani (lying south of them between the Oxus and the Hindu Kush, and reported to resemble them), have apparently the best title to represent our Aryan ancestors, if those ancestors are really to be sought in Asia. It would be natural for the surplus population of these valleys to overflow into Sogdiana and Bactria, as it is represented in the Vendidad to have done.

It is true, on the other hand, that the tribes which occupy the secluded valleys south of the crest of the Hindu Kush seem to differ physically from the Galchas. But not only the geographical position of these tribes, the Kafirs or Siah-Posh Kafirs, the Chitralis (who seem to be Islamized Kafirs), the people of Hunza-Nagar, the Dards, whom we know to have occupied, by the unmistakeable name of Daradræ, the same position since the dawn of geography; not only their position, but whatever we know of them, seems to indicate that they bear the same relation to the Hindus that the Galchas bear to the Persians; that if the Galchas are the rearguard of the old Persian migration, these Kafirs and Dards are the rearguard of the Aryo-Hindu migration.

Our information regarding the physical characters of these southern tribes is not so comprehensive as might be wished, but here also Ujfalvy has helped us; and it is satisfactory that they have been examined by the very man who knows most about their analogues, the Galchas. Ujfalvy confirms what little other information we have about their crania. They are generally long-headed, the average cephalic index or proportion of breadth to length, being about 75, or nearly identical with the average in our own country. It may be worth mentioning, however, that the one Siah-Posh Kafir who has ever visited England, and whom through the courtesy of Professor Leitner I had the opportunity of examining, was an exception to the rule; he had a short square head, and altogether more resembled the Galchas, as they are described.

There are evidently great varieties of complexion among these people. Bellew says some Kafirs are very dark and others very fair. Ujfalvy met with some blonds; and so did Leitner in Dardistan, and Hayward also; but the first named observer finally concluded that the cradle of the blonds, the fountain-head of the fair races, is not to be found either north or south of the Hindu Kush.

Obviously, with facts like these among the bases of argument, a great number of views about Aryan origins are possible, even after excluding any which might start with a denial of there having ever been a time when the speakers of the primitive Aryan language 'dwelt together under one roof,' or at least in the same horde.

Thus, firstly, the starting-point may have been in the land of the Galchas; the first offswarm may have been that of the ancestors of the European nations, the second that of the ancestors of the high-caste Hindus, the residue being the parents of the Persians and their kindred tribes, the Kurds, Afghans, Ossetes of the Caucasus, etc. This may be said to be the orthodox view, of which Professor Max Müller is the great champion, but it has long been losing ground. Those who adhere to it must entertain strong opinions as to the easy mutability of language, the readiness of one tribe or nation to accept and acquire the language of another; or they must

believe in the powerful and rapid action of media, of external agencies, upon national physique: or, still better, they must combine both these ways of thinking.

A sub-variety of this first species, held by some who have formed a low estimate of the power of external agencies, and particularly by some French anthropologists, is this—that the brachycephalic or broad-headed folk of Central Europe, that is, of the central zone in latitude, which includes most of the great mountain-chains—the Cevennes, the Alps, the Black Forest, the Vosges, the Carpathians and Pindus, with the regions adjacent—that all these are descended from Asiatic ancestors of a common stock with the Galchas, that they brought the Aryan language into Europe, and communicated it to the northern and southern Europeans. This opinion is based upon the resemblance between the Galchas and the Auvergnats, for example, which certainly does appear very close.

Next comes the great modern heresy, already mentioned, which derives the Aryan languages of Asia in their two great branches, the Iranian and the Indian, from Europe. It has gained ground very much of late years, and may now perhaps be said to hold the field. Few, however, of those who hold it make any endeavour to account for the colonization of Asia, the difficulty of doing which is very great. There are two principal subvarieties of this theory, one of which supposes the primitive Aryan language to have originated somewhere in that central region of Europe which I have just now been defining, while the other assigns the credit of having given it birth to the northern zone, and to the blond, dolichocephalic (long-headed) family, of which the Scandinavians furnish the best types. The arguments in favour of these two varieties of opinion may be found respectively in two recent books of small dimensions, and in our own language—that of Canon Isaac Taylor, who champions the Central or Alpine brachycephals, and that of Professor Rendell, who takes up the cause of our own northern long-heads.

There are anthropologists in Germany, however—as Poesche and Fligier, for example—who would trace the patriarchal

Aryan to his lair in the marshes of Lithuania, rather than to the valleys of the Alps or the forests of Sweden. The alleged nearer relation of Sanskrit to Lithuanic than to any other European language, furnishes them with one argument; another, which may or may not be relevant, is that Lithuania has some title to be considered the cradle of the blonds—of this more hereafter; a third is, or might be, the geographical position of the country, which, before the Slavonic Russians pushed north-eastwards across the Dnieper, may have had an uninterrupted plain, totally unoccupied so far as Aryan-speaking men were concerned, extending all the way from their frontier to that of the Galchas or their kindred in Turkestan.

In the next place we must consider briefly the great question of transformation or of variability of type. Time was when no one had any doubt about the powerful influence of external agencies, nor any about their operating in the most direct way. They saw, as we saw, that they do affect the individual both physically and morally, that the sun tans or freckles the complexion of a blond, developing pigment either over the whole exposed surface or merely in spots, and that it darkens or yellows the skin of a brunette. They saw, or thought they saw, that the vigorous, energetic European grew languid and indolent in the tropics; nay, moreover, that his children born there did not grow up equal to their father in energy and spirit. So long ago as the period of the Crusades, the Syrian Creoles, the Syrian-born children of the Frank soldiers, were complimented with the name of *Pulleins-Pullani*, because they were supposed to be chicken-hearted. The Castilian said the grass of Valencia was water, and its men were women, blaming the climate in both cases. The Negro, then, was black because the sun had burnt him, and his father before him; the Red Indian was red, or rather brown, because for generations his ancestors had been exposed to sun and wind without, and to dirt and smoke within, their wigwams. Thomas Price, one of the first men to observe and note differences of physical character in our own islands, ascribed the dark hue of the iris, which he found to prevail in some districts, to the use of coal-fires; while others, with more

apparent probability, ascribed the prognathous features of certain of the Irish peasantry, either to the influence of misery and starvation, or to the continual exercise of the jaws upon large quantities of half-boiled potatoes 'with the bones in them.' You will recollect that eloquent description of them, often quoted for political purposes—'Five feet two inches on an average, pot-bellied, abortively featured, these spectres of a people that once were able-bodied and comely, etc., etc.' Montesquieu in France, and Falconer, and, more recently, Buckle, have probably been the best expositors of this view of the subject. Some of their ideas as to the influence of external agencies on the individual were deserving of respect and consideration; but as a rule they quite ignored the great principles of heredity.

New lights began to play upon the subject from the speculations of Oken and Lamarck and our own Robert Chambers; until finally the full blaze of the great idea of variation of type through natural selection was turned upon it by Darwin and Wallace. Its development checked a current of thought which had meanwhile been in process of growth among the anthropologists, more especially those of France, who a generation ago were the undisputed leaders in their own science. The old idea, derived from the usual interpretation of the Old Testament, had been that all mankind were undoubtedly descended from a single pair, and must therefore have been capable of rapid or even sudden variations of type, in order to the production of the numerous and widely different varieties which we now see scattered over the world. The gradual admission of the claims of geology within the circle of orthodox opinion, only lessened the difficulties of this view, by greatly and indefinitely extending the period available for these variations. But now began a reaction. The French Egyptologists proclaimed that numerous types of man were to be found portrayed in the ancient wall-paintings, identical with those at present existing, and quite as sharply discriminated; and they began to ask why—if 5000 years had done nothing to bring about physical changes in man—why should 50,000 years be supposed to have done so much. Nott and

Gliddon in America, in the Southern States of the American Union, animated obviously and naturally by political feeling, urged this question in reference to the supposed eternal gulf that divided the white man from the black; and their arguments were relied on by Southern politicians. Boudin and Broca, in France, took up the subject of hereditary stature. There is perhaps no physical character which might, *à priori*, be expected to vary more easily under the operation of different conditions of life, and more especially of differences in the nature and relative abundance of nutriment. Boudin, however, maintained that where large masses of population were considered, the scarcity or abundance of food could not be shown to have any influence; and Broca shewed that in France stature was an attribute of race, that tall stature coincided in locality with a fair complexion, a long head, a certain form of nose, and a tendency to suffer from decayed teeth and certain other infirmities.

Some of those anthropologists who built upon Broca's facts carried out their deductions into the region of paradox. Blumenbach and his successors had acknowledged three, or at most five, great varieties of the human species: there was *Homo Sapiens albus europæus*, the white man of Europe and western Asia; *Homo Sapiens flavus asiaticus*, the yellow or Mongolian man; *Homo Sapiens niger africanus*, the negro, then in process of detection elsewhere than in Africa; to these others added *Homo Sapiens ruber americanus*, the Red Indian, whom Blumenbach had made a sub-variety of the Mongolian; and the Malay, also nearer to the Mongolian than to either of the other two original varieties, was by some added as a fifth. Next the Hottentot and the Austral Negro put in their claims for separation. Then Huxley divided the dark whites from the blond whites, *i.e.*, for example, the Spaniards and Berbers from the Swedes. And the last and best classification that I have seen, that of Deniker of Paris, admits thirteen divisions, one of which is entirely constituted by the Aino, the hairy men of Yesso and Saghalien, some of whose blood enters into the composition of the Japanese.

Deniker of course does not claim a separate origin for all his

thirteen varieties of man; he simply means that they are all well-defined, recognizable, and practically permanent in the absence of crossing. Few, if any, now contend for the separate origin of more than two, or three at the most. But it was otherwise not so long ago. In evidence let me cite a particular case. At the foot of the Himalayas extends a long narrow belt of intensely malarious forest called the Terai. So pestilential is the Terai that it used to be said it was death for a European to sleep within its limits, or to traverse them by night; and it was almost equally deadly to even the neighbouring tribes. But there is a race of people called the Bodo, who inhabit this otherwise deserted swamp, and defy its deadly malaria with impunity. They were first described, I believe, by Mr. Bryan Hodgson, who wrote a valuable work on them, and on some other sub-Himalayan tribes. Their civilization of course is low, but their Mongoloid heads and features present scarcely any peculiarities, when compared with those of the Lepchas or other hill-tribes of the Himalaya; the physiognomy may differ a little, but nothing comes out in the measurements. Now Barnard Davis, the 'doyen' of British anthropologists in his day, was well-acquainted with the Bodo, so far as he could be without personally interviewing them. And his opinion was that the Bodo were an entirely distinct variety of man, who derived their singular immunity from fever from their having been created or developed *in situ*.

Since that time opinions have grown to be a little less extreme; the polygenists, the advocates of plurality of origin, have ceased, as I said just now, to require more than two or three starting-points for our species, and have begun to attach more or less importance to the various possible modifying agencies; while the monogenists are more ready to acknowledge the feebleness of the direct action of climate, food, etc., and the slowness of the changes produced in other ways. Before these two parties can come to anything like an agreement, it will be necessary for the biologist to settle a great question which lies behind or at the bottom of all these

disputes—that of the descent by inheritance of acquired characters.

I will now proceed to enumerate a few of the supposed modifying influences:—

First comes the direct influence of climate, of sunshine, temperature, moisture, malaria. Of this we now hear comparatively little, though there is more evidence of the deteriorative effect of malaria on physical type than is generally known.

Secondly, the doubtlessly powerful influence of natural selection, of which new modes of working are continually being found out or suspected. Hereunder, for example, comes the most plausible theory ever yet brought forward to account for the origin of the blond complexion, that of Mr. Buchan of Toronto, who, choosing Southern Scandinavia as its most probable birthplace, shows how a fine transparent skin might give its owner a slight advantage in a somewhat cool and damp climate which it would not have elsewhere, and which indeed might be positively detrimental in a hot country, especially where the air is also dry. Looking at this theory with historical side-lights and qualifications, and taking note of the slowness with which so slight an advantage might be expected to make itself felt, there seems very little to object to it, except the description given by the Chinese annalists of the Woo-Sun, and other green-eyed, red-haired tribes who once inhabited Central Asia. And this objection may be somewhat weakened if we accept the opinions of many geologists as to the recent existence of a great West-Asiatic Sea, of which the Euxine, the Caspian and the Aral are the dwindling remains, and which would have caused the climate of that region to be much damper than it now is.

Malaria evidently works much by natural selection. In New Orleans, for example, the fair races of Northern Europe, including our own, are said to suffer most from yellow fever, and the negroes least; while the dark races of Southern Europe, Huxley's *Melanochroi*, occupy an intermediate position, the French moreover standing worse than the more southern Spaniards, Portuguese and Italians. It would probably be impossible for the Anglo-American permanently to hold his

ground in New Orleans, without the presence of the other races whom he utilises; and if he does succeed in doing so, it is likely that the blonds may in course of time almost entirely disappear from his ranks.

It is my opinion, though I cannot prove it, that a process of selection, which may perhaps be called natural, works against the perpetuation of certain types in our cities. Tall rapidly developing children, and perhaps especially those of fair complexion, have seemed to me less able to thrive without fresh air and abundant food than others. And tall striplings are more apt to suffer from consumption than short, stocky, slowly-developing young men. These may be among the causes of the lower stature of our town artisans and labourers, as compared with the professional and well-to-do classes. This difference, as you are probably aware, is pretty considerable. Roberts and Rawson, summing up the wide field of induction yielded by the schedules of the British Association Committee, found it to amount to quite two inches; and I myself found nearly that difference between the average stature of an upper-class company and of some artisan companies in the Bristol Volunteer Rifle Corps.

Sir James Simpson pointed out, a good many years ago, that nature had placed a barrier in the way of the too great development of the human brain, so that infants with very large heads usually perished at their entry into the world. And I am pretty certain that in this matter nature favours the dolichocephals, the long-headed, rather than the broad-headed type. This conclusion I arrived at many years ago, at a time when the great Maternity Hospital of Vienna afforded me much material for observation.

It is commonly believed, and Alfred Wallace, in particular among naturalists, has insisted upon the consideration, that whereas natural selection operated very strongly in early stages of society in the direction of physical improvement, by the elimination of the smaller and weaker individuals, civilization has now put an end to, or at least greatly restricted, its action. There is of course a considerable amount of truth in this doctrine; but if one particular form of selection, that

which may be styled selection by combat, is no longer largely operative, there are other forms of it, whether rightly to be called 'natural' or not we need not discuss, which are still at work among us, and some of which may conceivably be altering our physical type.

Conjugal selection is one of these. Francis Galton has pointed out that the slackening or positive arrest of intellectual progress during the Middle Ages was due in some measure to the fact that men who had more brain than muscle naturally gravitated towards the monasteries, and being there shut up, and prohibited from marriage, did not reproduce their kind, while the sturdy blockheads who remained outside the convent walls did do so. The anthropologist in this country has great difficulty in obtaining facilities for measuring mediæval skulls: popular and even clerical prejudices on the subject are a serious obstacle; * but I have always taken advantage of any such opportunities; and I have been struck with the fine frontal development of some monkish skulls, while those of persons supposed to have belonged to the mediæval chivalry were often small and poorly developed. This observation evidently corroborates Galton's idea.

The possible effect in this case would be an alteration in the dimensions of the skull, particularly in the frontal region. But it is quite conceivable that the prevailing complexion or colour of hair and eyes might be altered in this kind of way. Fashions change in regard to the popularity of colours; and they differ in different countries. Red hair furnishes the best instance. Red-haired persons do not now constitute the majority in any tribe or nation, not even among the Voguls and Votiaks of the Uralian region; but there is some reason for thinking that red hair was once much more prevalent than now. I doubt whether it ever now occurs among the Brahmins; † yet it is

* The late Dean Macneil of Ripon buried, unmeasured and unchronicled, a most valuable collection of mediæval bones, which had occupied the crypt of the minster for centuries before he came to disturb it.

† I have lately learned from Dr. Balfour that a small tribe of Brahmins exists somewhere to the south of Bombay among whom red or light hair is not uncommon.

pretty certain that it once did, else why were Brahmins forbidden, as it is said they were, by the laws of Manu, to marry red-haired women. Blondes and red-haired persons do still occur about the Hindu Kush, among the tribes from whom the Brahmins are supposed to have been emigrants; and from that fact, as well as from the existence of the law, we may conclude that they continued to appear, in small numbers doubtless, among the Brahmins domiciled in India, and that no unfavourable action of climate had extinguished them. But obedience to the law in question would certainly in the course of time annihilate the tendency to their production.

In Germany the colour seems to have been unpopular for ages, curiously enough, as it belonged more particularly to the nobles and freemen, who were of true Germanic blood. Red-haired men are, and have long been, known as 'foxes' among the peasantry. So far as we can trust the descriptions left us by classical writers—I confess I do *not* trust them implicitly—the Germans were once as prevaillingly red-haired as we know, on surer grounds, that they were long-headed; but at present red hair is not common among them, and when it occurs it is not like the brilliant Highland red that we are familiar with. May not fashion, operating through conjugal selection, have had something to do with its diminution.

In Britain there have been changes in fashion with regard to its estimation, and during the present generation the æsthetic revival, bringing to bear the pretty persistent admiration of it expressed by artists and poets, have rendered it highly popular, at least among the upper classes. So it was during most of the sixteenth century, for I believe it was flattery in Holbein that led to its appearing so frequently on his canvas, and we may apply the same test which convicts the golden-haired beauties of Venice in the palmy days of her artists; we may examine comparatively the portraits of the *men* of the same date, when we shall find no such preponderance of auburn and golden hues as in the other sex.

Some years ago I endeavoured to investigate this question of the possible influence of conjugal selection on colour, and the ultimate result to which I came, from the observation of

nearly 600 women, was that among the labouring classes of Bristol fewer of the red-haired and of the black-haired women entered into matrimony than of the fair, brown, or dark-brown. I do not think the basis was broad enough to sustain much weight of induction; but, as I have stated elsewhere, if the case were really as my figures seemed to show, and if the same condition of things were to endure for a few generations, the discouragement of the production of hair-pigment would be so great that we should have a general prevalence of dull shades of brown, to the confusion and despair of poets and artists.

It is very difficult to estimate or analyse at all satisfactorily the power which different marriage-rates may have upon the reproduction of different elements of population. That it may be very great has been shewn by Francis Galton, in his *Enquiries into Human Faculty*, where, taking two populations of equal number, in one of which the women are supposed to marry at the age of 20, and in the other at 29, all other things being equal, he calculates that in 324 years the former group will have increased from 100 to 535, while the latter will have decreased from 100 to 23. 'The general result,' says he, 'is that the group B gradually disappears, and the group A more than supplants it.'

Of course the matter is not quite so simple as it appears in Galton's statement; there are considerations, for example, as to the relative mortality of children, of premature, of mature, and of too late marriages, which cannot be very accurately weighed, and which are here put aside; but there can be doubt of the substantial truth of the conclusion, that in a few hundred years the community A would be a good many times more numerous than the community B, which latter would probably be well on its way towards extinction.

Yet the disadvantage at which community B is placed, in this imaginary comparison, is probably not so great as that at which some sections or classes in a nation are frequently placed in relation to the rest. Let us allow that in the days of long-period military service the enlisted men were physically above the average in stature and vigour. I conjecture that such was really the case while the standard for recruits was high,

and when the Scottish Highlanders and the south-country and Irish peasantry were still enlisting. It is clear that these men, as a class, could not have reproduced the species to any great extent; such of them as escaped all the dangers of a soldier's career returned home comparatively late in life, and would be in a worse position in this respect by far than Galton's community B. And inasmuch as they were so, the general physical standard of the next generation would, we conclude, be slightly lowered. It *was* lowered in France by Napoleon's wars.

But soldiers are not the only class in which the relative frequency of marriage is lessened, and the average age at marriage raised, by the circumstances of their profession. In this country, and at the present time, this applies more or less to the whole of the upper middle classes, the best educated portion of the community, who will therefore contribute far less than their share to the mass of the coming generation.

In most countries, and at most periods, the influence of caste-division has made itself felt in this direction. To some races, reduction to slavery has been merely a deferred death-sentence; thus nations perished, after passing through the status of slavery, during the expansion of the Roman power; and the Indians of the Antilles withered away under the Spanish tyranny. The freemen of ancient Greece seem to have multiplied their noble type of man at a very rapid rate; and their civilization was based upon slavery. But the rule is that a governing caste multiplies far less freely than a subordinate one. There are several obvious causes for this. The prudential check tells more on those who have something to lose, than on those who have nothing.

Thus, in the old border ballad, Sir James Murray is quite willing to risk his life by rising in arms against the King:

‘The king has gifted my lands langsyne;
It canna be nae waur with me!’

while Andrew Murray, the more prosperous member of the family, takes a more anxious view—

' Judge gif it stands na hard wi' me
To enter against a king wi' crown,
An put my lands in jeopardie ? '

Then the ruling or superior caste is usually and naturally the military one, and subject to all the risks of military life.* But most important is usually the caste-feeling against giving the daughters of the family to inferiors in rank, even when no other husbands are available. Hence infanticide and nunneries, and gradual decline in numbers of the legitimate members of the caste; while the subordinate castes, wherein marriage is more facile, multiply and rise to power.

The great expenditure of life among mariners, many of whom perish unmarried at early ages, must at least diminish the rate of increase among maritime communities.

Among people who emigrate from their native country to colonise another and a vacant or a thinly peopled one, divers and contrary influences seem to work. In the beginning, while there are still difficulties with hostile aborigines, scanty supplies of food, ignorance of the effects of climate, and so forth, there is usually great expenditure of life and little reproduction; but as the colony grows and thrives, and receives a sufficient supply of the female element, the birthrate usually becomes exceedingly high, and multiplication rapid. Perhaps the most conspicuous modern instance of this is to be found in the province of Quebec, where the French Canadians, assisted probably by the cross of Red Indian blood which brings their constitution into better harmony with the climate, have multiplied in a century and a half from a few thousands up to more than a million.

In Australasia too, as well as in the United States of America, the rate of increase was for a long time exceedingly high, though in both it seems to be now diminishing with the increase of density of population, and of the social difficulties thereby entailed. At the same time the artisan population of the towns seems to contribute the greater

* 'Rara est in nobilitate senectus,' is the motto on the fine old monument of the Herberts in Montgomery Church.

proportion of the increase, while among the adventurous pioneers in the back settlements the rate is comparatively low. The relevance of this may not immediately appear; but it will seem more distinct when I call your attention to the fact that types of men different physically as well as morally gravitate towards different lines of life. Thus Calvinistic theology is attractive to the man of melancholic, not to the man of sanguine temperament. Now these temperaments have respectively their external signs, and do not occur with equal frequency in all races. There are many other factors in the destiny of an individual besides his physical constitution; but nevertheless I believe you will find that an unusual proportion of men with dark straight hair enter the ministry; that the red-whiskered men are apt to be given to sporting and horseflesh; and that tall vigorous blond long-headed men, lineal descendants of the Vikings, or of the Athelings who 'won England, and refused not the hard sword-play,' still furnish a large contingent to our travellers and emigrants. We shall see presently that that was the physical type of the Germans who took part in the overthrow of the Roman empire, and in what their countrymen—it would be a little too bold to say 'their descendants,'—call the Wandering of Nations (*Völkswanderung*); and it would seem to have been also that of the leaders, at least, of the Gauls, who colonised Galatia and brought home the treasures of Greece and Italy to Toulouse; and it has at present more representatives among the Scandinavians and ourselves than among other peoples. In this way, and by the sparing of the tall youths in the Australian life of open air and abundant food, one might account for the prevalence of tall fair types among the colonial-born (the cornstalks), a prevalence which is generally asserted, and which accords with my own observation.

The direct influence of the kind or quality of food, apart from its sufficiency or insufficiency in quantity, was a favourite point among the philosophers of the last century. The mild Hindu was supposed to owe his postulated mildness to a diet of rice, the Briton his martial ferocity to beef and beer. Some

of our modern vegetarians make use of this line of argument. It would be easy, of course, to cite countervailing instances. Thus the peaceful Eskimos are perforce and exclusively eaters of fish and flesh : while the Maoris, the Fijians, the Fāns, all ruthless cannibals, were the outcome of generations of habitual vegetarianism. Let us look rather at the physical side, which our high-flown ancestors rather neglected. Can the nature or abundance of food alter the colour or form of the individual ? and, if so, can the alterations be transmitted to his descendants ?

I have never happened to see this question of colour-change by food discussed ; though I have little doubt that it has been so. It is confidently stated that the plumage of canaries and some other singing-birds can be considerably altered, in the direction of red or orange, by feeding them with spicy stimulating food, red pepper and the like. Possibly the red colouring matter may be transmitted from the food to the feathers, or perhaps some change in the minute structure of the plumes may be brought about. Anyhow, I am informed that the beautiful colours of feathers are due more to the lamellar structural arrangement than to a deposit of pigment, which gives most of the colour to human skin and hair. Still, it seems quite possible that the production of pigment might be increased by a diet that mildly stimulated the organs which produce it. It is apparently lessened in wasting disease.

As to form, the probability is certainly greater. Robert Gordon Latham thought that both form and colour might in some degree depend on the geological structure of the habitat, and advised me, when I was collecting the materials for my work on the Stature and Bulk of Man in the British Isles, to pay particular attention to the carboniferous limestone. I was not successful in making out anything like what he expected : in a country like ours, where comparatively little of the food consumed is raised on the spot, the differences between the productions of several geological districts are not so likely to be operative as in other lands ; though the absence or abundance of lime and magnesia in the drinking-water might be equally so here as elsewhere. Durand de Gros finds physical

differences between the people of the calcareous and the granitic parts of the Rouergue, (in the south of France) which he cannot account for by difference of race: the dwellers in the former are, as one would expect, the better developed, while those in the Segalas, the granitic country, are smaller, inferior in form and complexion, less strong but more active. He thinks that he finds a difference even in the colour of the hair, the Segalas men being the darker; but that may depend on the seizure of the better land by the more vigorous and fairer race.

But may not the superabundance of lime in food and water tell also on the form of the skull? We know that in rickets the deficiency or malassimilation of lime leads, among other consequences, to deformity of the skull in the way of greater roundness. This is due to the thinness of the bones and to defective or postponed ossification of the sutures. On the other hand, *excess* of phosphate of lime in food seems to conduce to good physical development. Thus in Switzerland the most robust men are found in Nidwalden and Ticino, two cantons which agree in only one discoverable point, viz., the great consumption of cheese, the aliment most rich in phosphate of lime. 'Then,' says Schaaffhausen, 'may not a superabundance of phosphate of lime in the food, such as would be apt to occur among a wild uncivilised [hunting and pastoral?] people, lead to premature ossification of the cranial sutures, and thus to contraction of breadth and increase of length of skull, which is precisely what we find in the old long-headed denizens of Central Europe.' The only objection that I can see is that the Mongols and other races of Central Asia, who live very much in the manner contemplated, feeding on flesh and milk, have not long but broad and round skulls.

J. BEDDOE.

ART. IX.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (January, February, March).—The light literature, which has now become a feature of this periodical, is represented by a serial which runs through the three numbers for the quarter. It is a translation under the title 'Am Tiber,' of the novel by Mme. Grazia Pierantoni-Mancini, which, at its first appearance, was received with great interest, far beyond the limits of her own country, and was made by the *Times* the subject of an important article on the social position of women in Italy.—An article of considerable literary merit as well as of historical value is begun in the January and concluded in the February number. It is a history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, and bears the signature of Herr Dr. Paul Rohrbach.—In the first number, Herr Otto Harnack has a short paper entitled 'Poesie und Sittlichkeit,' in which, whilst admitting that in some cases, 'realism' is only another word for impropriety, he protests against the condemnation and exclusion of such realism as that, for example, of Ibsen.—In the same number, Herr Karl Rathgen gives a sketch—based on a late publication of the 'Verein für Socialpolitik'—of the commercial policy of the chief States of Europe during the last twenty years.—This is followed by an important military paper in which Dr. von Engelstedt considers the position and resources of Russia in the event of a war with Germany.—In the article which Professor von Lilienthal devotes to a sketch of the late revolution in Chili, the author lays all the blame on the morbid vanity of Balmaceda.—In a paper entitled 'Die Ueberfüllung im höheren Lehrfach' Herr Schoenflies enters into a minute examination of an official report, published last year, as to the overcrowding of the teaching profession. He contends that the data given in it are insufficient, and that the excess of over 2000 indicated in that report has not been accurately worked out. Another article in the same number sets forth and criticises the changes introduced into the German scholastic programme, by the ordinances of last year.—For the general reader one of the most interesting contributions in the three numbers is the article which Herr Strauch devotes to the Oberammergau passion-play. He does not enter into the controversy as to its propriety or impropriety, but sketches the development of the text and indicates various points where

revision of it seems to him desirable.—The March number contains an article which will interest many in this country. It bears the title 'Religious Instruction in Elementary Schools.' The conclusion arrived at by the writer, Herr Otto Pfeleiderer, is that the Bible only should be taught; that the teaching of it should be obligatory; and that, like every other department, it should be under the supervision of the Government Inspectors.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (January, February, March).—A striking feature in the first number, is the total absence of those articles to which we have so often had occasion to refer as characteristic of the magazine. In the other parts, however, there are several as usual. Whilst Herr Paul Lindenberg takes us through the environs of Berlin, Herr Eduard Yetsche acts as our cicerone around the Austrian capital. In addition to this there is a descriptive and well-illustrated sketch of Aden.—Although entitled 'Moorish Civilisation in the Middle Ages' the paper contributed by Herr Gustav Diercks may also find a place in this section, considering it is accompanied by thirty-nine illustrations, of which the greater number are Algerian and Spanish views.—A biographical sketch of Metternich, accompanied by an excellent portrait appears in the January number.—The same month brings a most interesting paper in which Herr Ebermayer shows the utility of plants as purifiers of the air in dwelling-houses.—As interesting as it is erudite is the article in which Herr Gustav Wolzendorff shows in what manner the ancient Greeks provided for the treatment of those who were wounded in battle.—By far the most noticeable contribution to the third of the quarter's numbers is the excellent biographical and critical essay which Herr Münz devotes to Ferdinand Gregorovius, the historian of Rome.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (January, February, March).—The new quarter opens with the first instalment of a new novel by Theodor Fontane. It is entitled, 'Frau Jenny Treibel oder wo sich Herz zum Herzen find't,' and, so far as it has gone, is an admirable sketch of Berlin life.—Next to this comes a brilliant essay on Danton. It is written with as much fairness and impartiality as can well be expected considering the comparative proximity to our own time of the events which it records. If it does not attempt to extenuate the violence of which Danton was guilty, it sets down naught in malice, and does justice to the nobler parts of his character.—Shakespeare's historical plays, from Richard II. to Richard III., have afforded Professor W. Henke material for a masterly essay which no student of our dramatic literature sufficiently acquainted with

the German language should fail to read.—In the same number an anonymous contributor gives a charming sketch of the Highlands of northern Africa, where he spent what appears to have been a delightful twelve-month.—It is concluded in the February part, which also brings the essay on Danton to a close. It contains, further, three excellent biographical sketches, 'Frau von Olfers,' by Herman Grimm; 'Giovanni Battista de Rossi,' by Franz Xaver Kraus; and 'Gustav von Loeper,' by Erich Schmidt.—The last of the three numbers before us is one of the most interesting to which we have yet had occasion to call attention. One of the contributions to it will be read with interest by students of Shakespeare. Its title is 'Hamlet in Hamburg, 1625.' In it the author shows that in that year the German version of Hamlet was acted for the first time in Germany.—Theodor Heyse's translation, or rather imitation of Catullus has afforded Herr Friedländer an opportunity for bringing before the public a scholarly essay on the Latin poet.—Herr Wilhelm Fliesz devotes a paper to Influenza; and Professor Ernst Curtius has one entitled 'Architektur und Plastik.' A 'sick-nurse' contributes a most readable sketch of Mashonaland and South Africa.—In addition to these we find the concluding instalment of the historical study 'Ein Thronerbe als Diplomat,' by Herr Ludwig von Hirschfeld; 'Das Wachsthum der Energie in der geistigen und organischen Welt,' by Herr Carriere; and 'Die Erhaltung der Kunstdenkmäler in Italien.' The usual letters and reviews complete the contents of an exceptionally varied and excellent number.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 3, 1892).—All the articles in this number are of perhaps exceptional interest, and two of them at least will be certain to attract the attention of English readers. In the first, 'Die Idee des Reiches Gottes und ihre Anwendung in Dogmatik und Ethik' Professor Köstlin passes under review the conceptions of 'The Kingdom of God' of several prominent writers (German) on Dogmatics and Ethics, and the influence these have exercised on their general line of teaching. He then examines the New Testament idea of the kingdom. Nowhere there is there any precise definition of the phrase, and it is only by the patient investigation of the passages where it occurs that we can determine to any extent what Jesus and his followers indicated by it. Professor Köstlin first seeks to discover what form the idea of the kingdom took in the thoughts and hopes of the prophets and religious teachers of Israel prior to the times of Jesus. He next takes up the discourses and sayings of Jesus

himself, and then the teaching of the Apostles and early Christian writers preserved for us in the New Testament as a whole. In a final section he gives a brief summary of the results reached by this examination, and discusses the place which the idea of the kingdom has in relation to dogmatic and ethical systems.—Dr. J. Dräseke of Wandsbeck has a learned paper on Gregory of Nazianzum and his relation to Apollinarianism.—Dr. Carl Clemen follows with the first, and we are told, the smaller portion of a review of the present position of religious thought in Great Britain. ‘*Der gegenwärtige Stand des Religiösen Denkens in Grossbritannien.*’ The subject is a comprehensive one certainly, for the movements of religious thought among us are manifold, and Dr. Clemen has to content himself, of course, with a selection of the more prominent or pronounced of these, and has to summarise their salient features very briefly. But he has evidently paid considerable attention to the religious literature in which the various schools of thought have been endeavouring of late years to promulgate their views, and his estimates of us are characterised by great moderation and fairness.—Professor Kautzsch reviews at some length Professor Cheyne’s Bampton Lectures on ‘*The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter.*’ While the bulk of the review is taken up with a summary of the rich contents of the book, the reviewer pays a warm tribute to the scholarship of the author, and the spirit that everywhere pervades the work.

R U S S I A.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL—Russian Opinion (September, October, November, and December, 1891).—These four Nos. contain in all 2,024 pages, and bear witness to the omnivorousness of the Russian reader. As we are in arrear with our notices, and have a double portion of numbers to glance at, the space meanwhile being, as usual, limited, we must be pardoned for being very brief and summary. ‘*The Poison of Life*’ is the unattractive title of a comedy in five acts by Mr. V. A. Kriloff.—‘*Djalaleddin*’ is a tale anonymously translated from the Armenian of Raffi.—‘*The Brothers Gordeyeff*’ is a short novel, complete in 68 pages, by Mr. D. N. Mamin-Sibiryak.—‘*Zoroaster*,’ a romance by Mr. Marion Crawford, is translated from the English by V. M. S., and given complete.—‘*Poetry*’ is represented by Messrs. V. L. Velichko, L. M. Medveyeff, L. S. Palmin, and D. S. Merezhkofski.—Mr. A. I. Ertel’s new domestic romance, entitled ‘*Smeyna*,’ a work of considerable length commenced in the January number, is now brought to a close.

—Mr. N. N. Nechahyeff contributes an article on 'Zemskie Finance.'—Mr. V. A. Goltseff, the writer of the 'Foreign Review,' furnishes a short monograph 'On the novels of Eliza Ozheshkoff,' a record of twenty-five years literary activity.—'The contemporary Great Russian in his marriage customs and family life' is a most instructive paper by Mr. L. P. Vesin.—'Serghe Timofeyevich Aksakoff,' a century's record of Pan-slavism, by Mr. P. N. Milyoukoff; 'On the Occasion of the Sixth Centenary of Swiss Federation' by I. N. K.; and a 'Letter on Literature' by Mr. M. A. Protopopoff, make excellent reading.—'Home Review' is full of national affairs, the more painful of which we in England are well posted in, though a Russian statement thereof naturally possesses an interest of its own. In the four numbers these domestic records fill 115 pages.—'Foreign Review,' by the above named Mr. Goltseff, discusses the visit of the French fleet to St. Petersburg; the coming of age of the present French Republic (1870-91); Austrian, German, and Italian affairs; a parallel between Parnell and Boulanger; Mr. Gladstone's Newcastle programme; the Italian Gallophobia; Savoy and Nice *versus* Alsace and Lorraine; Mr. John Morley and the *Fortnightly Review*; with other matters.—'Scientific Views' contain three papers by Mr. M. A. Menzbir on 'Contemporary Biological Problems,' and one by Mr. M. I. Broom on the 'Economical History of England during the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times.'—The 'French' and 'Central-Asian Exhibition at Moscow' form the subjects of two anonymous papers.—The 'Bibliographic Division' contains notices of 122 works, no one of which is in English, though a French translation of Professor Huxley's *Natural Sciences and Education* is included.—A novel by Mr. P. D. Boborykin, entitled 'Vows' (Obrechena), is given complete.—Ten 'Letters from Africa,' by Mr. Henry Senkevich, are translated from the Polish by V. M. L.—Three further 'Excursions in the domain of Russian epochs' complete the historico-literary travel of Mr. V. Th. Miller.—Mr. M. I. Venyoukoff keeps the Dark Continent to the fore by his thoughtful article, in nine chapters, 'On the Eastern Coast of Africa.'—Materials for a history of the last Kirghiz rising are furnished by Mr. N. A. Sereda under the title, 'History of the War on the Orenburg Frontier.'—A brief necrology of 'Ivan Alexandrovich Goncharoff' is furnished by V. A. G., most probably a brother of the deceased.—'On the National Supply of Provisions' is the title of a letter to the editor by Mr. A. Miropolski.—'Object-glass Method of Literary Criticism' is a review of Valerian Maikoff's book, *Critical Experiences*, by Mr. M. A. Protopopoff.—'Contemporary Art' records

as usual the doings of the Moscow theatres, which, in spite of national distress, still flourish.—‘In the Marshes and Forests’ (V’Toondrey e v’Taighey), a tale of Siberia as it is, by Mr. G. A. Machtet, is given complete.—‘Noormahal,’ an eastern story by Louis Halle, is translated from the French by V. M. R.—‘Travel in Tashkent and Samarkand’ is described by Count P. S. Oovaroff.—‘General ideas of two centuries ago,’ by M., is a review of ‘Soziale Fragen vor zweihundert Jahren von Daniel Defoe, übersetzt von Hugo Fischer,’ Leipzig, 1890, having special reference to our old friend Robinson Crusoe.—‘Ambitious Projects of the United States [of America] in the Domain of Economic Politics,’ by Count L. A. Kamorofski, discusses problems of great interest to all manufacturing countries, and to Great Britain in particular.—‘Without Bread’ is a voluntary piece of communicated intelligence by Mr. Gleb I. Oospenski, which speaks for itself through the medium of its sad title.—‘Goncharoff,’ a literary tribute to the deceased writer, is furnished by Mr. M. A. Protopopoff.—‘A New Union of Russian Naturalists’ by V. pays homage to our ‘Association for the advancement of Science,’ founded in England in 1831.—‘Duty of the Community in relation to Domestic (Koostarnoy) Manufactures’ is a review by A. A. I. of a new book by Dr. Ziegler entitled *Die sozialpolitischen Aufgaben auf dem Gebiete der Hausindustrie*, 1890.—‘A disciple and companion’ adds to the death-roll his master and friend, ‘L. Ph. Lavinon.’—‘Shadows,’ a fantasia by Mr. Vladimir Korolenko, is a relief to the reader amid such a mass of hard-headed matter.—‘General Economy of the City of Moscow for the Twenty-five years, 1863 to 1887,’ is discussed by Mr. V. I. Gregorieff.—‘What is to be done by us with our deep-seated maladies (dooshevno-bolnymi)?’ is a socio-political and not a spiritual disquisition, as its title, dooshevno, may seem to imply. It is a closely reasoned article of 36 pages by Mr. I. I. Bazhenoff, and does not scruple to hold up to imitation our sometimes despised Poor Law and Local Government Board administrations.—Professor N. Lyubovich reviews Mr. Kareyeff’s work, ‘Nature of the historical process, and of the rôle of individuals in History.’—Mr. E. I. Akhmatoff discourses on ‘Acquaintance with A. V. Droozhininym.’—‘Mirabeau’ is a review of Edmond Rousse’s work, Paris, 1891, by I. N. K.—Another article on ‘Literature and Life’ is furnished by Mr. N. K. Michaelofski.—‘Great Talent’ is the title given by the oft-quoted contributor, Mr. M. A. Protopopoff, to a review of the tenth volume of the collected works of N. S. Deyskoff.—‘What Cyphers Say’ is a statistical paper on Russian agricultural products by Mr. I. I. Petroonkevich.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL (January and February, 1892).—The thirteenth yearly issue of this bulky review opens with an historical paper by Mr. G. P. Danilefski, completed in the February number, entitled 'The Tsarevich Aleksie,' the unfortunate son of Peter I.—'Yad,' a Norwegian romance, by Alexander Killand, is commenced in a translation, chapters I. to VII., by E. R.—'Lyouboff,' a romance by Mr. I. N. Potapenko, is commenced in chapters I. to VI.—'Poetry' is represented by Messrs. D. S. Merezhofski and Th. A. Chervinski.—'The literary remains of Kavelin' (1847 to 1884), prefaced and annotated by Mr. D. A. Korsakoff, consists chiefly of letters, in which species of writing Russians excel.—Six more 'Letters from Africa,' by Mr. Henry Senkevich appear.—'Golodofka,' is a short tale by Mr. I. A. Saloff, complete.—'The Disciples of Garrick' is an historical romance from the French of Augustus Filon, commenced in a translation, chapters I. to IX., by Mr. V. M. Remezoff.—'The Founders (Rodonachalniki, or Family Stock) of English Radicalism,' is an historical paper by Mr. M. M. Kovalefski, which will run through three numbers.—'Lermontoff in the Country,' are popular readings in two numbers, by Mr. Kh. D. Alchevski.—Two further 'Letters on Literature' are furnished by Mr. M. A. Protopopoff.—'Reform of the English Universities in the Nineteenth Century,' by Mr. A. C. Okolski, bids fair to be an exhaustive record.—A review of Morrison's book, 'Macaulay,' is contributed by A. P.—Two further articles on 'Literature and Life' are furnished by Mr. N. K. Michaelofski.—'The Composition of the Representation in the Rural Assemblies of Russia,' is the subject of a fairly long article by Mr. V. O. Klyouchefski.—'Contemporary Art' is signed for the first time by Mr. M. N. Remezoff, and reviews the performances in the different theatres of Moscow. We notice among the dramas our old friend 'Cymbeline,' by Shakespeare, which the Russians prefer to name 'Imogene.'—'Foreign Review,' as usual, falls to the lot of Mr. V. A. Goltseff, who gives in the January number a retrospect of the whole of the past year, 1891.—'Home Review' is replete with domestic matters.—The 'Bibliographic Division' contains notices of 72 works, three of which are translated from the English: (1) *History of the English Nation*, by John Richard Green, translated by Mr. P. N. Nicolaieff, (2) *Don Juan*, by Lord Byron, translated by Mr. P. Koolish, (3) *Of the Russe Commonwealth*, by Giles Fletcher, translated by Mr. S. M. Seredonin.—'A Sworn Kozak,' is the title of a short novel dedicated to the standing Foreign Reviewer, Victor Alexandrovich Goltseff, and given complete, by Mr. G. A. Machtet.—'Law and Life' discusses on the practical Law of July 3rd,

1886, on the working of mills and factories, and is signed by 'Technical Engineer.'—'War or Peace?' is the ominous enquiry made by Count L. A. Kamarofski.—'Activity of the Land Bank of the Peasantry for the year 1890' is a dry statistical paper, though on an interesting subject, by Mr. M. Hertzshstein.—'Scientific Views' contain a paper by Mr. A. I. Voyeakoff on 'The Irrigation of the Distant [or Western] United States' of North America.

VOPROSI PHILOSOFII I PSYCHOLOGII (*Questions Philosophical and Psychological*) opens its tenth number with a discussion on the old question, the 'Metaphysics of the Future,' founded on the work of A. Fouillée, *L'avenir de la Métaphysique fondée sur l'expérience* (Paris, 1889). This seems following in the tracks of Kant in his prolegomena to all future metaphysic, yet, as might be expected from the wording of the thesis, the results of the inquiry differ much from those of Kant. Kant sought the *à priori* forms of thought, and would determine the future of metaphysics from these. Fouillée, whom the author of this article, M. Vvedenski, has followed, does not deny the existence of formal or *à priori* elements in our knowledge as against Kant, but he seeks to turn Kant's position by questioning the correctness of the critical analysis of Reason and its laws as presented by Kant. Granted that we know forms of being *à priori*, it is admitted that there is a rational part in metaphysics, which can be determined with complete fulness and accuracy. But even with such a supposition, why exclude from metaphysics its general contents as a science, and the general results of experience which are necessary for a full presentation of the world? If metaphysics be a study of the world, with the purpose of forming a possibly adequate conception of it, it is insufficient to present for this its universal form; it ought to be supplemented by presenting the contents of this form by giving the systematized results of experience. In a word, metaphysics ought to be an analysis from the root, and a corresponding synthesis of experience, with all its contents. Then, on the other side, if it can be shown that the so-called *à priori* forms of experience are in reality only the generalized forms of experience, its highest product and the last results of its evolution! Thus M. Fouillée shows Kant's analysis to be one-sided. It is shown, moreover, that man is greatly dependent on his physical constitution, his brain, and the Nature by which he is surrounded. Hence he finds that metaphysics ought to contain in itself, to be complete, (1) a cosmology or philosophy of the sciences, (2) a critique of knowledge, (3) the doctrine as to experience. So he comes to

the method of metaphysics which should contain an accurate reflex of the contents of experience. This should lead to a unity so as to present the conception of the world in its laws and relations. Thus he arrives at the final results, which he names the 'moral application of metaphysical Ideas,' the 'mental theory concerning the signification of the world and life.'—The second article is by M. Tchicherin, a continuation of the 'Positive Philosophy and the unity of Science,' in its second part, which deals with Mathematics in its two-fold division of abstract and concrete. The first has as its subject, Number, in its broad sense on the determination of abstract magnitudes, otherwise, Arithmetic, Algebra, the Differential and Integral Calculus. The second includes Geometry and Theoretical Mechanics. The second branch arises out of, or is founded on, the first, and presents an application of numbers in the known order of phenomena. The first, on the contrary, has the signification of a purely logical, instrumental science, manifesting only a splendid extension of natural logic. The disciples of Comte did not follow him in this division. Differing from their master in his identification of logic with mathematics in the latest developments of his doctrines. Littré, as was remarked in the former part, held mathematical axioms to be determined nowise other than as drawn from the experience of facts apprehended without any introductory knowledge. The author quotes at length the researches of Mill in his *Logic* on this question.—The paper which succeeds this is an examination of the Pessimism of Leopardi, the Italian poet, (1798-1837) by M. M. Stein. The article contains a life of the self-taught poet, philologist and philosopher, who, burdened by a sickly and scrofulous temperament, haunted his father's library from 9 to 17 years of age to such purpose that his imitation of the Greek poets were mistaken for long lost gems recovered from the antique, and he was offered by Niebuhr the chair of Italian literature in Berlin. After manifold sufferings and unhappinesses, arising partly from his sickness and sickly temperament, partly from the selfishness of his parents, Leopardi found at length truly sympathetic friends and protectors in the historian Antonio Ranicri and his sister Paola, through whose friendship and loving care, his spirit, if not his body, was brought into a more healthy condition. Struck suddenly by cholera, then epidemic in Naples, he passed away without suffering in the arms of his friends, crying like Goethe, 'Ci vedo piu poco, apri quella finestra; fammi veder la luce'—'Now I see badly, open the window, let me see the light.—On this follows a revision of Leopardi's social and philosophical views, which, however, he has thrown out, rather in the form of epi-

gram than that of sustained thought, and the results were that remaining on the ground of unbelief, he came to no settled conclusion.—The continuation of Prince Eugenie Trubetskoi's article 'On the Philosophy of a Christian Theocracy in the Fifth Century.' The author notices three great historical events as marking out the limits of the literary activity of the great Father of the West, the first being the union of the eastern and western halves of the empire under Theodosius I., also called 'the Great.' The second event was the capture of Rome by the Goths under Alaric, and the third and final event was the conquest of Africa by the Vandals, shortly before the death of St. Augustine. It is shown that these events were not casual, as regards the apologetic activity of Augustine. The fall of secular Rome before the Goths was needful to her re-organization as the city of the Pontiffs, who were to be the heads of that church which Augustine imaged forth in his greatest work, the *Civitas Dei*. The Christian Theocracy, which our author deals with, is the great ideal which floated before the mental perspective of St. Augustine.—The concluding article of the general part of the 'Questions' is by M. Mensbir, the Professor of Comparative Anatomy in Moscow University, and, as we learn from a preliminary note, contains a conception of the world, diametrically opposed to the philosophico-metaphysical, which is the standpoint of the majority of the contributors to our 'Questions.' The first question considered by our author is the well-known 'Man's place in Nature;' his relation to his environment; but as connected necessarily with this, what is Nature itself, of which man is such a small part? and what is the past of our world, and its future, and our own? M. Mensbir begins by giving the opinion of Empedocles and the Atomists, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Thence he descends to Descartes, Leibnitz, Bacon, Locke, and Kant; but ends by referring to the school of natural philosophers as those to whom he seems to incline, but for whose views we must wait until the continuation of his article.—To this article succeeds the special division of the journal, containing Professor's Grote's 'Fundamental Moments in the Development of Modern Philosophy,' a section of M. Gilaroff-Platonoff's papers on the 'Ontology of Hegel,' a paper on Helmholtz, as philosopher and psychologist, which is followed by the usual reviews of books and bibliography.

ITALY.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (Jan. 1, 1892).—The Duchess Teresa Ravaschieri commences in this number a biographical

sketch of the story of the late Madame Augustus Craven, dwelling upon the period of her life at Naples, her love for her future husband, the obstacles to their union because of their difference of faith, and their ultimate marriage on the 28th August, 1834. One foresees in this portion of the sketch, which is to be continued, how the Duchess will glory in the later conversions of Augustus Craven to the Roman Catholic faith.—E. Castagnola continues his account of 'Modern Roman Poets,' taking for this instalment's theme 'Ignazio Ciampi.'—F. Capillo contributes a short article on 'Modern Italian Criticism, and inveighs against the critics.—The third part of the *Exameron* is continued in this and following numbers.—Follow the speech delivered in the Italian Parliament by the Deputy Prinetti on Ecclesiastical Politics; and a lecture given by Professor Panzacchi, at Penta, in celebration of the centenary of Quercino.—The 'Monthly Review of Foreign Literature' notices many English books. E. A. Freeman's *History of Sicily* is favourably criticised, though the reviewer says that he shivers when he thinks how many large volumes will be needed to complete the work. Of Cyfaill's *Selections from the Canzoniere of Francesco Petrarch*, the critic says that the translator has not taken the pains to learn the metre of Petrarch, and that the English language can never reproduce the almost sensual sweetness of his form. He thinks the translations into blank verse the most successful, and quotes the 'Triumph of Death.' N. H. Thompson's translation of Guicciardin's *Counsels and Reflections* is praised as excellent, and great praise is also awarded to Sir Henry Layard's *Despatches of Michele Suriano and Mark Antonio Barbaro*.—Cardinal Lavigerie and the French Republic is reviewed in this and following numbers.—(January 16).—R. Ferrini has an article on the experiments in electrical force at Frankfort.—Another instalment of Duchess Ravaschiere's paper on Madame Craven affords a glimpse of the latter's correspondence and journals, tracing the family story down to the death of Albert, the husband of Madame Craven's sister, Alessandrina.—Signor Bonghi, in this and subsequent numbers, remarks on the ecclesiastical discussions of the last month. He says that only three Italian statesmen have understood the religious and ecclesiastical questions—Cavour, Ricasoli, and Minghetti. Bonghi calls the end of our century a very strange one, showing everywhere the contrasts that kill, and nowhere the harmony that vivifies. The agreement which all desire between thought and right is always accomplished by violence.—C. Pozzoni contributes a long and carefully considered article on 'The Economical Balance of Italy.'

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (Feb. 1).—A. C. Tonoi writes an appreciative criticism on Father Didon's *Jesus Christ*.—‘Life for Life’ is a monograph on the late missionary, Giovanni Mazzuconi.—Follows a translation of Edmond Demolin's important essay on ‘Socialism and Social Science,’ which was published simultaneously in many European reviews.—February 16.—F. A. Foberti describes Moltke's *History of the Franco-German War*.—Here is a reprint of a lecture on ‘The Progress of Science,’ in which it is opined that science and democracy cannot be realised until they have restored faith to mankind.—V. de Vit contributes chronological notes on the year of the death of Herod the Great, in relation to the first year of the vulgar era.—March 1.—A. Brunialti takes up the subject of woman in common law. He concludes his article in the following words: ‘This rapid excursion through the laws shows that the struggle entered on in favour of the so-called political emancipation of woman is far from arriving at any practical result beyond the limits which good sense and experience point out as insuperable. In America sex prevents no person from entering any profession or vocation, and Bryce tells us that popular sentiment aims at rendering professional or industrial careers less difficult of attainment for women. But when it comes to votes, and especially political votes, even young America rebels against the reformers. Old Europe limits herself to shaking the dust from her old codices, and suppressing the perpetual guardianship of women, securing to them the free disposition of their property, and permitting them some action in the communal interests, and in other non-political institutions. The doors of the universities are opened to women; professions and employments once prohibited are now accessible to them. For more than twenty years, especially in England and the United States, legislation has been correcting the errors of the old civil laws, and in other States there remains little to do for women to be perfectly equal to men, not only in the field of private right, but in that of public right. Yet all agree in asserting that no much further step than this will be made. The new Italian laws that have permitted women to act in scholastic councils and the administration of charitable institutions, mark a progress which may be continued in the more or less near future even in other branches of local action; but we must not hope to see women taking part in the government of large cities, in the magistrature, in the State-government, or even in political constituencies. The reasons alleged by the champions of woman's right, which were numerous and convincing, did not avail to determine any really important legislation, and the few laws of which we hear are

quite contrary to a position which, at least in Italy, the struggle to obtain would never have succeeded in agitating public opinion or in moving those who ought to take the greatest interest in the question, that is, the women themselves. We can follow the reformers who advocate woman's right to a certain extent, but we cannot go beyond the limits already arrived at if we desire the happiness and well-being of what is dear to us.—There are notices of August Carlier's book on *America* by R. Mazzei, and of A. V. Vecchi's *General History of the Navy* by V. D. Arisbo.—'Noemi and Rut' is a story by L. Muratore.—C. Fortebracci writes on Carducci's latest odes, and there is a letter from Abbé Stoppani to the Pope, which was written in 1885.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (March 16th).—After a paper by C. Segré on 'Torquato Tasso in the mind of Goethe and in History,' we have in this number the conclusion of 'The Crimean Expedition,' from the Diary of a De Saint-Pierre. Among many observations on the English, we quote the following: 'Kadi-Koi, Sunday, February 2, 1856. The English observe holy days better than we do. I went to an artillery officer, as agreed upon, to take my English lesson in exchange for one in Italian, but he postponed it because it was Sunday, as their religion prohibits the English from working on that day. He did well; but it is a pity that their soldiers do nothing on that day but get drunk.' 'February 20, the present war will be a good lesson for the English if they are persuaded thereby that during a campaign it is needful that a soldier should take with him only what is needful, doing without all superfluities, so that he can carry everything on his person, and avoid the useless encumbrance of baggage.' 'February 24th, the English troops are finer than can be imagined in all that concerns behaviour and capacity, although there are very many young soldiers in the ranks. The Scotch are also splendid troops.' 'March 24th, the races took place this morning and were magnificent. Words cannot describe the effect of the plain bordered by the Cernaia, and the surrounding hills, occupied by the French camp. It was a meeting of more than a hundred thousand men, almost all military belonging to the allied armies; who, on foot or on horseback, crossed the plain, in every direction, on which a great battle had been fought and won; and who all, at intervals, ranged themselves in a twinkling in a line to let the racers pass. A few Russians could be seen on the right bank of the Cernaia, in spite of the warning sent to General Luders.' 'April 17th, to-day we witnessed a spectacle, the like of which we shall probably never see again. I speak of the review of the French and English troops in

honour of General Luders. The French stood in order of battle on the elevated plain which extends from St. George to Kamiesch. General Luders arrived accompanied by a numerous suite. This cortege of all the generals in chief, increased by many amateurs who had joined them, formed a group of a thousand horsemen, presenting the most brilliant and varied aspect. General Luders is a fine type of soldier, and looks rather more than sixty years of age. He sits his horse well in spite of his years; wears a Prussian helmet. The French present were said to number 65,000; the English 30,000. As I passed in front of the rifles, I made the acquaintance of the brother of Lord Russell, who is a major in that corps.' In his notes on the return home the general writes: 'On sea, ten miles from Messina, May 4th, 1856. The sight of the two coasts of the Straits cheered us all up, for at last it was Italian ground that we saw after a year's absence; and a mother is always beautiful in the eyes of her children.' The Diary, as far as its publication in this magazine goes, ends at Spezzia, on the 9th May, 1856, though the general continued it till the 3rd June of the same year.—The Correspondence of Madame Craven's Family, by Duchess Ravaschieri, is continued; most of the letters in this instalment being those written by her sisters.—Follows, 'A Poetess of Cortona,' By C. Fortebracci; a notice of the poems of the Marchioness Teresa Venuti.—Cardinal Lavigerie and the French Republic is continued.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (Jan. 1).—In an article on 'Labour Accidents,' Signor G. Boccardo first briefly reviews the causes that awakened the interests of the public and legislators in the state of the working classes, and then enumerates the various institutions to which that interest gave birth. He gives innumerable statistics concerning the most dangerous industries, the persons to whose negligence accidents are attributed, the unavoidable causes, etc. He concludes by opining that the probability of serious accidents in industrial occupations is not as great as generally supposed. He denies that in modern commercial undertakings have increased danger, and declares that all danger can be diminished by technical arrangements and proper rules. The greater number of accidents are caused by the carelessness of the workmen themselves. Signor Boccardi then describes the German system (which was afterwards imitated by other European States) of obligatory insurance.—Signor Boughi contributes a paper on the politics of 1891, casting a rapid glance at European politics in general, and then noticing the most important events in each State—events

Summaries of Foreign Reviews.

which, in England, have consolidated Conservative positions, in France have rendered more secure the Republican institutions, in Germany damaged the economical conditions, and on, dwelling more at length on Italian affairs, and rejoicing in the new ministry, which he thinks will put an end to the former careless financial policy.—Signor Venturi, in an article on 'Art,' deplores the loss in Italy of a sense of true art, feeling for colour, harmony, and proportion. He blames the disorder obtaining in the precious national galleries, many of which are kept in very inadequate localities, are without catalogues, and are badly protected against dirt, decay, and causes of deterioration. Private collections are becoming dispersed, and many provinces are without any museum. He appeals to the Government to reform all this, and to introduce on all Italy the Tuscan law, that no public work of art exposed to public view in or on the façades of private edifices should be permitted to be removed.—After a romance, 'First Italy' by C. Rovetta, and a review of F. Martini's 'In Italian Art' by E. Nencione, G. Boglietti has a paper on 'The Franco-German Alliance under the First Empire;' and Professor Martini writes on 'The Origin of the Etruscans,' whom he believes to have come to Italy from Asia, bringing with them the principles of an already developed social state, with the custom of inhabiting cities rendered impregnable by extremely high walls.—(Jan. 16).—E. Masi contributes a description of the year 1799 in Tuscany, the events of which he enters into much fulness.—Professor Mosso criticises the reforms now taking place in gymnastics in Italy. He considers athletic exercises rather noxious than salutary, because, muscular force develops rapidly during their use, the general robustness of the human frame diminishes. He reminds his readers that *gymnastica ad sanitatem periculosa est*, and that modern physicians note that consumption is frequent among professional acrobats. Professor Mosso wishes that the natural and simple Swedish exercises should be introduced into Italy, and describes their character, comparing them favourably with those used in Germany.—T. Casini has a learned article on 'The Last Refuge of Dante Alighieri,' the originality of which consists in the multitude of arguments with which he supports his thesis. He discusses the question as to the place from which Dante fled to Ravenna, his—'last refuge,'—and decides in favour of Imola or at least some place in Tuscany. He does not believe that Dante was Professor of Rhetoric at Ravenna, for he denies the existence of a University there in the 14th century. He believes that Dante wrote the last cantos of the Divine Comedy

Ravenna, and that the Embassy, sent by the Commune of Ravenna to Venice, in which Dante took part, occurred in July 1321. He closes his paper by noting that, soon after Dante returned from his expedition, he died during the night of the 13th September, 1321.—The Deputy Ferraris criticises *National Finance and Economy*, praising Luzzatti's proposition to unite the national accounts in one, and declares that a rigorous adjustment of the Public Exchequer and the National Debt is above all necessary. He says that the National Exchequer, instead of being the 'banker of the State,' has become a refuge for the annual deficit. The national debt, on the 30th January next, will amount to 483 millions and a half. He thinks that four grand reforms should be seriously prepared for; 1st, The undertaking of a severe popular education, subsidized with the necessary financial means; 2nd, The reduction of the Corn Laws; 3rd, the gradual reduction of the price of salt; 4th, The abolition of the Communal Duty on articles of consumption, by substituting taxes that will weigh less on the labouring classes. This would be true 'Social Legislation.'—G. Rovetti's romance is continued.—G. A. Biacci writes on 'Mozart,' and P. Mantegazza on 'The Science of the Stage.'—Some reviews close the number.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (February 1st).—In an article on 'Military Questions,' Nicola Marsella draws comparisons between the Italian, Austrian and French armies, and their different systems.—Arturo Graf, writing on 'Othello's Jealousy,' argues that Othello was not jealous by nature, and that this is confirmed by what Desdemona says of him, but that it was the very frankness and unsuspectingness of his character that led him to accept without criticism, and to act on, the instigations of Iago.—G. Cantal Amessa contributes an article on 'Athletics and Critics.'—A. Chiaperelli writes a critical description of the apology of Aristides, as edited by J. Rendel Harris in *Texts and Studies*.—A. Soria gives an account of Emile Lavelleye and his works.—A. G. Barrili enlivens this number by a one-act comedy in verse, entitled 'La Lima.'—G. Biagi briefly reviews G. Chiafini's book, *The Loves of Ugo Foscolo in his Letters*.—The Bibliographical bulletin praises the publications of the Dante Society in Cambridge.—(February 16th).—This number begins with a page from Colonel Baratiere's Diary, relating his experiences in the country of the Black Marryas in Ethiopia, never before visited by an European—follows 'Administrative Decentralisation,' by the Italian Deputy, P. Bertolini.—Under the title of 'A New American Poetess,' the Italian critic, E. Nencione writes

with enthusiasm about the lyric poetry of Cora Fabbri, who died at the early age of twenty, last autumn, at San Remo, and who loved, and lived for some years in Italy, her father's native country.—An article worthy of attention is a statistical one by G. Boccardo, in which he makes a careful examination of Herr Berbel's book on *Women and Socialism*, declaring that Bebel's idea of social life would take us back to the social order which preceded the *Stone Age*, of which the remains can still be seen in Africa and Sumatra.—O. Z. Biancho has an instructive paper on the star 'Sirius.'

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (March 1).—G. Boglietti, under the title of 'William II. and his kingdom,' collects all the most important facts, from recently published German books, of the reign of the present German Emperor.—G. Negri writes on the Deluge as illustrated in the Babylonian Legends.—C. Corsi contributes a monograph on Prince Eugene of Savoy, founded on the book *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen*.—'Rossini at Home,' by F. Casini, is compiled partly from documents contained in the Public Archives at Pesaro, and partly from papers in the Oliverian Library.—Professor Brizzio's 'Account of the Origin of the Etruscans is continued.—(March 16)—Colonel Baratieri, Governor of Eritrea, contributes some interesting notes on 'The Habab Tribes in Abyssinia.'—A. J. de Johannis writes on the question of 'Population and the Distribution of Wealth.'—C. Ricci gives a short but attractive historical description of the towns of San Marino and San Leo in the Apennines.—A valuable paper is one on the 'National Railways and the Defence of the Kingdom,' by G. Gorian.—The number closes with another short paper on Rossini, by C. A. Biaggi.

THE REVIEW OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, (January 1st, 16th : February 1st, 16th : March 1st).—Contain—Sincere Political Elections, by A. Brunialti.—The Origin of Great American Fortunes, by G. B. Bolietti.—The Principles of Non-Intervention and its Juridical Foundation, by I. Corrado.—The New Treaties of Commerce, by R. Della Volta.—The Scientific Notion of the Administrative *Referendum*, by E. Coppi.—The Distribution of Social Riches, by A. Ferrera, continued in next number.—The Protection of Agriculture, by the Editor.—Magistrates in Parliamentary Constituencies, by X.—The Harm of Protective Laws in Italy, by V. Pareti.—Economy and Instruction, by B. Cato.—The Evolution of Popular Schools in France, by G. Fanti.—The Parliamentary Situation, by the Editor.—Warlike Politics and the Forms of Government, by L. Palma.—

On the Confines of Statistics, by G. P. Salvione.—The University, by A. Gotti.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO, 4, 1891.—Contains the continuation of G. A. Venturi's account of the controversy between the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany and Bishop Scipione Dei Ricci with the Roman Court; and a paper on three inedited documents relative to the Council of Trent, by F. Cerosoli.

IL GIORNALE STORICO DELLA LETTERATURA ITALIANA; (Year ix., Number 3).—F. De Simone-Bruwer gives a summary of two scenes from comedies of the 17th century; and E. Picardi writes on some hitherto unknown interpolations in the text of Firenzuola's 'Golden Ass.'—G. Salvocozzo notices a new publication by Sabbadini, of the biography of Giovanni Aurispa, the learned humourist who had so much success at Constantinople in the discovery of precious codexes; and G. S. Scipioni discusses the date of Leon Battista Alberti's birth, fixing it at 1406 or 1407.—F. Flamini and F. Novati write respectively on the codexes of Giovan Maria Filelfo, and on the poems written in the 14th century on the 'Nature of Fruit.'—In the Biographical Bulletin, C. R. notices T. F. Crane's Book, '*Exempla* or Illustrative Stories from the *Sermones Vulgares* of Jacques de Vitry.'

IL NUOVO ARCHIVIO VENETO, (1, 2).—G. Bigoni publishes two letters from Girolamo Tomich to Francesco Apostoli, A. Neapolitan adventurer and dramatist of the 18th century.—G. Ferro contributes 'Linguistic Curiosities,' among which is a short document of the 13th century.—C. Cipolla, in his 'Foreign Publications on the Mediæval History of Italy,' treats also of the books about literary history, and dwells at length on De Nolhai's book on Petrarch's 'De Viris.'—G. Montuolo writes of a poem by the Ducal Chancellor Tanti, addressed to Albertino Musato; and T. Wiel gives a Chronological catalogue of the operas represented in Venice in the 17th century.—A. Favaro writes on the correspondence of Antonio Riccobona and the Procurator Paruta, about Venetian History, publishing many of the letters in full.

STUDII DI FILOLOGIA ROMANZA (No. 15).—In a paper by R. A. Restori on the collection in the Palatine-Parma Library, the writer notices two rich collections of Spanish comedies, taken to Parma by Philip, son of Philip V., in 1784; one being the works of Lopez de Vega, and the other of various authors. The latter collection consists of eighty-seven volumes, partly printed, partly manuscript. There are more than eight hundred dramas, of which about a hundred and fifty are by anonymous authors. Restori believes that the Palatine collection will add about eleven

new names to the list of Spanish comedy-writers. There are many among them of whom there has never been any notice before. Several are the original MSS., while others are copies from dictation. The collection of Lopez de Vega's comedies comprehends more than four hundred, divided into forty-seven volumes, and Restori is making copies for the Spanish Academy, which has undertaken to publish all the works of Lopez. It is the first time that such a wealth of Spanish texts, derived from an Italian library, will have been illustrated, and it is hoped that Restori's example will be followed by others.

IL PENSIERO ITALIANO (January).—The first paper is a lecture on 'The Palæontology of the mind,' which was given by Professor T. Vignoli at the Milan Literary Academy.—F. Rizzati contributes a paper on the 'Genius of the Nineteenth Century,' which he characterises as a scientifico-industrial genius, which is being more and more successful in dominating natural forces.—F. Momigliano commences an 'Account of the Adventures of Charles Emanuel I. of Savoy.'—'Naples Thirty Years Ago,' is a translation of a letter written by a Frenchman on the 2nd March 1861, just after King *Franceschiello* had fled to Gaeta, and the city was applauding Garibaldi's achievements. Paolo Lambroso writes a paper on 'Love among Children,' which is a collection of examples of this passion seen in children, who almost all afterwards became illustrious men and women, but who were also almost all physically unhealthy. A normal child, the writer thinks, has no affection except for itself.—'A few notes on German Socialism' is a paper by O. Gnocchi-Viani, which Socialism he calls principally scientific and non-utopian; and, besides, exclusively economical.—G. C. writes on 'Popular Operative Banks,' describing their rise in Germany and spread in Europe.

IL PENSIERO ITALIANO (February).—'Civilisation and Liberty,' by G. Rosa, who argues that the development of humanity is a natural necessity which contributes movement to all elements of social life, and that finally the liberty of this movement will triumph over all arbitrary or violent coercion.—G. Sangiorgio writes on 'Holland.'—In a paper on 'Sicilian Poetesses,' A. Loforte Randi says that women had a great part in the most famous maladies of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, viz., the Petrarchism of the former and the Arcadism of the latter, for both produced an extraordinary number of poetesses, or rather of scribblers of verse, among whom very few were afterwards noticed. Sicily, although it was then a small China, whose walls were the sea, and whose in-

habitants, like the Chinese, lived on native products, did not fail to suffer from the general epidemic. In every city academies arose, the greater portion of whose members were women. At the Academy of the *Ercini* in Palermo, Anna Maria Lei Castelli was greatly honoured. Another noble lady, Girolama L. Orifice, was member of no less than five academies. She wrote a poem 'Woman on Parnassus,' published in 1723. Pellegra Bongiovanni was another Sicilian poetess, and also celebrated as a musician and painter. She published in Rome her 'Reply, under the name of Madonna Laura, to the Rhymes of Petrarch' in 1762. A 'gentle' philosopher was Anna Gentile of the Academy *Galante* of Palermo. She also translated a drama of Voltaire. Two poetesses wrote in the dialect in 1734, they were Genevieffa Bisso, and Dorotea Guillon, who replied to a book by a chemist which described woman as the cause of all sin.—In 'The Crimes of Justice Sanctioned by the Penal Code,' Giuseppe Casazza inveighs against both the new positive school and the classical school. He says that the first takes for its object of investigation the delinquent; while the other looks exclusively at the crime.—Dr. Pilo writes on the 'Reform of Classic Instruction,' making several propositions for the dividing of classes, etc.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE (Year 16th, No. 4).—We have here the continuation of 'Ricciardo Filangieri in the time of Frederick II., Conrad and Manfred,' by G. del Guidice, and of N. Faraglia's on 'The Normans and Swedes in the Abruzzi.—The list of churches and chapels to be destroyed in Naples, and their history is also continued.—B. Capasso has a paper on the difficult question of the topography of Naples in the eleventh century, and G. Racioppi contributes a chronological account of the capitulation of Atell in the fifteenth century.

THE POSITIVE SCHOOL (January).—L. Bianchi writes on the 'Brain and the Nervous System,' comparing their evolutions, governing thought, with the chemical laws that govern material life.—F. Puglia argues on 'The Right of Repression.'—R. Garofolo contributes 'New studies on the reparations owed to the Victims of crime.'

REVIEW OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE (March 1 and 16).—'The Parliamentary Situation,' by the Editor.—'Military Policy and form of Government,' by Luigi Palma, who argues that war cannot be justly considered the outcome of despotic or monarchical governments, but that, on the contrary, a king who is not elected by a party originating in popular passions,

who is allied by blood and many circumstances to other dynasties, and who must principally consider the permanent interests of his people, will generally be in a better condition to moderate the passions of his subjects than a republic, whose policy is conducted by the people themselves through their representatives.—‘The Future Conclave,’ by D. Zanichelli.—‘Records and Impressions of Aurelio Saffi,’ by L. Rossi.—‘On the Borders of Statistics,’ by G. B. Salvione.—‘The University,’ by A. Cotti.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 6, 1891.)—In this number M. Etienne Aymonier gives the continuation and conclusion of his minute and interesting description of the Tchama and their religions. The paper was read by him at one of the meetings of the Oriental Congress which met in London in the beginning of September last. The first part of it appeared in the previous number of this *Revue*, and was devoted to the chequered history of the tribes in the Tchampa,—a district lying south of Canton,—and to the social and religious orders and arrangements under which they live, the deities they worship, the castes into which they are divided and the general rites of worship in practice among them. Here M. Aymonier describes their funeral customs and agricultural labours, and the religious ceremonies connected with them. The description is very minute, as M. Aymonier was long resident among the tribes, and had ample opportunities of making himself acquainted with their customs and the religious beliefs on which they are based. The population of the Tchampa is now a very mixed one, and the religious beliefs and customs are consequently of a curiously mixed and heterogeneous character. There is a very considerable Mohammedan element which has largely influenced, and has also been largely influenced by, the primitive heathenism of the aborigines. M. Aymonier describes both very fully and so furnishes us with a new chapter of religious history—or a chapter at least that has not been given by any other European writer.—M. J. Deramy, under the title of ‘les Inscriptions d'Adoulis et d'Axoum,’ furnishes us with a valuable study of several inscriptions copied so long ago as 520 A.D. by an Alexandrian merchant, Cosmas Indicopleustes. They were copied from marble and basalt blocks carried to and deposited in Adulis, a town in the bay called Annesley Bay on the Red Sea above the 15 degree of latitude. These blocks have perished, but the copies of the inscriptions on them made by the Alexan-

drian merchant were recovered and published by Leo Allatius in 1631, and it is to these copies that M. Derany now invites the attention of scholars, and to the notes and descriptions that accompany them, and the literature to which they have given rise.—M. J. Darmesteter is publishing through the Musée Guimet a new translation of the Avesta with numerous notes and appendices. One of these latter is given in this number of the *Revue*, in which the translator treats of the Hvetvadatha or marriage between blood relations among the Parsis.—M. Amelineau has a few words to say—and they are highly amusing—regarding an attempt on the part of a German 'named Schmidt' to depreciate the writer in the pages of the *Gelehrte Anzeigen* of Göttingen.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 1, 1892).—M. G. Maspero, under the title 'Sur l'Enneade—Bulletin Critique de la Religion Egyptienne,' gives a critical summary of two recently published works on the religion of ancient Egypt, viz., Dr. A. Wiedemann's *Die Religion der alten Ägypter*, and Herr Victor von Strauss und Torney's *Der altägyptische Götterglaube*. The largest part of the article, however, is devoted to the development of Professor Maspero's own views as to the theology or mythology of Egypt. The latter of the two named works attempts to find an explanation of the mythical elements in the religious teaching of the priests, but our author is not altogether satisfied with it, and presents here what he considers a better. The starting point with both is the division by the early theologians of Egypt of the deities into three groups of nine, hence the name 'enneade.' The first group or series of nine regulated the destiny of man during life and after death; the second charged themselves with superintending the relationship of men with each other and with the gods, while the third's special care was over the fortunes of men after death. This division was not only a theological idea, it formed the framework of the fabulous history of Egypt, and corresponded to the three divine dynasties which the theologians of Egypt placed at the origin of things.—M. Pierre, Paris, furnishes next his 'Bulletin Archéologique de la Religion Grecque,' in which he gives a brief account of the discoveries made during last year by the various archæological societies which are carrying on excavation works at different points in Greece.—M. Paul Regnaud contributes one more of his learned studies as to Sanscrit terms. Here it is the term *ṛaddha*, which is of frequent occurrence in the Vedas, that engages his pen.—A summary and criticism of Mr. J. G. Fraser's work, *The Golden Bough*, follows, and is contributed by M. L. Maril-

lier. He is somewhat severe on what he describes as Mr. Fraser's lack of arrangement and want of proportion in his treatment of several points in his book, but considers it as a most valuable storehouse of information on the subject with which it deals.—M. J. Reville has a short *In Memoriam* article on Abraham Kuenen.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (January, February, March).—One of the most important contributions to these numbers is the study which M. Dunan entitles 'The Problem of Life.' The two instalments in the January and February numbers do not, however, conclude it, and it is not yet possible to indicate the author's general conclusions.—In the January number there is a very interesting paper, in which M. B. Perez points out some of the weak points in the theory which looks upon pessimism as a morbid phenomenon.—A paper by M. Binet examines into the causes which produce the *mouvement de manège*, that is, the circular movement which can be artificially called forth by a lesion of their ganglions.—In both these numbers M. Guardia devotes articles to the Spanish philosophers of Cuba.—Interesting to the specialist and the general reader alike is the article 'Hypnotisme et Criminalité,' which bears the signature of Dr. Liégeois. In it the author adduces a great number of instances in support of his theory that crimes may be committed under the influence of hypnotic suggestion. Startling as they are, it is reassuring that Dr. Liégeois himself admits that such absolute helplessness as his theory asserts can be produced in comparatively few persons; he gives the proportion at four per cent.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (January, February, March).—There are in the two January numbers two articles which appeal very particularly to readers in this country. The first of them, which is a further instalment of a series of papers on Burmah, points out what the author considers the utter insufficiency of civil servants. The other, which bears the signature of M. Augustin Filon, is a sketch and appreciation of Mr. Parnell's career. The spirit in which it is written may be understood from these concluding words: 'When Parnell was there, everything was possible. A statesman far more than an orator; he would have governed his country as he governed his party. The magic of his will held together in forced and almost supernatural cohesion these conflicting and refractory elements. The English acknowledged his authority because he belonged to their own race: he ruled the Irish because he was not one of themselves. Parnell dead, Ireland falls back to dust, and England returns to her indifference. She awakens,

and perceives that she has given fifteen years to the Irish nightmare, fifteen years which have been lost, or nearly so, for social progress. Things resume their old course, historical evolution begins again. A place remains empty for ever, for Parnell has too many successors ever to be replaced.'—In the same number there is a paper in which Dr. Jules Rochard sets forth the evils which result from the abuse of tobacco.—Admiral Jurien de la Gravière continues his admirable historical study; and M. Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé reviews some works about Lamartine.—The well-known scholar, M. George Perrot, appears in the first of the January parts, with a very noticeable study, in which he considers the relation between the soil and the climate of Greece and the character of her civilisation and of her art.—M. Emile Faguet devotes a very long article to one whom many will consider scarcely worthy of it, Stendhal, as Henri Beyle styled himself.—Political economy brings an important contribution. It is from the pen of M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, and deals with the commercial treaties of Central Europe, commercial conventions between the States of America, and revenue organisation in France.—M. Jules Decrais has made the trial of the Liverpool murderer, Conway, the subject of a paper, illustrative of criminal procedure in England.—Under the title of 'Hors du cercle,' one of Mr. Rudyard Kipling's Indian stories appears in an excellent French version.—In the remaining numbers—those for March—the contributions which will most interest the general reader are, if he have any classical tastes, M. Gaston Boissier's scholarly description, based on recent discovery, of the secular games of Augustus; M. Gaston Deschamps's account of a stay in Athens; and, cognate with this, M. Müntz's brilliant sketch of Athens in the Middle Ages; and M. D. Bikélas's essay on Byzantine literature.—Another article well worthy of perusal is M. de Vogüé's admirable critical study, 'Chateaubriand.'

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (Nos. 1 and 2, 1892.)—In the first of these numbers, apart from the usual 'Chronique' and reviews of current literature on religious subjects, we have two articles, and in the second only one. The first of the two is a continuation of M. Abbé de Broglie's 'La loi de l'unité de sanctuaire en Israel.' His object in this series of studies is to show that the fact that only one place was legally fixed for the offering of sacrifices in Israel by the Levitical and Deuteronomic codes does not, as the critics of the so-called Modern School maintain, militate against the Mosaic authorship of these codes, but is perfectly consistent with it. In his previous paper he

endeavoured to show the reasonableness of the traditional opinion as to the origin of these codes, and how much that opinion was in harmony (1), with the circumstantial details given as to their promulgation in the Pentateuch, and (2), the purpose in view in limiting sacrifices to one place and the priesthood to one family. Here the learned Abbé takes up the intermediate history between the time of Moses and that of the Second Temple, as given in the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, etc., and endeavours to show that the facts and incidents recorded in these books, and which have been thought by modern critics to prove the non-existence of these codes, were not only perfectly compatible with their existence, but are in themselves easily explicable when the circumstances of the actors in these events are carefully considered. This part of his article carries us to the revolt of the northern tribes under the leadership of Jeroboam.—The second paper is a further instalment of M. Felix Robiou's dissertation on 'Myths.' Having in his two former papers dealt with those of Egypt, he here passes in review some of those that have been recovered for us by the excavations in Chaldæa and Assyria—those of Sumir and Accad. Three sections of his article are, however, devoted first to the question as to the aboriginal races and the Semitic mixture with them, and their special religious heritages and tendencies.—The one article in the second number is the concluding part of M. Abbé Loisy's series of 'Etudes sur la religion Chaldéo-Assyrienne.' Here he deals with the Deluge Tablets and compares the narrative there with that of Genesis, and the religious teaching which permeates the two versions. He also discusses the question as to their relations to one another, whether the Biblical narrative was borrowed from the Chaldæan, or they were both independent versions of a common tradition. M. Loisy favours the latter opinion, and regards the characteristic features of the Biblical version as not the work of any one writer but of the generations transmitting the tradition.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Janvier, 1892).—The first article, which bears the signature of Ludv.-Chr. Stern, is devoted to a description of the Irish MS. in the University of Leyden. This MS. formerly belonged to Isaac Voss, who in all probability obtained possession of it in England during his residence there from 1670 to 1689. Windisch examined it in 1883, but there is no mention of it in M. D'Arbois de Jubainville's Catalogue, and hitherto few seem to have been acquainted with the fact of its existence. The nine sheets of which it consists, belonged originally to two different MSS. The first two, the handwriting of

which resembles that of Mac-Aegan in the *Leabhar Breac*, are assigned by M. Stern to the sixteenth century, and the remaining seven, though badly written and in a somewhat cramped hand, appear to belong to the same period. For a long time the MS. was without cover or binding. The consequence is that the writing on the first and last pages, with the exception of a few letters, has been completely effaced. The first part of the MS. contains a fragment, incomplete at the beginning, of the adventures of Finn mac Cumail, then the history of Aed Rind and Conan Mil-bel, which is also given in the Book of Leinster, and next the Vision of Finn mac Cumail. In the second part we have an episode from the Feast of Bicrin. The text of the first part is given together with a translation and notes, while beneath the original text that of the Book of Leinster is placed for comparison. Specimens only are given of the text of the second part. It is collated, however, though not completely, with that of other MSS.—Dr. Whitley Stokes supplies the text of the Boroma, from the lithographic facsimile of the Book of Leinster, adding an English translation, many notes and a list of the *verba rariora*.—M. H. de la Villemarqué continues his contribution of *Anciens Noël Bretons*, bringing the number of them up to forty-one, and J. von Pfuck-Hartung contributes a learned article on the date and character of the Epic cycles in Ireland.—Under ‘Bibliographie,’ M. Dottin writes an appreciative notice of the Rev. Edmund Hogan’s *Irish Phrase-book*.—The ‘Chronique,’ one of the best features of the *Revue* is this quarter unfortunately very short, owing to the illness of the learned editor. For editing of the rest of the number he has had the invaluable assistance of M. Dottin.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (January, February, March).—The Swiss Government, having resolved to make the emission of notes a monopoly, the question will soon arise as to the kind of bank to be entrusted with it. In view of the discussion which divergences of opinion with regard to this are sure to call forth, Dr. W. Burckhardt contributes a long article, running through the three numbers, entitled, ‘Les Grandes Banques d’Emission d’Europe et la Future Banque Nationale Suisse.’ His object is to show the results obtained by the most important European banks, and to draw from this study conclusions which may prove useful to Switzerland. His first instalment deals exclusively with the Bank of England; in the second the Banque de France

and the German Reichsbank take their turn ; whilst the third part contains the practical deductions which it was the writer's object to arrive at.—M. Edouard Rod gives a very able study, 'The Evolution of French Literature.' Its importance may be estimated from the conclusion at which he arrives, and which, indeed, he fully substantiates, that the gross naturalism of the last decade is on the wane, and that there are undoubted symptoms of a literary reaction.—In an article of considerable interest, M. L. Leger sketches the career of Radistchev, a Russian publicist, to whom falls the honour of having been the first who dared openly attack serfdom.—The first number closes with an article which has attracted considerable attention. It is entitled 'Peace in Europe,' and its leading idea is that the possibility of war between France and Germany should be removed by the retrocession of Alsace-Lorraine in exchange for some colony such as Tongkin. The writer is M. Ed. Tallichet.—To the numbers for February and March, Dr. Suchard contributes an interesting sketch of the water-cure.—'Le Théâtre en France avant Corneille,' a literary essay by M. Henri Warnery, is very readable, and excellent so far as it goes ; its greatest fault is that it does not go very far, indeed, it deals almost exclusively with Hardy, and makes no mention, for example, of Montchrestien.—M. Paul Stapfer's philosophical and literary study, 'Le Génie et l'Occasion,' is intended as a kind of refutation of Carlyle's theory that circumstances call forth genius and give it its bent.—'La Guerre en Europe,' by M. Tallichet, in spite of its title, deals rather with peace than with war. A considerable portion of it is taken up with an answer to the various criticisms of his former article. The 'war' to which he subsequently refers, is not that of armed battalions, but that which a return to protection on the part of France is causing.—In all three numbers the 'chroniques' are as usual entertaining, and often instructive.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA (Revista Ibero-Americana).—(January).—Emilia Pardo Bazan has a very bright and clever article on Sir John Lubbock's *Pleasures of Life*, having the French edition, *Le Bonheur de vivre*, translated from the 20th English edition, before her. She has her joke about 'Merry England' amid her foggy land, while acknowledging that the doctrine of sorrow and annihilation had birth under the glorious oriental sky. 'Whether the English or the Indians are saddest or happiest is a doubtful point, and in every country they will have

their league of bad road and their hours of anguish and sorrow. Still, it will always be an evident truth, and worthy of meditation, what Lubbock affirms, "that troubles do not seek us, we seek them." While refusing to accept Lubbock's literary taste, and comparing adversely his Spanish library with Schopenhauer's, she acknowledges the wholesome character of its teaching, and concludes humourously by suggesting, that a pessimist might maliciously suggest that it is easy to write on 'the pleasures of life' when one is a baronet, member of the British Parliament, president of the County Council and the Chamber of Commerce of London, and author of famous and celebrated works. To which she proposes the reply that probably Lubbock has reached all these because he professes and practices the theories expressed in his book, *reprinted twenty times*!—A hot discussion in connection with the first expedition of Columbus runs through several months, in which the claims of Cadiz are contested, and the assertion that Columbus gave a new world to Spain, and was repaid by poverty and neglect, is strongly denied. His personality is also energetically attacked, and the 'romance' of Washington Irving declared to have no foundation in reality.—Castelar takes a bird's-eye view of the general condition of the peoples of Europe with his customary perspicuity and insight, but he cannot forget that Gibraltar is still ours, and its possession renders him oblivious of all the blood and treasure we spent in their defence, against those French they now adore. Spanish egotism also ripples over the edge. 'We have no need to subject ourselves to foreign tutelage, as Portugal to that of Britain; we do not suffer from the religious disturbances that afflict France; we do not struggle with Irish questions like England; we have no internal territorial difficulty like that roused in Italy by the Pontificate, nor an irridentist party like that which unites Italy with Illyria and Dalmatia, the Trentino and Trieste.' He continues to show Spain's superiority and safety from internal and external enmity compared with each of the other nations of Europe, and promises her a future of liberty and devotion to progress.—In 'Literary Impressions' the literary work of the past year is examined.—'The Angular Stone' of Emilia Pardo Bazan is devoted to showing the absurdity of capital punishment, and even greater absurdity to curse the hangman.—'The 'Black Shade' of Senor Dicenta is a series of short tales of a very pessimist kind, very highly spoken of.—Senor Solsona has a 'Political Study' of Ayala, in which he gives a striking portrait of the author of 'So much per cent'; while Isidoro Fernandez Florez has produced a study of the dramatic author, D. Manuel Tamayo of Baus. These seem the principal works of the past year.—The

remainder of the number is filled with translations: Moltke's *Franco-Prussian War*; Wagner's *Recollections of my Life*, and four French translations.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA (Revista Ibero-Americana).—(February).—The most interesting and valuable paper in this number is one on 'Slavery in Spain,' in which the author, Adolfo de Castro, shows how slaves were treated. They kept increasing in Europe from the earliest ages, and in the Middle Ages were, in Spain, mainly 'Moors' or Saracens. These commonly became so-called Christians, and were baptised, whereas in Barbary, when a Christian became a Mahomedan, he was at once released and became a freeman, the nominal adhesion to Christianity did little for the Moor. Spain on the other hand was spoiled by the Moors from Barbary for slaves, and two religious bodies were inaugurated for the sole purpose of redeeming these from slavery. But it was argued that this only increased the efforts of the Moors to capture more Christians, seeing they were paid so much money to release them. The galley slaves were recruited under Philip II. voluntarily and temporarily. In the vicinity of Ports they gathered the degraded classes and set them to play games of hazard the one against the other, the loser becoming a galley slave for the time agreed upon. In 1616 Cadiz was anxious, on account of having 300 Moorish slaves and 50 negroes therein; while in 1637 an order was issued that the *Christian slaves*, negroes, mulattoes, and Indians therein, should be relegated to the galleys. In 1646 the Turkish slaves in Cadiz were ordered to live at ten leagues inland; but eight years after it was complained that 1500 were still in the town. One curious fact is stated, viz., that with the wages that the Moorish slaves obtained they maintained their owners, who were often widows or other poor people. After the successful repulse of the Turks by Sobieska and others in 1683, Turkish slaves were sold in multitudes all over Europe, 2000 arriving to be sold in Cadiz alone. The nuns seems to have held numerous personal slaves; a curious fact. In the *International Chronicle* even Castelar is pessimistic over the breaking of the commercial treaty between Spain and France. 'We, the peoples of ideas and of light, the peoples made for intellectual and mercantile understanding, the peoples revealing and progressive, the peoples of the Latin race, brutally, by an incredible retrocession, have shut ourselves up in egotism and solitude, completely foreign to our nature and to all our history.' An interesting Philosophico-religious criticism on the death of Cardinal Manning, shows an intimate knowledge of English literature.—In 'Literary Impressions,' we find

a notice of P. Blanco's 'Spanish Literature in the Nineteenth Century, 2nd Part,' well spoken of, but his literary judgments severely criticised.—The other works named are collections of pieces of no great note although of some literary value. In an estimate of Ibsen, the writer holds, 'Hardly is there a portrait of natural, true, human passion,'—everything is falsified under symbolism. While admiring the directness and simplicity of Ibsen's style, the author, J. Benavente, evidently thinks little of his art as a transcript of nature.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA (Revista Ibero-Americana).—(March).—The Spaniards are evidently somewhat sore upon the subject of Cristóbal Colón, as the great mariner we know as *Columbus* was called. This number is again rich in Columbian controversy. One paper by Cesáreo Fernández Duro, 'The Idea or Conception of Columbus,' endeavours to explain Spain's disregard of him by belittling his labours and his personality. 'Without exception, histories increase the merits, the ostensible rank and the respectability of Christóbal Colón, chief of Spanish seamen; he was not held, all the same, as an extraordinary man, which in course of time he has come to be considered. When his last hour sounded in Valladolid, his death did not produce in the public mind any greater impression than that of any other of the magnates or notable personages in the kingdom. They charged themselves with the funeral expenses as was right and customary, his eulogy did not attract attention.' At the court were the noted scholar Pedro Martin of Angleria, the Geraldines, the ambassadors of Rome, Geneva, and Venice, who no more granted to their Italian compatriot special mention or enthusiastic remembrance than the Spaniards themselves.' A century after: 'Italy, when the peoples of Lombardy and Genoa began to dispute the birthplace of the navigator, opposed his merits, antedating those of Américo Vespucci, a school founded in Florence.' These two navigators now divide the honours, the latter giving the name to the Continent, while Colón, or Columbus retains the first place in the imagination of the world.—In 'Archæology and the Plastic Arts in the Theatre,' José Ramon Melida enlarges on the necessity for greater efforts to simulate reality—instancing the doors that open and shut and deceive no one, in place of requiring to be opened and closed with an *appearance* of weight.—Castelar, in the *International Chronicle*, shows what a 'sad and struggling future' there is for Europe, and Germany in particular. He says: 'Contemporary kings have been released from God's guidance. The wretched creatures do not know, in their desire to intermeddle like idiots or mad people,

that monarchy is spared amongst the English, because the monarchs never personally intervene in the Government, but obey, like steam engines, public opinion and the Chambers. But give to the English a King Humbert, involved in the Triple Alliance, an Emperor William of Brandenburg, mixed continually in every German mess, a King of Denmark in constant antagonism with national representation, a King of Sweden in opposition with democratic Norway, a King of Lusitania who inaugurates the commencement of his reign by withdrawing public liberties, and tell me what would remain of royalty in a people so accustomed to govern itself as the English people, admirable for its freedom and admirable for its Parliament.'—Amongst French novels and one each by Tolstoy and Turguenieff, we find a critique of Stuart Mill's *Memoirs and Life*.

HOLLAND.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—The January number opens with an introductory lecture delivered by Prof. Tiele in November, when beginning a course of lectures on the philosophy of Religion. Hitherto he has dealt with the history of religion; but the new subject has been imposed on him by the act of a colleague, Prof. Gunning, whose sensitive conscience forbade him to take up a theme in which Christianity would have to be treated as only one of a number of religions. Dr. Tiele's remarks on the relation of the history of religion to the philosophy of it, and on his own position as an impartial student of religion who yet believes the religion of Christ to be carefully distinguished from all church statements of it, to be immeasurably higher than any other, indeed the highest form of religion man can ever attain, are extremely interesting and lifelike. Dr. D. Völter follows with a paper written in German, and bearing the title 'Two Epistles to the Philippians.' The theory has been advanced before; notably by Hausrath, but Dr. Völter's two Epistles turn out differently from Hausrath's. The latter merely held chapters i. and ii. to be a separate work from chapters iii. iv. Völter's first epistle is i. 3-7; i. 12-26; ii. 17-30; iv. 10-20, 21, 23. His second, i. 27-ii. 16; iii. 1-iv. 9; iv. 22; while i. 1-2, was the beginning of both of them alike, and some few verses are doubtful. If any of our readers will take the trouble to read the section given continuously, he will find the first epistle to breathe nothing but affection and gratitude to the Philippians, it forms a piece without a harsh note in it, and Dr. Völter judges it to be a genuine work of Paul, and worthy of him both in thought and expression. The critical objections to Philippians are

then taken up so far as based on the sections reckoned to belong to this first epistle, and found to be without substance. A personal and quite undoctinal letter, it is not to be compared with the great Epistles, but in no point does it contradict them.

The second Epistle is discussed in the March number of the 'Tijdschrift.' Unlike the other it is mainly doctrinal and parenetic, and whereas the first Epistle spoke of a state of unbroken harmony in the Church at Philippi, this one speaks of the necessity of efforts towards harmony, and describes persons of a pernicious tendency by a variety of uncomplimentary epithets. It is mainly the comparison of the two epithets that leads Dr. Völter to the conclusion that the second is not genuine. The procedure certainly appears arbitrary and illogical; there is probably no book in Scripture which would not admit of being separated into two works, the first containing all that is easy to understand and the second all that is more difficult, and the first will always serve to prove the second portion. In the remainder of Dr. Völter's paper we have all the arguments Baur brought against Philippians, urged against second Philippians, for the passages these arguments were based on have all been placed in the second Epistle. Dr. Völter certainly has something Baur has not. As the Christology of 2nd Philippians resembles that to be found in certain verses of Romans and Corinthians, the author has to pass judgment on these latter verses also, and declares them all to be interpolations in the great Epistles. These the writer has already pulled to pieces in his work on the principal Epistles of Paul, and we can only watch with surprise as he re-creates the whole Pauline literature, and divides it among a number of different writers in different periods. This sort of thing one would imagine must soon work its own way.

In the March number there is a very interesting paper by Dr. J. G. Boekennoogen, on Christology, the doctrine of Christ, that is to say, according to the newest Dutch criticism, in which Christ is no longer an historical figure but a personification of Christianity as an historical force, and of Christian experience. It is very curious to witness how the entire loss of the historical Christ is maintained to leave Christianity as a working religion unimpaired. The preacher who has ceased to believe in the reality of the figure of Jesus as presented in the Gospels must yet, this writer maintains, continue to speak of what Jesus did and to repeat the words of Jesus, and to represent Jesus as being still a being and a working personality; only in this way can the truths and claims of Christianity be brought home to the minds of men. This the new criticism holds, in the sense in which the Gospels

themselves speak of Jesus, and the preacher should preach Christian truths in the same way as they do, and should celebrate Christmas and Easter as they do representing processes of the Christian life in the figure of a person whom he does not believe ever to have existed. There the extreme criticism leads in practice to a system of mysticism, which differs, however, from the old mysticism in being conscious of unreality.

Dr. Kuenen's last notes for the *Theological Tijdschrift* are printed in this number. They break off in the middle of a sentence in a notice. The ever to be lamented scholar was writing on the two Introductions to the Old Testament which to his great satisfaction had appeared during the previous year. Canon Driver's book had been read by Kuenen, but is not reached in this fragmentary notice.

DE GIDS (February).—Contains a repulsive yet pathetic story, 'The Murdress,' revealing the worst side of Dutch peasant life.—Van der Vlugt continues his article on Toynbee work, making an earnest appeal for some similar movement in the great cities of Holland, where the need for it seems to be quite as great as in London.—'The Duke of Brunswick, 1750-84,' is a review of Nijhoff's book by De Beaufort, who sums up his examination of the Life by saying that the Duke was a person of ordinarily good intelligence, but not possessed of the higher qualities of heart and soul that raise a man above the common level. The love of power was his strongest motive, and he was capable of stooping to the lowest means in order to maintain and extend his position and authority. In a word, he was not so bad as his contemporaries have depicted him, and certainly not so good as Nijhoff makes him out to be.—Polak gives a second long article on 'Will-o'-the-Wisps.' Starting from his criticism of the lately discovered *Athênaiôn Politeia*, he proceeds to ascertain what was the real character of the Athenian democracy. He takes a wide review of various writers on the subject, especially of Julius Schvarcz, whose immense work containing all possible information is condemned as a sort of electric light picture in which the shadows come out perfectly black, while, on the other hand, Macaulay gives an absurdly rose-coloured idea of the Attic State. Grote and Mommsen also come in for criticism. The great absurdity is in people making the constitution of the Athenian democracy a battering ram in modern politics. Its ideals were only very partially ours. It is quite chimerical to suppose that the State of Athens, so long passed away, can be of the least significance in settling the social questions of modern society. Whatever solution these find it will certainly be very different from

anything realised in the democracy of ancient Athens.—‘A Dilletante Diplomatist,’ is a review of the correspondence of W. A. Miles on the French Revolution, always interesting but not always to be relied on as an authority.—(March).—H. P. G. Quack gives a sympathetic and interesting account of Ruskin’s St. George’s Guild, which, from a practical point of view, is a beautiful iridescent soap-bubble, doomed to burst and vanish, but the case is very different with the ideas which it embodies. Ruskin has done noble service in bringing before men high ideals of social life, and his work will not go for nothing in the evolution of our century, but will be a permanent source of inspiration to all who seek to ameliorate the lot of the disinherited classes.—The 300th anniversary of the birth of Comenius is celebrated in a sketch of his life and influence by Jutfaas. A brave and steadfast pioneer of education, he left his mark not only on his own time, but his influence is still traceable in modern educational methods. His greatest service was the introduction of primary education in the mother tongue, and in this way greatly helped, especially in Germany, to lay the foundation of vernacular literature. He confessedly owed much to Erasmus, Scaliger, and others, but no one before him brought the same ideas into actual practice in school-life. He lived in many lands, where his educational services were always eagerly sought for, but his last resting-place was Amsterdam, so that Holland has a peculiar interest in him. As a theologian, his influence was not great, and latterly he held mystic, visionary, almost childish, views, yet all through his eventful life he stands out as a brave, self-sacrificing man, worthy of remembrance.—Groenewegen continues his studies on Potgieter, taking up what he calls the transition period of the poet’s life, 1831-36. He was entrusted with a commission to Sweden, which took a year to fulfil, and during that time in his travels he was always trying to find a suitable place to settle as a merchant, but at the same time cultivating his poetic gifts. Literature was then in a flourishing state in Scandinavia, Tegnér being then at the height of his fame; and Gothenberg, where Potgieter stayed for a time, was the centre of a brilliant society, which did much to polish and develop the young poet. On his return he settled at Amsterdam, and his poems at this time show the influence of the romantic school. He soon devoted himself more to translating and writing critiques, and did much to open up to the Dutch the literature of other countries, but he did not gain a confirmed position among the writers of the day until he published *The North*, a book containing descriptions of Scandinavia in many aspects. In character he has been

Summaries of Foreign Reviews.

likened to our Charles Lamb.—Van Hamel reviews Bourget's *Italie*, a charming book, not the least attractive quality being the half-unconscious revelation throughout of Bourget's character and feelings.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Early Religion of Israel as set forth by Biblical Writers and by Modern Critical Historians (Baird Lecture, 1889). By JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood & Sons. 1892.

Professor Robertson is not by any means so timorous a writer as his almost amusingly apologetic preface would lead one to suppose. Even the great names of Wellhausen and Stade have no awe for him. He handles them with extreme boldness, and does not hesitate to call their arguments in question, to throw stones at their theories, and to traverse and turn their arguments. In the present, when what are called the advanced views of Old Testament critics have become almost traditional and many are beginning to look upon them as things to be accepted without question, it is quite refreshing to come across a writer who, with the learning of Dr. Robertson, has the courage to own his inability to accept them, and is at the same time able to maintain his conservative attitude towards them with arguments which those whom he opposes will find it difficult to set aside. Besides his learning, Dr. Robertson brings to his task a large measure of common sense. He has also the advantage of not being a thorough-going specialist. This is no small advantage, more especially in matters of criticism, as most who are acquainted with modern German theological books are aware. Specialists in matters theological, and in most others, are apt to become theorists and exhibit not infrequently a strange habit of magnifying the importance of whatever seems to tell in favour of their theories, and of overlooking those which tell against them. Dr. Robertson writes with a large and intelligent grasp of his subject. As compared with many who have dealt with it before him, he is less wedded to theory and more anxious to ascertain what are the real facts of the case than to maintain a foregone conclusion. There are some admissions in his volume which to those who are ultra conservative in their way of thinking may not be pleasing. All the same, they are extremely moderate, and will be regarded by many as far from sufficient. Taking the compositions which are admitted on all hands to belong to the period which may be roughly described as the century between 850 and 750 B.C., the ultimate point he seeks to determine by the aid of these authorities is what was the actual state of religion in Israel, in its various aspects of belief and practice, in the times *preceding* the period to which the authorities to which appeal is made belong, and how far back the beliefs which are found prevailing in undisputed historic times can be traced. As already hinted, the results these authorities yield in the hands of Dr. Robertson are very different from those which Wellhausen, Stade, and Renan profess to obtain ; but for what they are, and for the way in which they are obtained, we must refer the reader to Dr. Robertson's volume. Its freshness and its attractiveness are unquestionable, and while thoroughly well adapted for popular reading, it is a book which no student of the Old Testament can safely afford to pass by.

The Leading Ideas of the Gospels. By WILLIAM ALEXANDER, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe. New Edition, Revised and Greatly Enlarged. London and New York. Macmillan & Co. 1892.

Though not exactly a new book, this new edition of Bishop Alexander's *Leading Ideas* deserves to be called one. The changes it has undergone are very considerable. The political allusions, very natural at the time the sermons were delivered, have been omitted, the sermon form has been discarded, and much corroborative and illustrative matter, the result of further study, has been added. The main theme of the volume, however, that is, that each of the Gospels is pervaded by dominant ideas, is the same. On this no advance or alteration has been made. Whatever novelty there is in the volume is in the arguments, illustrations, and form; and this is almost sufficient to entitle the volume to be regarded as a different treatise. That the central idea of the volume is new is not of course pretended. Modern Germans have written largely about it, and in the ancient Church it was well known, and widely, if not everywhere, accepted. Among the artists of the middle ages it was conventionalised, and found expression in all their representations of the Evangelists. In this country, however, at least among Protestants, it seems to have been almost entirely forgotten, until Bishop Alexander recalled it to the attention of students in the sermons in which the present volume originated. Of the manner in which he has treated his subject it is hardly necessary to speak. Bishop Alexander is not a German, but his treatment of his subject, while not less scholarly, is less stiff and formal and unattractive. In many places it rises into eloquence, and is everywhere luminous, cautious, and temperate. The work may be said to divide itself into two parts—the first dealing with the leading ideas in the different Gospels, and the second with the leading ideas pervading the Evangelical narratives of the Passion. Going back to the beginning Bishop Alexander finds the germ of the theory he develops in the address delivered by S. Peter in the house of Cornelius (Acts x. 34-44), and then proceeds to deal with each of the Evangelical narratives. His treatment of the third Gospel is specially deserving of notice, as at once broad, scriptural, and full of just observations. His remarks with reference to the Ebionitism and communistic principles S. Luke is supposed to teach, are admirable, and show how far he is removed from the narrowness of the specialist or ideologist. The work may be taken in short as affording a sample of the vast treasures of wisdom and instruction which the Gospels may be made to yield when treated in a free, reverent and enlightened spirit. In its original form the work has been long out of print; in its new form it is likely, if not sure, to find a much wider circle of readers.

The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord (Baird Lecture, 1891). By WILLIAM MILLIGAN, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

Professor Milligan has had the honour of holding the Baird Lectureship a third time, an honour which, so far as our memory serves us, has fallen to no other. In his first turn of office he dealt with our Lord's Resurrection. Here that series of lectures, which is now a well-known and popular book, is followed up by a series on the Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of the Redeemer. The fitness of this series to form a sequel to the former

is obvious. Practically, they both treat of the same subject, for without His Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood the glorification of our Lord, which was begun in His Resurrection, can only be conceived of as incomplete. In the first of the lectures in this series, Dr. Milligan deals with the historical fact of our Lord's Ascension, its evidences, different aspects, and importance. The second and third lectures are devoted to the heavenly priesthood of our Lord in heaven; the fourth to the gift of the Spirit, and the remaining two to the heavenly priesthood of our Lord on earth. In dealing with these problems, Dr. Milligan has to handle a number of very delicate and difficult problems, but his treatment of them may be said to be without dogmatism and characterised by a liberal and devout spirit. That the lectures are eloquent need hardly be said, for here, as usual, the author is nothing if not eloquent. That they contain any new or solid contribution to the science of theology may, however, be doubted. They have the merit, and it is no slight one, of putting into clear and intelligible language, as well as of bringing down to the capacity of the average modern reader, a number of truths and ideas which have been often uttered before. It is somewhat difficult to reconcile the statement on page 211 that 'before His Ascension our Lord was not in a position to bestow the gift of "Holy Spirit,"' with the statement on a previous page (175), 'When He sent forth His disciples to carry on the great purposes of His mission, it was through the "Holy Spirit" that He gave them commandment, and His last and highest gift, that in bestowing which He felt that He bestowed Himself, was the gift of the Spirit: "He breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Spirit."' One statement may be referred to as showing what will probably strike many as remarkable in the mouth of a Scottish Professor of Divinity, if not, when taken in connection with a certain movement within the Church of Scotland, as indicative of a steady drift of feeling in at least one if not two directions: 'Extemporaneous prayer, however tasteful, and however it may proceed from the most fervent spirit of devotion, can never be the Church's voice. We can never hear in it those common utterances that, sanctified by centuries of Christian usage, proclaim the faith and hope and love of ten thousand times ten thousand souls, which, amidst all the varieties of their outward condition, have been really one.'

The Real Jesus: a Review of His Life, Character, and Death, from a Jewish Standpoint. By JOHN VICKERS. London: Williams and Norgate. 1891.

This work embodies in substance Mr. Vickers' efforts as an apostle of Theism to interpret the narratives of the Gospels for the benefit or instruction of 'members of the Theistic Church.' These efforts have been more or less continuous for some years, and in various ways he has sought to bring his views before a wider constituency in the hope of converting people to them, and so bringing them into sympathetic and active union with that Church. This is his purpose in issuing the volume before us. He is not a Jew, but endeavours here, as he thinks, to look at Jesus through the eyes of a Jew who shares the theistic principle with him. After an elaborate introduction, in which there is much that in these days of conflict between class and class, and between religion and irreligion, is both true and wise, and which will be read with pleasure and profit by most thoughtful Christians, he sets himself, in a series of eight chapters, to subject what is related in the Gospels regarding Jesus to a 'critical' examination. A preliminary chapter is devoted to 'the Modern Eulogists of Jesus.' The bulk of his book is bent on showing how very little there

is in the Gospel narratives that is historically true or rationally credible. But Mr. Vickers, like a great many other 'critics' of the same school, overdoes his criticism, and instead of giving us a portrait presents us with a caricature, which is so unfair and improbable, that it will be instinctively and promptly rejected by every unprejudiced mind. In these chapters we have constantly obtruded upon us what a very much superior person Mr. Vickers is to 'the real Jesus.' If in this and that circumstance of his life, Jesus had just acted as Mr. Vickers says he ought to have acted, then He would have been worthy of praise, and His work would have resulted in this or that wonderful good. Unfortunately, Mr. Vickers was not present to guide Him, and He was constantly therefore both saying and doing the things He ought not. This kind of thing would be amusing if it were not repulsive, and the constant monotony of it provokes feelings which are not altogether respectful to Mr. Vickers. If this kind of criticism and portraiture makes one convert to Theism, we cannot but pity the Church that gains him. The concluding chapter on 'the Fruits of Christianity' is largely devoted to Mr. Froude's and Canon Farrar's appreciation of Christianity's aims and influences. He there tries to show that their estimates of it are devout imaginations, resting on no historical evidence. According to Mr. Vickers, 'primitive Christianity,' instead of seeking to 'improve family government in the interest of social order, rather sought to effect its entire abolition, and to encourage parental neglect. There was to be no more wholesome restraint, no more toiling for and storing up of wealth, but children and parents were to forget alike their obligations to each other, and to herd together in a free mendicant community.' *Ex uno, etc.*

Anthropological Religion: The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1891. By F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M. London and New York: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1892.

Anthropological Religion, the branch of Natural Religion which forms the subject of this third series of Professor Max Müller's Gifford Lectures, is not in any way more closely connected with Anthropology, which Dr. Tylor has defined as the science of man and civilisation, than the other branches of Natural Religion. It is called anthropological, we are told, simply and solely in order to comprehend under that name all the attempts which have been made to discover something not merely human, then superhuman, then divine and immortal in man. Hence the main object of the lectures is to ascertain historically and chiefly by means of the study of language, the origin and development of the belief in God, in the immortality of the soul, and in a future retribution. That the lecturer's treatment of his subject presents many features of interest and novelty need hardly be said. His style is as simple and attractive as ever, and we have here the same frankness of utterance and the same wealth of illustration. India is as usual uppermost in his mind, but here, as in his previous lectures, his illustrations are drawn from a wide area. The passages to which exception was taken at the time the lectures were being delivered, remain, and in the preface to the series the author takes the opportunity of replying to his critics. Some of these will probably be not a little surprised to find him seeking shelter, or at least producing confirmation for his views, in the utterances of Cardinal Newman and Dr. Temple. Fortunately we have here no call to take part in the controversy nor to express either approval or disapproval of the lecturer's theological ideas. These apart, however, the lectures are a learned contribution to a vast and

intricate subject, and few will differ from the author when he says that 'Christianity is the fulfilment of all that the world has been hoping and striving for, and has given the best and truest expression to what the Old World tried to express in various and less perfect ways.'

Hastings and the Rohilla War. By Sir JOHN STRACHEY, G.C.S.I., Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1892.

The clouds which have so long dimmed the lustre of Hastings' rule in India are at last beginning to be swept away and the heavy burden of reproach under which his memory has laboured to be removed. Few men have had so many hard words thrown at them; few have been so strongly misrepresented, and few have been so heavily calumniated. Burke's prosecution of him was doubtless prompted by pure and noble motives, but the language he held respecting him passed all bounds. Magnificent as his speeches are said to have been, it is impossible to read them now without feeling, to say the least, that the epithets he employed and the manner in which he spoke of Hastings was intemperate and uncalled for. It may be, as some have argued, that he is badly reported; some excuse may also be made for him by the fact which Macaulay pointed out, that when once his imagination and passions were excited he lost control of them; but for Mill the historian there can be none. He was not of a nature to be carried away either by his imagination or his passions. He wrote calmly, with the coldness of an unemotional and phlegmatic nature. That he should have written of Hastings as he has, can only be accounted for by supposing that his judgment and sense of right were completely warped by political prejudices. Sir James Stephen charges him with bad faith. But whether his misrepresentations were made of set purpose or not, they have been repeated and generally regarded as true. Quite recently the last named writer has turned his attention to the charges brought against Hastings and Impey in connection with Nuncomar, and it is not likely that the imaginary charges imputed to them in that connection will again appear in real history. What Sir James Stephen has done for that episode, Sir John Strachey here seeks to do in reference to the Rohilla war. Of his fitness for the task, it is needless to speak. Equally unnecessary is it to say anything as to the manner in which he has discharged it. Sir John is well known as a writer, and he here brings together a body of evidence which completely exonerates Hastings. Nothing indeed can be more complete than his vindications of the policy and integrity of the course he adopted, or his refutation of the charges made against him in connection with the war. The English army, he shows, was not hired out by Hastings for the destruction of the Rohillas; nor did the Rohillas belong, as Burke declared, to the bravest, the most honourable and generous nations on the earth. They were no nation at all, he points out, but a comparatively small body of cruel and rapacious Afghan adventurers, who had imposed their foreign rule on an unwilling Hindu population. Sir John Strachey himself went to Rohilkhand believing, or at least not doubting, the story of their destruction as told by Burke and Mill and Lord Macaulay, and was in frequent intercourse with the people and their rulers, but in the country and among the descendants of the people who were said to have been destroyed, he found that the story was utterly unknown. The evidence which Sir John here adduces is the best, being drawn from the official and secret records of the time, as well as from private correspondence, and leaves not a doubt that the whole story as hitherto told is fictitious.

The History of Civilisation in Scotland. By JOHN MACKINTOSH, LL.D. A new edition. Vol. I. Paisley and London : Alex. Gardner. 1892.

This is the first instalment of a new and revised edition of Dr. Mackintosh's well known and esteemed work. As it bears on the title page, and as comparison with the earlier edition will show, the work is undergoing extensive alterations and is being, in fact, to a large extent rewritten. As need hardly be said, the author is taking the opportunity thus afforded to revise some of the opinions he formerly maintained, and also to incorporate some of the more important facts which have come to light since this portion of the work was originally issued, and which wider reading and more extensive research have made him acquainted with. So far Dr. Macintosh has made good use of his opportunity. In its new shape the work promises to be in every respect a great improvement and still more worthy of the place assigned to it. As a history of civilisation in Scotland it stands alone. Mr. Buckle and others have dealt with isolated periods, but Dr. Mackintosh here goes as far back as possible and brings his survey down to the end of the eighteenth century, treating the whole of his very extensive and intricate subject in a systematic, scholarly and workmanlike manner. With so large and difficult a subject to deal with, it would be surprising indeed if he had not laid himself open to criticism, but, although objection may be taken to some of his statements, and to the interpretations he has put upon some of the facts before him, there can be but one opinion as to the merits of the work. It fills a hitherto neglected place in the historical literature of the country and deserves the success it has attained. The present volume contains, besides an elaborate introduction, divided into twelve sections, dealing with the earliest and Celtic civilisation, eleven chapters, in which the history is brought down to the end of the fifteenth century. Chapters are of course devoted to the wars of Independence, but the political relations of the country are passed over somewhat rapidly, and, as might be expected, are dealt with only in so far as they bear upon the intellectual and social life of the people and helped on or retarded the development of their civilisation. As the main factor in civilisation, Dr. Mackintosh takes the human mind, and mentions as occupying a subordinate place surrounding nature, historical relations, and social and material conditions. In thus giving the first place to the human mind he is unquestionably right; the tendency with some during recent years has been to lay more stress on the environment than on that which is really the formative element in progress. Dr. Mackintosh, however, distinctly emphasises the fact that it is to the human mind itself that we must look for the origin of civilisation. At the same time he fully recognises the influence which the aspects of nature and historical, social, and material conditions have in the evolution of the mental energies of a people, and in determining the development, and to a large extent the character and direction, of their social and intellectual history. This is seen in the later chapters of his present volume, more especially in the tenth, where he deals with the condition of the people during and immediately after the Wars of Independence. Here we have an account not only of the origin and functions of Parliament and the character and constitution of the law courts, but also of the origin of new families, the extension of feudal privileges to the nobles, the state of agriculture and commerce, the condition of the burghers and peasantry, their food, clothing, customs, religion, crimes and vices, and their dwellings, together with a description of the dwellings of the nobles, and of the monasteries, nunneries and hos-

pitals. This again is followed by a couple of chapters dealing somewhat minutely with the literature, education, music and art of the period, and showing how the relation in which Scotland stood to England and the continent affected the course of its intellectual development. The earlier chapters of the volume are necessarily of a more antiquarian character than the later, but are not less interesting. In some respects, in particular as dealing with a less known period in the history of the country, they are, if anything, more attractive. One or two points we have noticed may be set down for use in future editions. It is a mistake to say that St. Columba was more engaged in fighting demons than heathen priests; a careful perusal of either Adamnan's *Life* or Cumme's will prove the contrary. That Cumme, the seventh President of Hy, was the author of the Epistle on the Paschal Festival is extremely doubtful. Colgan says that he was; but it may with much more likelihood be referred to Cummanus, a contemporary Irishman. It is hardly correct to say that a 'considerable number of' Adamnan's 'writings still exist in various libraries.' Copies of them may, but his writings were comparatively few, and most of those attributed to him have been identified. In the account of the literature of the thirteenth and two following centuries no notice is taken of the *Legends* edited by Horstmann and recently re-edited for the Scottish Text Society, nor is any mention made of Dr. Skeat's monumental edition of 'The Bruce.' These, however, are but comparatively small matters. The volume is the beginning of a genuinely important work and an extremely valuable contribution to a large and intensely interesting subject.

Historical Essays. Fourth Series. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., D.C.L., etc. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

This series of essays differs somewhat from the three volumes which have gone before it. The essays are all historical, with perhaps one exception, but they are more varied in character and less easily grouped. The paper on Augustodunum is an admirable continuation of the series of essays which appeared in the third volume, dealing with Trier, Ravenna, Spalato and Palermo, and completes that group so far as it is now, unfortunately, ever likely to be completed. Other pieces of the same general kind are those on Orange, Périgueux and Cahors, and Carthage, all of which are deserving of careful study. That on Carthage may be particularly mentioned. As a piece of historical delineation it is almost equal to anything Mr. Freeman has done. The comparison between Carthage and Rome, and Carthage and Britain is particularly impressive, while the position of the great African Colony among the other powers of the world, her attitude towards her sister colonies, her strength and weakness and her aims, together with the warnings and lessons which her history has for the modern world are all set out in the most skilful and vivid way. One paper deals with the English Civil wars, another with the Battle of Wakefield, and another with National Prosperity and the Reformation. 'Cardinal Pole' is mainly a review of Dr. Hook's *Life of the Cardinal*, and is followed by a review of the same author's *Life of Archbishop Parker* in the ninth volume of his *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*. 'Historical Cycles' reminds one of the suggestive paper in the third series with the heading 'Sicilian Cycles,' and is quite as suggestive. 'The House of Lords' is the most political of the series. It deals with the present constitution of the Peers' Chamber, its legal as distinguished from its conventional functions, and how it came to have that constitution and to discharge those functions. On the question of its

'mending' Mr. Freeman declines to write. Of the value of the essay it is not necessary to speak. Like the rest in the volume it contains solid work, and equally with them is well worth preserving. It is remarkable how much information, often of the most recondite kind, Mr. Freeman is able to crowd into his pages, and how he manages to make everything he touches full of interest for the present.

Queen Elizabeth. By EDWARD SPENCER BEESLY. (Twelve English Statesmen.) London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

Under strict limitations of space Mr. Beesly has here had to deal with a life which during forty-five years was intimately bound up with the history of England, and cannot be separated from it. It is a life too which, besides abounding in personal interest, has been made both in its public and private aspects the subject of many fierce and apparently interminable controversies. Considering the difficulties he has had to contend with, he may be said to have succeeded in presenting a comparatively full and certainly an interesting and vivid picture of the last of the Tudors. Many points have of course been passed over, or but slightly touched upon, but those selected for fuller treatment have been well chosen, and are such in fact as one would naturally expect them to be. Any settlement of the controversies which have arisen with regard to Elizabeth and many of her public and private actions was scarcely to be looked for in Mr. Beesly's pages. His opinions upon a number of them, however, are distinctly expressed, and on the whole he has evidently endeavoured to write in the spirit of fairness. Of Elizabeth herself he has no very high opinion. Speaking of her conduct in relation to Thomas Seymour, the brother of the Protector Somerset, he says, 'She was only flirting with a man old enough to be her father, just as she afterwards flirted with men young enough to be her sons'; and makes the remark, 'We already get a glimpse of the utter absence both of delicacy and depth of feeling which characterised her through life.' With Elizabeth, he also remarks, the heart never really spoke, and if the senses did, she had them under perfect control. And this, he explains, was the reason why she never loved or was loved, and never has been or will be regarded with enthusiasm by either man or woman. On the other hand he praises her prudence and discretion. But on what principle he can make the assertion that her prudent and blameless conduct in connection with Wyatt's insurrection 'gave her the more right in after years to deal severely with Mary Stuart, whose behaviour under precisely similar circumstances was so very different' we are unable to tell. The cases were not similar and the reasoning is vicious. A more singular excuse for a bad act has rarely been made. At the same time, Mr. Beesly maintains that Elizabeth, notwithstanding her disavowals and treatment of Davison, intended the execution of Mary, and believes that Burghley and the rest who brought it about were only interpreting her will when they forwarded the warrant for it. There can be no doubt that he is right. They did what Elizabeth wanted, but had not the courage to do herself. She is certainly 'Queen Elizabeth of famous memory,' but her fame is stained by one dark and serious blot.

Montrose. By MOWBRAY MORRIS. (English Men of Action.) London and New York. Macmillan & Co. 1892.

This brilliant little volume carries us back to a period on which much light has been cast in recent years. Prejudice and partisanship have done

much to misrepresent and obscure the actions and motives of those who played a conspicuous part in its stirring events, and it is doubtful whether we are yet in a position to judge of them calmly and accurately. Mr. Morris, however, has endeavoured to do justice to one of the most transparent and romantic characters of the time. It is not difficult to tell on which side his sympathies lie. He has no love for the Covenanters, and much about the same opinion of the majority of their leaders as Knox had of the Lords of the Congregation. Argyle he sets down as heartless, scheming and ambitious, a traitor and a coward, and Hamilton as weak and treacherous. His sympathies are not altogether with the King, though as against that of the Covenanters' he approves his cause. For Montrose his admiration is great. There is no evident attempt to make a hero of him; Mr. Morris is content to let his actions speak for themselves. The charge of inconsistency is very fairly met, and there can be little doubt that from the point of view adopted the case which Mr. Morris argues, is good. Assuming that Montrose was from the first for king and country, and the point seems to admit of no question, as soon as he discovered the position in which his want of prevision had landed him and the turn affairs were taking, the only course open for him, unless he was to renounce his convictions, was to change sides. Though worthy of a better fate, it is his fate together with the dignity with which he met it, that has shed around him something like a halo of romance. His achievements can scarcely be called great, but in the end he fairly won the title by which he is known.

The Law and Custom of the Constitution. Part II. The Crown. By SIR WILLIAM R. ANSON, BART., D.C.L., etc. etc. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1892.

Though dealing with the Crown in Council, this second volume of Sir W. Anson's work is considerably larger than the first, which deals with the Crown in Parliament. Any surprise which this may at first sight cause, a glance at the table of contents will speedily remove. The Crown in Council is a much larger subject than the Crown in Parliament, and takes in nothing less than the whole executive of the Empire as distinct from the legislature upon which it here and there, and, indeed, everywhere of necessity touches. While longer, it is also considerably more intricate, and the difficulty of dealing with it in any thing like a clear and systematic way is all the greater. Here, however, the reader will find no reason to complain either of the want of perspicacity or of the lack of systematic arrangement. He will be disposed rather to admire the fulness of the information, the orderliness of its arrangement, and the singular clearness with which Sir William Anson everywhere manages to convey it. That we may give the reader something of an idea of what the volume contains, we may mention that the first chapter deals with the prerogatives of the Crown, itself no inconsiderable subject; the second, with the title to the Crown, and the relation between sovereign and subject; the third, with the Council of the Crown, and more especially the Cabinet; the fourth, with the various Departments of Government; the fifth, with the dominion and dependencies of the Crown; the sixth, with the Crown and foreign relations; the seventh, with the revenues of the Crown and their expenditure; the eighth, with the Armed Forces of the Crown; and the ninth and tenth, with the Crown in its relation to the Churches and the Courts of Law. When we add that, as in the volume on the Crown in Parliament, so here the author is not content with merely describing the existing relations and practice, but in every case shows what these were formerly, and traces

their history, some idea may be formed of the greatness of the subject dealt with. The manner in which the historical is interwoven with what may be called the descriptive element in the book, and is made to throw light upon the existing law and custom, constitutes one of the most remarkable features of the volume. Here and there an objection may be taken. Scotsmen, for instance, might object to the Court of Session being classed among 'Courts outside the Supreme Court,' as implying that it is not itself a Supreme Court. That it is, however, is admitted by Sir William, and 'Courts outside the Supreme Court' means, we understand therefore, 'outside the Supreme Court of Judicature' in London. It is a mistake, however, to say that a presbytery consists, as an assembly, of all the ministers within its geographical limits, and the Professors of Divinity (being ministers) of any University within these limits. All ministers within the geographical limits are not members of the presbytery, nor are all beneficed ministers, but those only who are ministers of parishes. This, however, is a matter easy of correction, and it is on this account we mention it. For the rest the volume is deserving of the very highest commendation both for the reasons we have given, and for its facility of reference.

Genealogical Chart of the Royal Family of Great Britain in the Scottish, Anglo-Saxon, Norman, Welsh, Guelph, and Wettin Lines with Collateral Branches. By the REV. ROBERT LOGAN, Abington, Lanarkshire. Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace.

Among the many memorials prepared in connection with Her Majesty the Queen's Jubilee, Mr. Logan noted the omission of a Genealogical Chart of the Royal Family of Great Britain, and has here attempted to supply the omission. His success is manifest. The direct line of descent is set out with the greatest clearness, and considerable attention has been paid to the collateral lines. In similar charts these latter are not always sufficiently attended to, nor is their importance always understood. Following Dr. Skene, Mr. Logan has not gone further back along the Scottish line than Alpine, the father of Kenneth. The fact is noticed, however, that Dr. Skene's opinion is not undisputed, and that by many the line is carried back to the Kings of Dalriada in Ireland. One oversight in the chart requires to be noted, and that is, that Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm II., married Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, and that their son, Duncan, the Duncan of Shakespeare, became the first king of the house of Atholl. The Anglo-Saxon line is traced from Cerdic, the first of the West-Saxon Kings, and the Welsh from Maelgwin in the sixth century. The Norman line is taken back to Ivar and the Plantagenet to Tertullus. In the preface to the volume a number of interesting and curious facts are given. Among others, it is noted that James VI. of Scotland and I. of England is the ancestor of nearly every prince now reigning in Europe, and also of several noble families in Germany.

The Life and Works of John Arbuthnot, M.D. By GEORGE A. AITKEN. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1892.

To the modern reader, Dr. Arbuthnot, we fear, is little more than a name, if he is even that. All the same he wrote several things which are worth preserving, and deserves himself to be remembered. The favourite physician of Queen Anne, and the companion of most of the wits of his time, he was held in general esteem, and few of his contemporaries have anything but good to say about him. This is all the more remarkable as he had a consider-

able hand in politics, literary rivalries ran high, and literary men were less reticent in print as to their jealousies even than they are now. Dr. Johnson thought highly of him, and Mr. Aitken has fittingly placed the encomium he passed upon him on the title page of his volume. Berkeley spoke of him in similar terms. 'He is the Queen's domestic physician,' he wrote to Sir John Percival, 'and in great esteem with the whole Court, a great philosopher, and reckoned the first mathematician of the age, and has the character of uncommon virtue and probity.' Swift and Pope were amongst his most intimate friends: they worked together, and it says much for Arbuthnot that their friendship was lasting, and continued without the slightest interruption up to the hour of his death. Not a little credit is due to Mr. Aitken for the very excellent manner in which was discharged the duties he has taken in hand. His researches among the literary remains of the period have enabled him to rescue Arbuthnot from the oblivion which was threatening him, and to throw very considerable light upon his career. The eldest son of Alexander Arbuthnot, minister of the Kirk of Arbuthnot, Dr. Arbuthnot was born April 29, 1667. The present manse stands on the site of the house in which he was born. Refusing to conform, his father was deposed from his living in 1689, and retired to a small property he had inherited, called Kinghornie, which still gives it name to a farm in the Parish of Kinneff. On the death of his father, in February, 1691, Arbuthnot went to London and there maintained himself by teaching mathematics. The following year he published a volume with the title *Of the Laws of Chance*, and in 1694, entered University College, Oxford, as a Fellow-commoner, apparently as companion and private tutor to Edward Jeffreys, son of Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys of Roehampton, Surrey, and Member of Parliament for Brecon. At Oxford he became acquainted with Dr. Charlett, the Master of his College, with whom he maintained a friendship in after life. In 1696 he took his doctor's degree in medicine at St. Andrews, and returning to London published an 'Essay on the Natural History of the Earth,' in which he combatted the views of Dr. Woodward, the Professor of Physics at Gresham College. This was followed in 1701 by an 'Essay on the Usefulness of Mathematical Learning.' His various publications, as well as his professional skill, soon brought him into notice. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society on St. Andrew's Day, 1704, and in the following year his successful treatment of a sudden indisposition of Prince George of Denmark brought him to the notice of the Queen, whose favour he retained until her death. In his memoir of him, Mr. Aitken has printed a number of Arbuthnot's letters hitherto unpublished, as well as others which passed between him and his numerous correspondents. The memoir itself is an excellent piece of workmanship, and the manner in which both the letters and the 'works' are edited is deserving of the highest praise. Nothing is too small for Mr. Aitken to attend to, even the different modes of spelling the Doctor's surname are recorded, while the notes supplied to the letters as well as to the 'works' are often of the greatest value, throwing light on passages which would be obscure without them, and bearing witness to the thoroughness and fidelity with which Mr. Aitken has discharged his duties as their editor.

The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age. By W. Y. SELLAR, M.A., LL.D. Horace and the Elegiac Poets. With a Memoir by ANDREW LANG, M.A., and a Portrait. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1892.

Though the whole of this volume has not been finally revised by its

lamented author, the greater part of it has. Fortunately he was able to revise almost the whole of the chapters on Horace, and most of those on the Elegiac poets. Only the one on Ovid is in an unfinished condition, and, though it might have been supplemented by the author's essay in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, it has been thought better to print it as it was left, with such corrections only as seemed to be necessary. With this exception, therefore, the work may be said to be complete. Doubtless as it passed through the press, Professor Sellar might have introduced additional touches and alterations; the chapter on Ovid could certainly have been expanded and improved; but even as it stands the volume is a worthy completion of the series to which it belongs. That Mr. Andrew Lang has written gracefully and said many just things in the memoir of the author, which he has prefixed to the volume, need hardly be said. He has sketched the somewhat uneventful career of his relative with simplicity, and not without evident pathos, and paid a well-deserved tribute to his learning and character. His remarks upon his style and upon the thoroughness and conscientiousness of his literary work are amply borne out by the volume before us. Professor Sellar was not what is called a popular writer. There is a certain languor in his style; and, as Mr. Lang remarks, when speaking of the first instalment of *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age*, 'it cannot be said that "bright speed" or striking effects are the characteristics of the volume.' But the absence of more showy qualities is more than compensated for by the presence of others of a sterling and enduring kind. As has been remarked of the earlier volume, so it may be remarked of this: 'Deep study, profound reflexion, and unexaggerated truthfulness of statement, are its merit.' If the sentences are at times too long, the fault arises from the effort, not very common, to put too much into them. At times, however, Professor Sellar writes with a terseness and point which is not often surpassed; as, for instance, when he says in the first chapter on Horace: 'The Satires present him to us as the disinterested spectator of life, the Epodes as one sharing in its passions, animosities, and pleasures;' or again: 'The Satires and the Epodes reflect the habits, the pleasures, the society of the town: the inspiration of the Odes comes from the heart of the Sabine hills, and the cool stream of the Digentia mingles its refreshment with the current of philosophic meditation in the Epistles.' But the chief value of this, as of its companion, volume is not in its style, but in its thoroughness and conscientiousness. Every line and every word of the authors under review seems to have been studied with the extremest care, and nothing in the literary, social, or political life of their times appears to have been overlooked. The chapter on Ovid, though but a rough sketch of what it was intended to be, shows how complete its author's knowledge was of his subject, and how thoroughly he prepared himself for his work. In the chapters on Horace, Professor Sellar is at his best. These it is scarcely possible to read without admiring them, not only for their fulness of detail and critical sagacity, but also for the many other sterling qualities that pervade them. They exhibit, perhaps, a tendency to idealise and a disposition to take the words of the poet too seriously, yet what they contain is in almost every respect the best account we have seen of him. The passages we have marked are numerous, but here we will content ourselves with the citation of one which, while commending itself as an excellent description of the works of Horace, may be taken as a fair sample of many others in the volume. After remarking 'As Virgil is the most idealising exponent of what was of permanent and catholic significance in the time, Horace is the most complete exponent of its actual life and movement,' and adding, 'He is at once the lyrical poet, with heart and imagination responsive to the deeper meaning and lighter

amusements of life, and the satirist, the moralist, and the literary critic of the age,' Professor Sellar continues: 'The phases of public life and feeling during twenty eventful years, the reflexions suggested by the vicissitudes of national and individual fortune, the pleasures of youth in their refined and piquant aspects, the happiness and the pathetic regrets of the friendships and the social intercourse of maturer years, the idyllic delight of days passed among beautiful scenes endeared by the sense of possession and long familiarity, are so idealised in his lyrical poetry, as to preserve their life and meaning for all after times. The social follies and personal eccentricities, the pedantry and pretension, the avarice and meanness, as well as the luxurious indulgence of the age, are made to pass before us and to teach us their lessons in his satire. The true wisdom of life for the individual under these new social and political conditions, the knowledge how to adapt oneself to the world, and the higher knowledge how to be independent of it, are taught in his Moral Epistles. The criticism which the age needed, and which, as far as criticism could, pointed the way to a more masculine type of poetry than that actually realized by the poets who came after him, was expounded in the poetical Epistles of his later years. On the whole, we find in his writings the completest picture and the justest criticism of his time, expressed with equal mastery in the language of idealising poetry and of common sense. In no Greek or Roman poet do we find so complete a representation of any time, as we find in Horace, of those years of the Augustan age which most deserve to live in the memory of the world.' The Elegiac poets treated in the volume are, besides Ovid, Gallus, Tibullus, Lygdamus, Sulpicia, and Propertius. These, as compared with Virgil and Horace, Professor Sellar regards as men of an essentially lighter character, living for pleasure, showing little sympathy for the new ideas of the time, and making the life of pleasure the one subject of their art. The work is one of rare ability, and while full of sound scholarship and solid learning, is remarkable not less for its many profound observations on human life and character than for its critical acumen and the finer elements of sympathy and just appreciation.

Cours de Littérature Celtique. Par H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE.
Tome V. L'Épopée Celtique en Irlande. Tome I. Paris:
Ernest Thorin. 1892.

The object of this volume is to extend the knowledge of the ancient Celtic literature of Ireland. A hundred and thirty years have passed since Macpherson made the first attempt in this direction; but the storm of controversy which the publication of his volumes aroused is still fresh, and even yet it is quite possible that some may be found who side with Johnson in declaring him an impostor. Among those, however, whose opinions have another than traditional origin a feeling quite different prevails. The study of the Celtic languages and literature has for some years back taken its place among the Sciences, and France and Germany as well as Great Britain and Ireland can boast of not a few accomplished students whose contributions to the subject are continually increasing. Macpherson's appreciation of the literature of the Celt seems to have been purely literary and patriotic; it is now being studied in a more scientific way and from a philological and historical point of view, and with corresponding results. Macpherson's translations have become old fashioned, and cannot at all compare in accuracy or fulness with those which have since been made. Passages which he omitted for fear of giving offence are translated in the present without scruple, and the value of the literature which he may almost be said to have discovered, is on almost all hands admitted. The

volume before us, which is issued under the editorship of M. H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, and forms the fifth volume of his well known *Cours de littérature celtique*, consists of a series of translations by well known scholars of some of the best pieces of the old Irish literature. The 'Táin bó Cualngi' and the 'Togail Bruidne dá Derga,' the two most important tales of the earliest period, are not represented, but are promised in the second volume. In all we have translations of seventeen pieces, of which twelve are taken from the Ulster cycle, three from that of Leinster, and two from the mythological. Among the first, M. Dottin translates 'The Birth and Reign of Conchobar' from the Books of Leinster and Ballymote, 'The Birth of Conchobar' from the Stowe MS., edited by M. Kuno Meyer, and several other pieces; M. L. Duvau translates 'The Conception of Cúchulainn' from the text of Windisch, and 'The History of MacDatho's Hound' from the same editor's text; and M. M. Grammont 'The Exile of the Sons of Doel Dermait,' an episode from the Feast of Bricin, using the text also edited by Windisch from the Yellow Book of Lecan. Of the mythological fragments one is from the hand of M. F. Lot. As for the translations to which no name is affixed, they are presumably by the Editor. Each piece is prefaced with a short introduction, indicating the source from whence the text is taken, and the Editor by whom it has been published, who in most instances is Dr. Windisch. Short explanatory notes are given at the foot of the pages, and these are frequently supplemented by longer notes at the end of the translations. M. D'Arbois de Jubainville contributes a careful introduction to the series, in which reference is made to the work of Macpherson, as well as to his predecessor, the author of the old German poem of Hildebrand and Hadubrand. Reference is also made to the traces of Druidism, which in spite of the efforts to eradicate them, most of the Irish texts still retain, and the civilisation of the Celts is compared with the Greek, Roman and Christian. The name of the Editor is a sufficient guarantee for the scholarship and accuracy of the work, which is an additional indication of the zeal with which the study of the Celtic language and literature is being carried on on the Continent, and of the efforts which are being made to popularise it.

Horae Sabbaticae: Reprint of Articles contributed to *The Saturday Review*. By Sir JAMES FITZJAMES STEPHEN, Bart., K.C.S.I. 2 Vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

Like all that Sir James Stephen has written, the articles which make up these volumes, though originally contributed to a 'Weekly,' are full of solid work. Their claim to be reprinted and cast into a permanent and handy form, no one who reads them will for a moment question. They deserve to be read and re-read, both for the condensed information they convey and for the calm, dispassionate, and weighty judgments they contain. Each of them represents a considerable amount of reading, and not less, if not more, of thought. As a rule, the subject of each paper is one of the great writers, either English or foreign, but chiefly the former, and one or more of his works. That Sir James has read the works he deals with, and has mastered both them and their author's way of thinking and writing, is obvious. His analyses, though brief, are luminous, and exhibit a rare faculty of penetrating to the central idea of a work and setting it out with the utmost clearness and precision. Take, for instance, the papers on Hooker, Chillingworth, Jeremy Taylor, Montaigne, Bossuet, or Voltaire. It is scarcely too much to say that most readers will gain a better idea from them as to what these several authors wrote and intended by

their works, than they would by reading the works themselves, and with very much less labour. Students will of course go to the authors' *ipsissima verba*, but even they will be glad to obtain the aid of so excellent a guide. They may find occasion to differ from some of the opinions Sir James expresses; all the same, they will be none the less grateful for the assistance here afforded them. As to the authors treated in the papers, the first dealt with are three of the great mediæval chroniclers, Joinville, Froissart, and Philippe de Comines; these are followed by an essay on Montaigne, while the next eight are devoted to Hooker, Laud, Chillingworth, Jeremy Taylor, and Archbishop Williams, and the two which follow them to Clarendon. In the second volume, the first four are given to the study of Hobbes. These are succeeded by two on Bossuet, and these again by four on Locke. Bayle, Mandeville, and Voltaire are next dealt with; Bishop Butler and Warburton have each two essays devoted to them; Conyers Middleton and Hume have one each, and Gibbon two. At first sight the essays seem to be of a somewhat miscellaneous character, but that is not the case. In his last essay Sir James remarks that according to the Memoir the subject which from the first had engaged Gibbon's attention was religion. And this, so at least it seems to us, is the one subject which underlies all the five and thirty essays in these volumes. To one essay we turned with some curiosity. Archbishop Laud has been written about both by Lord Macaulay and Cardinal Newman. Sir James Stephen's opinion agrees with that of neither of these writers, but lies between them. The title chosen for the volumes is extremely apt. There is no controversy in them. The papers are calm and judicial in the last degree. If they have one fault, it is their brevity. They are admirably done, and have each the clearness and beauty of a finely cut cameo.

The Song of Dermot and the Earl. An Old French Poem from the Carew Manuscript, No. 596 in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace. Edited with Literal Translation and Notes, a Facsimile, and a Map, by GODDARD HENRY ORPEN. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1892.

The manuscript from which Mr. Orpen has taken his text, though its existence was well known, has rarely been used. Writers, as a rule, have been content to use the abstract of it made by Carew, and printed by Walter Harris in his *Hibernica* in 1747 and again in 1770. As far back as 1837 the text was printed by M. Francisque Michel, but imperfectly, and the only writers, who seem to have made use of his text are Miss Norgate in her *Angevin Kings*, and Professor G. T. Stokes in the second volume of his *Lectures on the Church in Ireland*. Even so careful a writer as Mr. Bagwell does not seem to have made any use of it, and appears to have preferred the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis. As a narrative of the Norman invasion of Ireland, however, the text as now printed deserves to be regarded as one of the best, if not, in fact, as the chief authority. Though not by Morice Regan, who has usually been regarded as its author, the *chanson* has every appearance of being a faithful record of his narrative, but by whom is unknown. Regan was Dermot's latimer, or interpreter, and it is quite possible that he may himself have made a rhymed chronicle of the invasion, but the opening lines, as well as others, clearly prove that the author of the narrative here is not Regan, but one to whom he related the *geste*. Various passages would also seem to suggest both that this was not the first attempt to versify Regan's material, and that the author of it, whoever he was, did not rely

solely on written materials, but made use of other sources of information. Certain passages seem even to point to Morice Regan himself as his informant. Mr. Orpen gives good reasons for regarding the poem as 'substantially a reproduction of the account of a contemporary writer.' That it is derived from the *Expugnatio* he does not think, and believes that it is in substance the work of a writer who wrote before the *Expugnatio* was published. The date of the MS. he is inclined to place in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, somewhat earlier than M. Francisque Michel. This, however, is a question which he has enabled palaeographers to settle for themselves, having placed at the beginning of the volume a beautiful collotype reproduction of one of the pages of the MS. Mr. Orpen's translation, though scarcely so concise as it might have been, reproduces the sense of the original correctly. His notes, both philological and historical, leave little if anything to be desired. To the geography of the poem he has paid particular attention. The introduction is full of information as to the MS. and its history. Altogether Mr. Orpen has certainly done his work well, and earned the gratitude of students both of history and philology.

Histoire de l'Art Byzantin considéré principalement dans les Miniatures. Par N. KONDAKOFF. Edition française originale, publiée par l'Auteur, sur la traduction de M. TRAWINSKI. Tome II., 13 gravures. Paris: Librairie de l'Art.

The first volume of this work, in which M. Kondakoff gives an elaborate, painstaking, and attractive history of Byzantine Art chiefly as represented in manuscripts and miniatures, we had the pleasure of noticing some time ago. In this the second volume, having already dealt with the origin and transition period of his subject, he proceeds to give an account of it during the ninth and three following centuries, when it reached the period of its highest development, and subsequently fell into decay. Considered in connection with the history of Art in general, the period is one of very considerable importance. It is one also about which comparatively little has hitherto been known. Like M M. d'Agincourt and Labarte, M. Kondakoff points out that the almost sudden development of art towards the end of the ninth century was due largely to the interest taken in it by the Emperors of the Macedonian dynasty, and to the renewed political activity of the Empire when it ceased to be Roman and universal and became almost exclusively Byzantine. He traces its influence from Constantinople, and shows how it was felt in Asia Minor, among the islands of the Mediterranean, in Northern Italy, and in France, as well as its intimate relations with the art of the Renaissance period in Western Europe. For the purposes of his history M. Kondakoff's researches have been very extensive; the number of manuscripts alone which he has examined, cited, or described in the course of his work is close on two hundred, while the mosaics and other works referred to are equally numerous. Taken together the two volumes are a distinct contribution to a great but little known subject, and afford additional testimony to the vast and important part played by the Eastern Empire in the history of civilisation, and to the immense debt of gratitude which is owed to it by the modern world.

Recollections of a Happy Life: being the Autobiography of Marianne North. Edited by her Sister, Mrs. JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. 2 Vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

Miss North's 'Recollections' are not here printed as she left them.

Considerable portions, it would appear, have been cut out entirely and the first chapters compressed. What the excised chapters contained beyond the fact that there was in them a record of her earlier journeys, we do not know. But if they possess anything like the interest which distinguishes those which have been permitted to see the light, we can only hope that in subsequent editions they will be given to the world. We say 'subsequent editions,' because it is scarcely possible that so remarkable a book can fail to become exceedingly popular. We have but two faults to find with it. The first is the want of an index, or even a good table of contents. This is a somewhat serious drawback, but may easily be remedied. So also may the other. One or two sentences are scarcely intelligible, or perhaps we shall be nearer the mark if we say grammatical, and are probably due to the haste with which the pages have been passed through the press. A book like this cannot be too well edited. The addition of a few dates would be an advantage. As for the *Recollections* themselves, they are simply charming. One returns to them again and again with increased pleasure. Pervaded by a genial, happy spirit, always full of vigour and activity, and animated by a noble purpose, they are written with a freshness and simplicity which invests them with an unfailing interest. Miss North was descended from the famous Norths, her fourth great-grandfather being the Attorney-General under James II., who wrote the well-known lives of his three brothers. From him she probably inherited her taste for music and painting. Her father, who from first to last was the one idol and friend of her life, was sometime Member of Parliament for Hastings. 'Apart from him,' she says, 'I had little pleasure and no secrets.' When a child, 'he used,' she continues, 'to carry me on his shoulders over the hills and far away, down on the beach to see the fishing-boats land, and the heaps of glittering slippery fish counted and sold by Dutch auction; and I well remember the old fishermen, covered with silver scales, calling out, "Make way for Muster North and his little gal!"' giving me kind pats with great salt hands as I passed perched high on father's shoulder through the crowd.' Of formal education she had scarcely any, but her great natural ability, enthusiasm and energy made up for any neglect in that respect. Painting and music were her delight. 'She painted,' her sister, Mrs. Symonds, says, 'as a clever child would, everything she thought beautiful in nature, and had scarcely ever any artistic teaching.' In music it was different. For this she had a real genius. Nature had endowed her with a beautiful thrilling contralto voice, and for many years, until it gave way, she submitted, though hating 'rules,' to the drudgery of musical training both on the continent and at home under her mistress and friend, Madame Sainton Dolby. After her father's death, she formed the magnificent purpose of painting the flora of every country in the world. So vast an undertaking seems too much for one, but she worked steadily at it, painting, studying, travelling with a zeal, steadfastness, courage, and venturesomeness almost marvellous and achieved much more than would at first sight have seemed possible. In these volumes we have the records of her journeys and work and adventures in Canada and the United States, in California and Tenerife, in Brazil and Chili, in India and Japan, Borneo and Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand, Singapore, Ceylon, and the Seychelles Islands. To say that they form an admirable book of travels would be to give an extremely inadequate description of them. Miss North never travelled for travelling's sake. She had always her purpose in view. The risks she ran and the escapes she had were sometimes wonderful. Her descriptive powers were great, and her book is full of 'word-painting.' The narrative is if anything a little too compressed, but always charmingly attractive. The friends she

made were numerous, and her volumes are almost as remarkable for their descriptions of social life as they are for their pictures of forest and other natural scenery in the countries she visited.

America and the Americans: a Narrative of a Tour in the United States and Canada, with Chapters on American Home Life. By ALEXANDER CRAIB, F.S.A. Paisley and London: Alexander Gardner. 1892.

Canada and the United States have been so often visited, and so much has been written about them, that one almost wonders that anything new can be said about them. Life there, however, is so active, and developments take place so rapidly, that an intelligent and observant traveller like Mr. Craib has little difficulty in finding much that is new to say. Mr. Craib has a keen eye, and has looked about him to some purpose. He has his prejudices, and betrays his cloth, as is only natural, but he has a good word to say for most people, and among others for the Catholic population of Canada. Of the religious and social life of the two great countries he visited, he has been specially observant, and has much that is interesting to tell of Churches and Church organizations, preachers and preaching. Trade and Commerce also engaged his attention, as well as hotels and hotel life. Here and there, too, are descriptions of scenery and incidents of travel. The chapter on the home-life of the Americans will probably be read with more than ordinary interest. It deals with a large subject, but can scarcely be called exhaustive. As a description of the home-life of those among whom Mr. Craib mixed, it is doubtless true, and is borne out by the statements of the Americans themselves; but outside the circle in which he would naturally mix, and among whom he found himself, there is a large class of whose life his chapter will hardly hold true. His opinion of what he saw seems to be summed up in the sentences: 'Life in the New World differs from ours in its adaptations to the relationship of the country and the character of the people. It is in a social sense freer than ours, more radiant and attractive. All life in the States is different from ours; it is more essentially intense, more significantly rapid and advanced.' We have noticed one slip; the Victoria Bridge across the St. Lawrence was not designed by George, but by Robert Stephenson.

Protomantis, and other Poems. By LEWIS MORRISON-GRANT. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1892.

Mr. Morrison-Grant is, if we mistake not, a new poet, and hails from the far North. This latter is suggested not only by the verses on the Moray Firth, but also by the general tone and colouring of his poems. He is not wanting in imagination, nor in intensity of feeling, nor even in variety of fancy; all the same there is a singular lack of warmth and sunshine about the verses he has here written. This may or may not be a fault. In one respect it is not. Mr. Morrison-Grant's longer poems reflect, and reflect with fidelity, the cold gray feeling of the North, and if they are touched with a certain feeling of melancholy, it is that deeper melancholy which comes of dwelling on the more profound and mysterious aspects of life. As a descriptive piece 'The Moray Firth' deserves commendation. It shows considerable mastery over the art of versification, while it is sufficiently realistic to give one the feeling of being enveloped in the fog-laden atmosphere of the Firth on a November morning, and of hearing the plash of its sullen waters upon the beach. The first poem, from which the volume takes its title, 'Protomantis,' is somewhat more ambitious. The idea of it is struck in the opening lines:—

' Nations are dead without prophetic men
 Of far foreseeing eyes, God given to Earth,
 Themselves to ascend to loftier heights, and call
 The peoples upward with a mighty voice
 That none may disregard. They are more than Kings
 Who rule but lead not, powerless o'er men's souls,
 More than the peoples are, and next to God.'

In about five hundred lines the idea here expressed is worked out with considerable freshness. What strikes us most about it is its evident reserve of power. The difficult measure in which it is written is well managed, and generally speaking there is a stateliness about the verses which is not easily attained. Some of Mr. Morrison-Grant's minor pieces are scarcely so well done. The pieces written in Scotch are the most successful. Here the author appears to be more at home, and to write with more freedom and elasticity. On the whole, however, he has amply made out his title to be regarded as a poet. The subjects with which he deals are everywhere of a high order, and his poems are indubitably the products of a thoughtful and cultured mind.

Imperial Defence. By the Right Honourable Sir CHARLES WENTWORTH DILKE, Bart., and SPENCER WILKINSON.
 London and New York. Macmillan & Co. 1892.

The condition of the army and navy has for some time back engaged a considerable amount of public attention, and many have been the searchings of heart as to whether in the event of the outbreak of a great war the country is sufficiently prepared to meet it. The authors of this volume are decidedly of opinion that it is not. Both of them may be termed experts, inasmuch as they have given much and careful attention to the subject. The position they take up is that of reformers. They are dissatisfied both with the navy and the army, and are of opinion that the former needs to be strengthened, and that each of them is in need of reorganization. Their first point is to meet the objection that discussions such as the one they are engaged on promote the growth of the militant disposition, and thereby tend to increase the probability of war. This they do by explaining their conviction that the maintenance of an adequate and well organised naval and military force is a national necessity and a national duty, and by showing the grounds on which it rests. Like many other writers they regard the navy as the first line of defence and think the command of the sea essential to the safety of the empire. The plan they favour is Lord St. Vincent's, but point out that as at present constituted the navy is inadequate. 'The navy' they say, 'in spite of the building programme undertaken in 1889, is still far short of the standard laid down by the admirals, certainly in ironclads, and, probably, also in cruisers and torpedo vessels.' The first and most crying need of Imperial defence, they maintain, is for the construction of new ships, for the increase of the *personnel* of the navy, and for a searching trial, and if need be, a complete renewal of existing naval ordnance. A great part of the volume is devoted to India. Here they point out the danger of allowing any hostile force to obtain a footing in the country, and maintain that the specific military task of the British Empire is in repelling any attack which may be made from the north-west. 'The conflict,' it is argued, 'must be fought out in the debateable border lands.' The construction of a railway through the Sulimans is urged as the most effective means of securing the friendship of the Pathans and of approaching Ghazni in the event of a threatened

invasion by Russia. There is an excellent chapter on the geographical features of the north-west frontier, and two chapters are devoted to the army, in the second of which many suggestions are made in respect of its reorganization.

The History of David Grieve, 3 vols., by Mrs. Humphry Ward (Smith, Elder & Co.), is certainly a work of more than ordinary merit. Whether it is equal to *Robert Elsmere* is a matter with which we need not concern ourselves here, though the temptation to compare the two is strong. This much, however, may be said, like *Robert Elsmere*, *David Grieve* is the history of a soul, but with the difference that while the hero of the former has all the educational advantages of school and university, the hero of the latter has nothing of the kind. Both he and his sister are strong and passionate natures, as wild and untamed, at first, as the winds that blow about the moors on which they were reared, and the problem which Mrs. Humphry Ward seems to have set herself is to show how the two grew up and were affected by the experience through which they had to pass. That their characters and those of all the rest in the story are powerfully drawn, and that the plot is constructed with considerable skill, is only what we should expect in a work from the hand which wrote *Robert Elsmere*. The characters, however, which give one the idea of completeness of portrayal are not those of David and his sister, but of Ancrum and Dora. If any fault can be found with those of the former, it is the want of minute delicacy of treatment. The broad features are there, and the predominant energies; but there is an absence of those small, but significant touches which are characteristic of the genuine artist's work, and show that the individuals whom he portrays are human beings and not machines driven by a single passion. The absence of humour in the book is marked. There is much excellent writing scattered throughout its pages, and here and there beautiful thoughts. But the chapters give one the idea of being forced, and the effort to produce an impression is not always inconspicuous. All the same, the work is in every way much beyond the ordinary novel, and unquestionably one of the best which has appeared during recent years. That it will obtain the same popularity as its predecessor is doubtful. The questions discussed in its pages are not theological, but socialistic. The circle to which the latter appeal may be wide, but that to which the former appeal is wider. On the other hand there is much mental and spiritual analysis in the volumes, and many touching scenes of penitence, remorse and affection occur.

Grania, the Story of an Island, 2 vols., by the Hon. Emily Lawless (Smith, Elder & Co.), is a genuine bit of Irish life. Practically it is a psychological study, but the pathetic and tragic elements in it give it a power which is fully realized only when the end is reached. The story is cast on one of the islands of Aran in the Bay of Galway, and the atmospheric and other scenery is described with great felicity. The conversational parts are managed with skill and repay perusal. As for plot, there is extremely little in the story. It is a tale of true but unrequited love, beautifully and touchingly told, with all the circumstance of peasant and fishing life on the West Coast of Ireland. Mrs. Lawless has done nothing better.

Muckle Jock, and other Stories of Peasant Life in the North, by Malcolm M'Lennan (Macmillan), is a selection from the author's two volumes of stories which were originally published in 1869 and 1872. Of their value as pictures of peasant life in the North of Scotland, as well as of their

Saint-Simon und der Saint-Simonismus (Leipzig, Gustav Fock), by Dr. Otto Warschauer, is the first part of the author's *Geschichte des Socialismus und neueren Kommunismus*, and is taken up with an account of Saint-Simon's life and his doctrines. The aim of the work to which it forms the introduction is to give the history of the modern Socialistic and Communistic movements, to expound the ideas and purposes by which those who take part in them are actuated, and to provide, in short, a manual for those who are interested in the social questions of the day.

Mediæval Scottish Poetry (Glasgow, Hodge & Co.), is the second volume of the Abbotsford Series of the Scottish Poets, which is being issued under the editorial of Mr. George Eyre-Todd. The poets from whose works the selections are here made, are James I., Henryson, Dunbar, and Gavin Douglas. Mr. Eyre-Todd's introductions are written with taste and scholarship. The selections, too, are well made. If such a thing is possible, this volume, even more than its predecessor, is calculated to revive an interest in the old poetry of the country, and is eminently deserving of success.

Antoine Watteau, Les Brueghel and Abraham Bosse, are the most recent additions to the well known and admirable series, 'Les Artistes Célèbres' (Paris, Librairie de l'Art). In the first of them, M. G. Dargenty, who has already contributed the monograph on Le Baron Gros to the series, does ample justice to the genius of Watteau, of whom he appears to be an ardent admirer. His text is accompanied by a considerable number of illustrations, which have the merit of representing the talent of the artist under various aspects and of enabling the reader to follow the different phases through which it passed during his short but fruitful life. The author of *Les Brueghel* is M. E. Michel, well known as the author of the monographs on Rembrandt, Terburg, Hobbema, Jacob van Ruysdael; while *Abraham Bosse* is from the pen of M. A. Valabîgue. The two last, like the first, are abundantly illustrated, and each is supplied with the usual bibliography and catalogues, enumerating the works of the artist dealt with.

In *Ultonian Hero-Ballads* (Glasgow, A. Sinclair), Mr. Hector Maclean, whose name is well known to Folk-lorists as well as to Celtic scholars, has essayed a translation of some of the old Gaelic ballads. Though his texts are usually taken from well known sources, he has edited them afresh and compared them with variants which he has himself collected in the Highlands. The ballads are in all seven, and among them are, to give them their English titles, 'Garve the Son of Starn,' 'Cuchullin in His Chariot,' the 'Lament of Deirdri,' and 'Conlach.' Along with the translations we have the Gaelic text, notes, a glossary, and an excellent introduction. The little volume ought to find a welcome in many quarters.

Musiciens d'aujourd'hui (Paris, Librairie de l'Art) is a series of papers which M. Adolphe Julien, the distinguished author of the excellent volumes, *Richard Wagner* and *Hector Berlioz*, has contributed from time to time to a number of French periodicals, and among others to *l'Art*. They deal with the chief musical composers, from Berlioz to Jules Massenet. The biographical element scarcely enters into them. Each of them may be regarded as a critical study of one or more of the works of the author from whose name they take their title. Of the works of Wagner, those noticed are, The Valkyrie, Lohengrin, and Siegfried; of Schumann, Manfred, Faust, and Paradise and the Perè. Six of Gounod's are noticed, but Faust is not among them; five of Bizet's, and eight of Massenet's. The papers are instructive reading.

From Messrs. Macmillan & Co. we have the fourth, fifth and sixth volumes of the new edition of the late Professor Maurice's *Lincoln's Inn Sermons*, volumes which contains some of the best sermons Mr. Maurice ever wrote, and complete the re-issue.

From the same Publishers we have also *Eternal Hope*, *The Fall of Man*, *The Witness of History to Christ*, and *The Silences and Voices of God* by Archdeacon Farrar. The first of them we observe is here reprinted for the sixteenth time, and would appear to be the most popular of all the Archdeacon's popular works. In this new edition he refutes the charge of having changed his views on the subjects dealt with in the five sermons forming the volume, and re-affirms them. *The Fall of Man* is in its sixth edition, and *The Witness of History* in its ninth. *The Silences and Voices of God* also appears for the ninth time. Though less expensive this new edition of the Archdeacon's sermons is not in any way inferior to the earlier issues in the matter of typography.

The same publishers issue also a new edition of Professor Milligan's *Lectures on the Apocalypse*. The appendices which originally accompanied the lectures are here left out, it being the Professor's intention to publish them shortly in a new and extended form.

The new edition of Lord Selborne's *Ancient Facts and Fictions concerning Churches and Tithes*, which is also from Messrs. Macmillan & Co., contains besides other additional matter a supplement of about fifty pages, in which the author reviews the statements advanced in opposition to him by Mr. Clark in his recently published *History of Tithes*. The history of Bishop Leofric's Rule for Secular Canons is also made out, Lord Selborne having traced it back to its source in the Gallican Rule for Canons, enlarged after the Council held at Aix-la-Chapelle in A.D. 816, from that given by Chrodegang in King Pippin's time to three churches at Metz.

The Thirteen Satires of Juvenal (Macmillan), translated by Alexander Leeper, M.A., LL.D., is a new and revised edition of the translation which in three previous editions has appeared with Dr. H. A. Strong's name upon the title page, in addition to that which it now bears. The omission of Dr. Strong's name is due to the fact that in the present issue the original translation has been thoroughly revised and to a large extent re-written by Dr. Leeper. Close and vigorous as the original version was that which Dr. Leeper has now prepared is an improvement. It is if anything closer and more faithful, and abounds in happy turns of expression. Altogether it is an exceptionally excellent piece of work, and deserves to stand side by side with such faithful renderings as Mr. Munro's *Lucretius* and Mr. Lang's *Theocritus*. A number of brief notes justifying the renderings, and a few illustrative quotations have been added.

Poems. By William Watson. (Macmillan). This volume is chiefly a reprint of the second edition of the Author's *Wordsworth's Grave and other Poems*. There are twenty-six short pieces in it, however, which are here brought together for the first time. Readers of the earlier volume will read these with no less pleasure. Mr. Watson's verses are always musical, and here and there are lines of singular beauty.

Among other books the following have reached us. *The Revelation of the Trinity* by S. B. G. M'Kinney, M.A., (Stock); *A plain Commentary on the First Gospel* by an Agnostic (Williams and Newgate); *Great Pan Lives* by Clelia, (Luzac); *Michael Villiers, Idealist*, by E. H. Hickery, (Smith, Elder); *Left-handedness* by Sir D. Wilson, (Macmillan); *Literary Coincidences*, etc., by W. A. Clouston, (Morrison); *A Vain Sacrifice* by Jessie K. Dawson, (Olipphant).

MESSRS. MACMILLAN & CO.'S NEW BOOKS.

NEW DRAMA BY LORD TENNYSON.

Now ready, fcap. 8vo, 6s.

THE FORESTERS: ROBIN HOOD AND MAID MARIAN. By ALFRED LORD TENNYSON, Poet Laureate.

Now ready, crown 8vo, cloth, 3s. 6d.

THE PICKWICK PAPERS. By CHARLES DICKENS. With 50 Illustrations.

An accurate reprint of the Text of the first edition, with reproductions of ALL the original illustrations. There is also prefixed a short introduction written by Mr. CHARLES DICKENS, the novelist's eldest son, giving a history of the writing and publication, together with other details, biographical and bibliographical, likely to be of interest to the reader.

The next volumes of the Series will appear monthly in the following order:—

OLIVER TWIST,
NICHOLAS NICKLEBY,
MARTIN CHUZZLEWIT,

THE OLD CURIOSITY SHOP,
BARNABY RUDGE.

NEW BOOK BY CHARLES BOOTH.

Now ready, crown 8vo, cloth, 5s.

PAUPERISM: A PICTURE; and THE ENDOWMENT OF OLD AGE: AN ARGUMENT. By CHARLES BOOTH.

. Also a Popular Edition, royal 8vo, paper covers, 6d.

MISS NORTH.

Second Edition now ready. Two vols. Extra crown 8vo, 17s. net.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A HAPPY LIFE. Being the Autobiography of Marianne North. Edited by her sister, Mrs. J. A. SYMONDS. With Portraits.

DR. JESSOP, in the *NINETEENTH CENTURY*.—'I think it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to find in English literature so beautiful an autobiography as this. To begin with, it is the only autobiography I ever read of which it can be said that it errs on the side of brevity if it errs at all.'

NEW VOLUME OF PROFESSOR FREEMAN'S HISTORICAL ESSAYS.

8vo, 12s. 6d.

HISTORICAL ESSAYS. By E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford. Fourth Series.

TIMES.—'Professor Freeman's historical work is never ephemeral. . . . There is, as every one would expect, the same thoroughness of treatment, the same fundamental conception of the unity and continuity of history. All the essays have seen the light before; all are worthy of preservation in permanent form.'

DAILY CHRONICLE.—'Professor Freeman is so lucid, so solid, so exact, so painstaking, so sure of his ground, that one feels the most unaffected respect for his massive character and learned industry.'

NEW PART.

Now ready, Part II., 3s. 6d. net.

DICTIONARY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. Containing Articles on the main Subjects usually dealt with by Economic Writers, with Explanations of Legal and Business Terms which may be found in their Works, and Short Notices of deceased English, American, and Foreign Economists and their chief Contributions to Economic Literature. Edited by R. H. INGLIS PALGRAVE, F.R.S. Second Part. BEEKE—CHAMBERLAYNE.

NEW BOOK BY PROFESSOR MARSHALL.

Now ready, Crown 8vo, cloth, 3s. 6d.

ELEMENTS OF ECONOMICS OF INDUSTRY; being the First Volume of 'Elements of Economics.' By ALFRED MARSHALL, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Cambridge, sometime Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford.

. This book is an Abridgment of Professor Marshall's 'Principles of Economics,' Vol. I., with the addition of a chapter on Trades Unions.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.—'So far as it goes, this is out and away the best manual on Economics for a plain man to buy.'

NEW BOOK BY PROFESSOR JAMES.

Now ready, Crown 8vo, 7s. net.

TEXT-BOOK OF PSYCHOLOGY. By WILLIAM JAMES, Professor of Psychology in Harvard University.

. An abridgment of Professor James's larger work, 'The Principles of Psychology.'

THIRD AND CHEAPER EDITION.

Now ready, Crown 8vo, cloth, 8s.

THE RELATIONS OF MIND AND BRAIN. By HENRY CALDERWOOD, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.

. The present edition has been revised to allow for consideration of Language as bearing on Animal Intelligence, and Hypnotism as throwing fresh light on the relations of Mind and Body.

MACMILLAN & CO., BEDFORD STREET, LONDON, W.C.

New Books and Announcements.

The History of Civilisation in Scotland.

By JOHN MACKINTOSH, LL.D. In 4 Volumes, Demy 8vo, about 500 pages each, cloth extra. Illuminated frontispieces.

The Publisher has the pleasure of announcing that a New Edition of this important work—in great part re-written and thoroughly revised—is now in the press. The detailed Prospectus gives full particulars respecting the contents of each volume. It may be pointed out that in no other existing publication has the same ground been covered in connection with the Intellectual, Social, and Industrial History of Scotland, and that no other attempt has ever been made to treat it on the same plan or with the same fulness of detail.

The first volume is now published, and the remaining volumes will follow at intervals of about four months. To Subscribers the price per volume will be 15s. A limited number of LARGE PAPER copies will be printed on a special superfine laid paper, at 25s. per vol.; the binding of these copies will be half-morocco, gilt top. The only book of the kind in existence.

A Treatise on Byzantine Music. By

Rev. S. G. HATHERLY, Mus. Bac. Oxon. Demy quarto. Paper covers, 4s.; bound, 6s. [Ready.]

This is an endeavour, for the first time in English, to clear up some of the difficulties which beset the student when confronted with Eastern music generally. Reasoning from what is better known to that which is less known, the work, after discussing the mathematical formation of the musical scale, passes in review the Gregorian system, a Western development of Eastern tradition, and proceeds to a full description of the old Greek diatonic genus, the chromatic genus, and the mixture of the diatonic and chromatic on which the bulk of Eastern music now prevalent is constructed. There are upwards of Fifty unabbreviated Musical Pieces, ancient and modern, from Greek, Russian, Turkish, and Egyptian sources, given and fully analyzed: the way thereby being opened up for future Musical Composers who may desire to cultivate this vast and fertile, but hitherto unknown and unexplored, musical field.

An Introduction to Ethics. By J. Clark

MURRAY, LL.D., F.R.S.C., M'Gill College, Montreal. Crown 8vo, 6s. 6d. Post Free.

By the Same Author.

A Handbook of Psychology. Third

Edition. Crown 8vo, cloth, 7s. 6d. Post free.

"We are not surprised that Dr. Murray's book has soon reached a second edition. It is one of the best manuals on psychology that we know. Every topic is treated with great clearness, with much philosophic acumen, and in such a style as to make ordinary people, as well as students, feel this book pleasant reading."—*London Quarterly Review*.

ALEXANDER GARDNER, PAISLEY AND LONDON.

A SELECTION OF WORKS ON
MUSIC, THE DRAMA, ETC.,
OFFERED AT GREATLY REDUCED PRICES BY
W. H. SMITH & SON,
188 STRAND, LONDON.

And at the RAILWAY BOOKSTALLS, to which places they will be FORWARDED
CARRIAGE FREE.

THE BOOKS ARE NEW AS PUBLISHED.

Published Offered
at at
s. d. s. d.

"THEIR MAJESTIES' SERVANTS." Annals of the English Stage

from Thomas Betterton to Edmund Kean. By Dr. Doran, F.S.A. Edited and Revised by R. W. Lowe, from Author's Annotated Copy. With Fifty Copperplate Portraits and Eighty Wood Engravings. In three Volumes, demy 8vo, Roxburgh binding, gilt top, price 54s. *Net*. Also large-paper copies, royal 8vo, with Portraits in duplicate.

"It is well that in the issue of a new edition of 'Their Majesties' Servants,' which is one of the most esteemed of Dr. Doran's works, the task of supervision and correction has been assigned to one of the best informed and most earnest of our younger writers on dramatic subjects. With its admirable text, and its delightful reproductions of old illustrations, it is the most attractive volume upon things histrionic that has yet appeared in England."—*Athenaeum*.

54 0 31 6

JEFFERSON, Joseph; The Autobiography of. With 76 full Illustrations of the most eminent actors of this century. 8vo.

"In the very first rank of Domestic Records Jefferson's delightful book is entitled to a foremost place."—*Daily Telegraph*.

16 0 10 6

"Absolutely indispensable to any even moderately well-appointed theatrical library."—*Dramatic News*.

Acrobats and Mountebanks, by Hugues le Roux and Jules Garnier. Translated from the French by A. P. Morton. With 233 Illustrations. Royal.

16 0 9 0

Balfe, M. W., His Life and Work, by William A. Barrett. (Without Plates).

7 6 2 6

Berlioz, Hector, Autobiography of, from 1803 to 1865, comprising his Travels in Italy, Germany, Russia, and England. Translated by E. and R. Holmes. 2 vols.,

21 0 6 0

"That Berlioz was a brilliant and delightful writer as well as a great musician, has long been known to everybody with a feeling for literature."—*Saturday Review*.

Brahms, Johannes; a Biographical Sketch, by Dr. H. Deiters. Translated with additions, by Rosa Newmarsh, with a Preface by J. A. Fuller Maitland.

6 0 2 6

Dickens, Charles, as I Knew Him: The Story of the Reading Tours in Great Britain and America, 1866-1870, by George Dolbey.

6 0 2 6

"Dickens was my great hero—my 'chief'—in the pleasant bygone days when we were 'on the road' together, by day and by night, week after week, month after month, and his memory is heroic now that he is gone."—*Author's Preface*.

"Mr. Dolbey, as most people know, was the secretary and manager of Dickens' later readings, and gives us a highly graphic and interesting description of the personality of the great novelist from an entirely fresh point of view—from that of a faithful henchman, loved, trusted, and honoured by his chief. Anecdotes, most of which are quite new, told in a highly humorous style, relieve this melancholy story of a grand life sacrificed in the cause of duty."—*Bookseller*.

Edwards, H. Sutherland, The Lyrical Drama. Essays on Subjects, Composers, and Executants of Modern Operas. 2 vols.,

21 0 5 0

Engel, Louis, From Handel to Halle. Biographical Sketches of the following:—Handel, Beethoven, Joseph Barnby, Sir Charles and Lady Hallé, Hofman, Gluck, Sir Arthur Sullivan, Madame Emma Albani-Gye, Adelina Patti, Hegner; and Autobiographies of Professor Huxley and Professor Herkomer. With 13 Portraits, beautifully executed.

21 0 8 6

Famous Musical Composers, being Biographies of Eminent Musicians, by Lydia T. Morris, Fifty Years of a Showman's Life; or, Life and Travel of G. Van Hare, by Himself. With Illustrations.

6 0 3 6

Fitzgerald, P., A New History of the English Stage. 2 vols. Demy 8vo,

7 6 3 6

"No picture equally animated of theatrical life is supplied to any other existing work, and many documents of high importance are now, for the first time, rendered accessible to the general public."—*The Athenaeum*.

30 0 10 6

The Art of the Stage, as set out in Lamb's Dramatic Essays, with a Commentary, The Lives of the Sheridans. Steel Portraits. 2 vols. 8vo,

7 6 2 6

Goethe, Life of, by H. Düntzer. Translated by T. W. Lyster. With Authentic Illustrations and Facsimiles. 2 vols.,

30 0 10 0

Hawkins, H., Annals of the French Stage. With Portraits. 4 vols.,

21 0 6 6

Moscheles, Life of, with Selections from his Diaries and Correspondence, by his Wife. Adapted from the German by A. G. Coleridge. 2 vols.,

58 0 21 0

Musical Recollections of the Last Half-Century, by Dr. Cox, late musical critic of *The Times*. 2 vols.,

24 0 7 6

Phelps, Samuel, The Life and Life-Work of, by W. May Phelps and J. F. Robertson. With 3 Portraits,

25 0 9 0

Schiller, Life of, by H. Düntzer. Translated by P. E. Pinkerton. With Authentic Illustrations and Facsimiles.

12 0 4 6

Williams, M., Some London Theatres—Past and Present,

10 6 3 6

Batty-Kington, W., Music and Manners, Personal Reminiscences and Sketches of Character, The Childhood and Youth of Charles Dickens, with Retrospective Notes and Elucidations from his Books and Letters, by Robert Langton, F.R.H.S. Beautifully Illustrated. 4to. Edition

7 6 3 0

de Luxe, only 300 Copies printed.

30 0 7 6

THE RHIND LECTURES IN ARCHÆOLOGY for 1891.

BY JOHN BEDDOE, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.,

*Vice-President of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain
and Ireland.*

SUBJECT—

The Anthropological History of Europe.

Will appear in *THE SCOTTISH REVIEW*, commencing with
the April Number.

FIRST LECTURE.

· The Aryan Question and that of Variation of Type.

Programme—History of the Aryan Question. Latham and European origin. Ujfalvy's discovery of the Galchas. The Scandinavian and Lithuanian heresies. The Variation Question. Extreme Views. Monogenism and Polygenism. Supposed modifying Influences. Climate and environment. Conjugal selection. Dwindling of military and governing castes. Effects of food and drink.

SECOND LECTURE.

Variation (contd.), Primeval Man—Succession of Races.

Opinions of contemporary anthropologists. Kollmann's five permanent European types. Deniker on importance of hair as character. Schaaffhausen on inferiority of primitive man and of the longheaded type. Ancient types: The Canstatt: The Cro-magnon: The Eskimo. Neolithic period: brachycephals abroad; none in Britain. Bronze periods. Swarming of successive races: Phœnicians; Greeks; Gauls; Romans; Teutons; Saracens; Slavs; Turco-mongols.

THIRD LECTURE.

Russia and the Balkan Peninsula.

Russia. The Scythians. Spread of the Slavs. Physical characters of the Finns. The Merians. The Mongol invasion. Composition of the modern Russian people. The Lithuanians. Ugrian and Tartar tribes. The ancient occupants of the Balkan peninsula. The Hellenes. Modern descendants of the Thracians and Illyrians.

FOURTH LECTURE.

Scandinavia, Central Europe, France.

Oldest Scandinavian Skull-forms. The Borreby and Svelrik skulls. The Rhozalani. Modern Norwegians and Danes. The Icelanders. Ancient German Grave-row type. The four Swiss types of His and Rutimeyer. Von Hölder's discoveries at Ratisbon. Ranke on the Bavarians. Bohemia. Hallstadt. Hungary, Poland, Holland. Colour and stature in Central Europe. France—Constitution of the Keltic nation there. Results of the Völkswanderung. Clear demarcation of types in Belgium, less clear in France. Investigations of Topinard and Collignon.

FIFTH LECTURE.

Spain, Italy, and the British Isles.

Spain and Portugal. De Aranzadi on the Basques. Italy: The Ancient and Modern Romans. The Sards, purest race in Western Europe. The Jews; their original and secondary types. The Gypsies. Brief sketch of the races of Britain: Specimen districts—Pembrokeshire—The Isle of Man.

SIXTH LECTURE.

Scotland, with general conclusions.

Considerations on special districts, such as Berwickshire, an Anglian, and Ballachulish, a Gaelic locality. Difficult and doubtful points in British ethnology. Growth and decline of races, and their probable future.



ARABINE

FLEMING'S ORIGINAL
SELF-OXIDIZING

MARKING INK

For Marking Linen without heating or preparation.

Can be used with any kind of **STAMP** or **STENCIL PLATE**, or Written with **QUILL** or **STEEL PEN**. It is Guaranteed to Resist Ordinary Chemicals, and becomes **BLACKER** and **MORE INTENSE** by repeated Washings.

Sold in Bottles at 6d. and 1s.

Also put up in stone bottles for use of Hospitals, Baths, Hotels, Barracks and Infirmaryes,

At 3/6. 6/6. and 12/6.

MANUFACTURED BY

DAVID FLEMING,
69 RENFIELD STREET, GLASGOW.

COMFORT FOR THE FEET.



CORNS and BUNIONS may be removed, and enlarged Toe Joints reduced, by using THOMPSON'S "COMFORT FOR THE FEET" CORN PLASTER. Those who are troubled with the discomfort of Corns or Bunions will be glad to have attention called to this remedy. It is a simple Plaster, thin as silk, and comfortable to the foot. "Walking is now a pleasure to me."

Packets, 1/1½ each; Post free, 14 Stamps, from Proprietor.

CAUTION.—None Genuine without M. F. Thompson's Signature.

FACTS: NERVETONINE

Is a **Positive, Safe, and Permanent Cure** for all Nervous Affections, Nervous Exhaustion, Nervous Debility, Mental Depression, Hysteria, Loss of Memory, Sleeplessness, Paralysis, etc. **NERVETONINE** is invaluable in all Diseases of the Digestive System, Indigestion, with coated tongue and bitter taste in the mouth. All forms of Nerve Pains, Neuralgia, Toothache, Rheumatism, Lumbago, Gout, and Sciatica, are **instantly Relieved** and Permanently Cured with Nervetonine.

Bottles, 1/9, 2/9, 4/6 and 11/; Postage 2d. extra.

M. F. THOMPSON,
Homœopathic and Dispensing Chemist,
17 GORDON STREET, GLASGOW;
97 PRINCES STREET, GLASGOW.

THOMPSON'S CONCISE GUIDE TO HEALTH GRATIS.

Recent and Forthcoming Verse.

Burnsiana: a Collection of Literary

Odds and Ends relating to ROBERT BURNS. Edited by JOHN D. ROSS. Small 4to, 2s. 6d.; cloth extra, 4s. 6d.

Volume I. of this important series was published in January, 1892, and it is intended to issue a Volume every January. Lovers of Burns are requested to send any material they think suitable for Volume II.

New and Greatly Enlarged Edition.

Round Burns' Grave: the Paeans and

Dirges of Many Bards. Gathered together by JOHN D. ROSS. Editor of "Celebrated Songs of Scotland," and Author of "Scottish Poets in America." Post 8vo, cloth, 316 pp., 3s. 6d. Post free.

"All lovers of the poet must feel grateful to Mr. John D. Ross for the little volume. Mr. Ross has wisely refrained from exhausting his subject, and so has escaped the misfortune of exhausting his reader. His collection is an eminently judicious one."—*Evening Times*.

Celebrated Songs of Scotland. From

King James V. to Henry Scott Riddell. Edited with Memoirs, Notes, Glossary, and an Index, by JOHN D. ROSS, Author of "Scottish Poets in America." Large 8vo, 400 pages, cloth, gilt top. Price 10s. 6d. Post free.

Scottish Poets in America. With Bio-

graphical and Critical Notices. By JOHN D. ROSS, Editor of "Celebrated Songs of Scotland." 8vo, 218 pp., cloth, 6s., post free.

The Dawn of Love and other Poems.

Now for the first time collected. By COLIN RAE BROWN. 5s.
[In April.]

Rasmie's Buddie. Poems in the Shet-

landic Dialect. By J. J. HALDANE BURGESS, M.A. [In the Press.]

"Fancy laek da mirrie-dancers,
Licht da sombre sky o' life."

Protomantis, and Other Poems. By

LEWIS MORISON-GRANT. Crown 8vo, cloth, 6s.

Poems. By James Mather. [In May.]

Memorials of Auld Lang Syne: the

School Examination, &c. By THOMAS C. LATTO. Small 4to, 2s. 6d.; cloth extra, 4s. 6d. Post free.

MANUALS FOR THE HOUSEHOLD.

Cookery for Working Men's Wives.

Recipes by M. GORDON. 3d., post free, 4d.

Our Babies, and How to Take Care of

Them. By FLORENCE STACPOOLE. 3d., post free, 4d.

Indigestion. What Causes it: How

it may be Prevented: and How it should be Treated. By FLORENCE STACPOOLE. Price 2d., post free, 2½d.,

The "Jenny Wren" Series of Cookery Manuals.

6d. each; Post free, 8d.

The Art of Preparing Soups, Stews,

Hashes, and Ragouts.

Dishes of Fishes: How to Prepare

Them. With Hints about Sauces and Seasonings.

The Art of Preparing Puddings, Tarts,

Jellies, &c.; with Hints on "Preserving" and Pastry Baking.

A Treatise on the Cooking of Big Joints,

as also Instructions for Roasting and Boiling Poultry and Game; with Hints on the Preparation of Vegetables and Salads.

The Complete Art of Dinner-Giving,

with Notes on Luncheons and Suppers.

Dainty Dishes for Dinners, Luncheons,

and Suppers; as also other Tid Bits.

"When I came home, I found a little book Mr. Alexander Gardner had sent me, called "Dainty Dishes," and, the Family being safe in bed out of the way, I made, all by myself, one of the daintiest little tid-bits of a couple of eggs you ever heard of. BUY THAT BOOK."—*Ally Sloper*.

Sauces, Seasonings, and Salads, with

Observations on Vegetable Cookery, Pickling, etc.

ALEX. GARDNER, 26 PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

AND ALL BOOKSELLERS.

BROWN'S Correct Vision Spectacles

are adaptable to all forms of Defective Vision amenable to remedy by artificial help. Prices :—Finest Glass, in Steel Frames, 4/6; Finest Pebble, in Steel Frames, 7/6; and in Gold Frames from 21/-



BROWN'S Anti-Pressure Folding Eye-Glasses

are free from painful and injurious pressure on the Nose. Prices from 4/6 in Steel Frames; and in Gold Frames from 21/-

BROWN'S Acme Opera Glass

at 10/6 is a marvel of Cheapness and Excellence.



BROWN'S Celebrated "SCORER" FIELD GLASS,

At 35/-

**IS UNRIVALLED FOR EXCELLENCE
AND CHEAPNESS.**

BROWN'S Teacher's Magic Lantern

is the best value made. It gives a clear well-defined Picture of 8 ft. Diameter. Price in Case Complete, 30/-

BROWN'S Lecturer's Lantern

has all the latest improvements contributing to efficiency. Price in Compact Case, £3 19/-



BROWN, Oculist and Optician,
76 ST. VINCENT STREET, GLASGOW.

The Editor is not responsible for the opinions of Contributors.

Unsolicited MSS. must be accompanied by Stamps for their return in case of non-acceptance; the Editor cannot hold himself responsible for accidental loss.

Books from Continental and American Publishers should be sent to the Editor, care of the Publisher, London.

THE SCOTTISH REVIEW.

APRIL, 1892.

CONTENTS.

- ART. I.—HERALDRY, BRITISH AND FOREIGN. By H. GOUGH.
„ II.—THE CANARY ISLANDERS. By C. R. CONDER, R.E.,
D.C.L., LL.D., M.A.R.S.
„ III.—DAVID, DUKE OF ROTHESAY. By the MARQUESS
OF BUTE, K.T.
„ IV.—A NEW RELIGION. By COUTTS TROTTER.
„ V.—JOHN MAJOR, SCOTTISH SCHOLASTIC, 1470-1550.
By T. G. LAW.
„ VI.—HYMNOLOGY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By J.
TELFORD.
„ VII.—THE DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. By JOHN
MACKAY.
„ VIII.—THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE. By
J. BEDDOE, LL.D.
„ IX.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.
„ X.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

NEW YORK :
LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY,
AGENTS FOR THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

ALEX. GARDNER, PAISLEY; AND 26 PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON.

MDCCKXCII.

All rights reserved.

LANCASHIRE INSURANCE COMPANY.

Head Office for Scotland:
133 WEST GEORGE STREET, GLASGOW.

SCOTTISH BOARD.

Chairman—COLONEL SIR DONALD MATHESON, K.C.B.

DAVID BANNERMAN, Esq., Glasgow.
HUGH BROWN, Esq., Glasgow.
D. S. CARGILL, Esq., Glasgow and
Ceylon.
HENRY COWAN, Esq., Hillhead.
ANDREW DOUGALL, Esq., Inverness.
ALEXANDER FRASER, Esq., Inverness.
JAMES KEYDEN, Esq., Glasgow.

RICHARD KIDSTON, Esq., Glasgow.
Sir JAMES KING of Campsie, Bart.,
LL.D.
Sir KENNETH J. MATHESON of Loch-
alsh, Bart.
ALEXANDER ROSS, Esq., Provost of
Inverness.

Resident Secretary—CHARLES STEWART.

Telegraphic Address—"LANCASHIRE, Glasgow."

Edinburgh Office:
12 YORK BUILDINGS, QUEEN STREET.

Assistant Secretary—C. O. BALLINGALL.

Telegraphic Address—"INSURANCE, Edinburgh."

Inverness Office:
Highland Railway Buildings, 24^A Academy Street.

Superintendent—ROBERT STRICKLAND.

Telegraphic Address—"INSURANCE, Inverness."

CAPITAL—THREE MILLIONS STERLING.

Annual Income upwards of £1,050,000.



To-Day.

is the watchword of these Reviews, to-day and to-morrow, and the light the past throws on the present. The discussions in their pages are concerned with events of the day, with human history as it is made under our eyes, with human progress as it evolves from day to day, with the battle of culture and of civilization against anarchy and decay. Strong, vigorous, fearless treatment of the burning questions of the time is given by the most competent writers.

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS.

NINETEENTH CENTURY, CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, WESTMINSTER REVIEW, each, \$4.50 per year; any two, \$8.50; any three, \$12.00; all four, \$16.00; single copies, 40 cents. EDINBURGH REVIEW, QUARTERLY REVIEW, SCOTTISH REVIEW, each, \$4.00 per year; any two, \$7.50, all three, \$10.50, single copies, \$1.25. BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE, \$3.00 per year, single copies, 30 cents; with one quarterly, \$6.50; with two, \$10.00; with three, \$13.00. SHAKESPEARIANA, \$2.00.

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION CO.,

231 Broadway, New York.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, 1891.

JANUARY.

Light: An Epicade. A. C. Swinburne.
 Ibsen's New Drama. Edmund Gosse.
 Truth About Stanley and Emin Pasha. A. M. Jephson.
 Scientific Sins. Ernest M. Bowden.
 Finland. E. B. Lanin.
 "Chez Pousset." Edward Delille.
 On the Black Sea with Prince Ferdinand. J. D. Bourchier.
 Anima Naturaliter Pagana. J. B. Bury.
 "A Canadian People." Sir G. Baden-Powell.
 The Irish Leadership. Frederic Harrison.
 "The Rake's Progress" in Irish Politics. Hon. Auberon Herbert.
 One of Our Conquerors. George Meredith.

FEBRUARY.

Russian Finance. E. B. Lanin.
 Public Life and Private Morals.
 An Island Deer-Forest. Sir Henry Pottinger.
 Road to Social Peace. David F. Schloss.
 Farms and Trotting-Horses of Kentucky. Duke of Marlborough.
 The Celt in English Art. Grant Allen.
 Decorative Electric Lighting. Mrs. J. E. H. Gordon.
 Critics "Over the Coals." William Archer.
 The Soul of Man Under Socialism. Oscar Wilde.
 Nonconformists and Unionism. Rev. Newman Hall.
 One of Our Conquerors. George Meredith.

MARCH.

Inscriptions for a Pedestal. A. C. Swinburne.
 The Outlook in France. W. H. Hurlbert.
 For Conscience Sake. Thomas Hardy.
 Crisis in the Eastern Soudan. H. E. M. Stutfield.
 The Poet Verlaine. Edward Delille.
 Rossetti and the Moralists.
 Papuan and His Master. Hume Nisbet.
 The Macedonian Question. A. Hulme-Beaman.
 Conduct and Greek Religion. Mrs. Gribble.
 Destruction of the New Forest. Auberon Herbert.
 Canada and Imperial Federation. Hon. J. W. Longley.
 A Preface to "Dorian Grey." Oscar Wilde.
 Madeira as a Health Resort. V. F. B. Stanford.
 One of Our Conquerors. George Meredith.

APRIL.

How We Occupied Mafonaland. Sir J. Willoughby.
 Relations of Church and State. Count Tolstol.
 Second Idyl of Theocritus. J. A. Symonds.
 A Celebrated Frenchwoman. Y. de Bury.
 Virginia Mines and American Rails. Duke of Marlborough.
 Our Illusions. E. Lynn Linton.
 In Rhodesia with Prince Ferdinand. J. D. Bourchier.
 Anglo-Saxon Unity. Earl of Meath.
 Amours de Voyage. Professor Dowden.
 The Moncrieff Defence.
 Editorial Horseplay. Frederic Harrison.
 One of Our Conquerors. George Meredith.

MAY.

Journal of Sir Walter Scott. A. C. Swinburne.
 The Midnight Baptism. Thomas Hardy.
 Personal Recollections of Mazzini. Mathilde Blind.
 Transatlantic Cattle Trade. Moreton Frewen.
 The Ibsen Question. Oswald Crawford.
 Trades Unionism Among Women. Lady Dilke.
 Private Life in France in XIV. Century. A. M. F. Robinson.
 Elementary Education a Municipal Charge. Lord Sandford.
 A Chemist in the Suburbs. Frederick Wedmore.
 Virginia Mines and American Rails. Duke of Marlborough.
 The Russian Censure. E. B. Lanin.
 South African Problems. J. S. Keltie.
 The Elgin Marbles. Hon. George Curzon, M.P.
 One of Our Conquerors. George Meredith.

JUNE.

The British Army in 1891. Rt. Hon. Sir C. W. Dilke.
 Influenza. Sir Morell Mackenzie, M.D.
 An Election at the English Academy.
 Archbishop Magee. Rev. Canon Benham.
 Future of American Literature. Theodore Watts.
 The Paris Salons of 1891. Mabel Robinson.
 Child Life Insurance. Capt. Pembroke Marshall.
 Letters in Philistia. Grant Allen.
 Bulgars and Serbs. A. Hulme-Beaman.
 Baudelaire; The Man. Edward Delille.
 A Modern Idyll. The Editor.

JULY.

Love's Lady. Philip Bourke Marston.
 Credit of Australasia. Sir G. Baden-Powell.
 Foreign Pauper Emigration. S. H. Jeyes.
 Late Sir John Macdonald. J. G. Colmer.
 Card-Sharpping in Paris. Edward Delille.
 Stray Thoughts on South Africa. A South African.
 Cycling. R. J. McCreedy.
 Punitive Expeditions of Our Indian Frontier. E. E. Oliver.
 Civil War in Chili. Edward Manby.
 Rediscovery of the Unique. H. G. Wells.
 With King Gungunhana in Gazaland. Dennis Doye.
 Montes, the Matador. The Editor.

AUGUST.

The Future of Portugal. Oswald Crawford.
 Goethe's Friendship with Schiller. Prof. Dowden.
 Labour Movement in Australia. Francis Adams.
 Note on a New Poet. Grant Allen.
 The New Yachting. Sir Morell Mackenzie, M.D.
 Education of Military Officers. Walter Wren.
 Painter's "Palace of Pleasure" and the English Romantic Drama. J. A. Symonds.
 Private Life in France in XIV. Century. M. F. Robinson.
 Marriage and Free Thought.
 The Old Economy and the New. Prof. W. Smart.

SEPTEMBER.

Origin, Propagation, and Prevention of Phthisis. Prof. Tyndall.
 Lowell in His Poetry. Sidney Low.
 Survey of the Thirteenth Century. Frederic Harrison.
 A Pessimist Playwright. William Archer.
 An Old Greek Explorer of Britain. Karl Blind.
 A Balkan Confederation. James Bourchier.
 M. Maurice Barres. Edward Delille.
 Social Life in Australia. Francis Adams.
 Swiss Athletic Sports. J. A. Symonds.
 A Triptych. The Editor.
 The Papuan and His Masters. H. O. Forbes, Hume Nisbet.

OCTOBER.

Emancipation of Women. Frederic Harrison.
 La Bête Humaine. J. A. Symonds.
 The Demoralisation of Russia. E. B. Lanin.
 Under the Yoke of Butterflies. Hon. Auberon Herbert.
 Berlin Renaissance Museum. Wilhelm Bode.
 A National Pension Fund. Edward Cooper.
 English and American Flowers. Alfred R. Wallace.
 Women and the Royal Commission. Lady Dilke.
 Social Life in Australia. Francis Adams.
 Impressions of England. A Son of Adam.
 A Human Document. W. H. Mallock.
 Origin, Propagation and Prevention of Phthisis. G. W. Hambleton, M.D.

NOVEMBER.

The French Armies. Rt. Hon. Sir C. W. Dilke.
 Famine in Russia. E. B. Lanin.
 Irish Local Government. T. W. Russell, M.P.
 The Free Stage and the New Drama. William Archer.
 The Emancipation of Women. Mrs. Henry Fawcett.
 Rudyard Kipling. Francis Adams.
 French and English. Miss Betham-Edwards.
 Slavery in Madagascar. Vazaha.
 The Bard of the Dimbovitza. Frederic Harrison.
 The "Interviewer" Abroad. Prof. Dowden.
 Modern Mark Antony. Col. Malletson.
 A Human Document. W. H. Mallock.

DECEMBER.

Our Army and Its Detractors. { Rt. Hon. Sir C. W. Dilke
 A Rejoinder.
 Flowers and Forests of the Far-West. A. R. Wallace.
 Compulsory Greek. J. B. Bury.
 Cycling in Winter. R. J. McCreedy.
 The Canadian Census. J. G. Colmer.
 An Eighteenth Century Singer. Vernon Lee.
 Phases of Crime in Paris. Hugues Le Roux.
 British Administration in West Africa. F. Buxton.
 Demoralisation of Russia. Gen. Sir F. Roberts.
 A Human Document. W. H. Mallock.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

SCHOOL ADVERTISING

Aims to reach the better class of readers. No publications are more widely read or more highly valued among cultured people than the great English Reviews. Principals and Teachers will find these magazines of greatest value for advertising purposes.

A special rate is given to schools and Colleges.

**Upwards of
100,000 Readers.**

LEONARD SCOTT
PUBLICATION CO.,
231 Broadway, New York.

CALIFORNIA.

CALIFORNIA, IRVINGTON.

Washington College. A fine School for Ladies and Gentlemen. Several Courses leading to Degrees. Good Boarding Halls and School-Buildings, Delightful Climate, Thorough Instruction, Christian Home. For Catalogue, address J. C. KEITH, President.

DELAWARE.

DELAWARE, WILMINGTON, Franklin Street.

The Misses Hebb's English, French and German Boarding and Day School for young ladies and girls reopens September 22, 1891.

ILLINOIS.

ILLINOIS, CHICAGO, 479 and 481 Dearborn Avenue.

Girls' Higher School. Sixteenth year. Boarding and Day School. English, Classical and Modern Language Courses. Prepares for College.

Miss R. S. RICE, } Principals.
Miss MARY E. BEKDY, }

MARYLAND.

MARYLAND, BALTIMORE.

The Woman's College of Baltimore. Rev. John F. Goucher, D.D., President. An institution of highest grade for the liberal education of young women. For programs containing full particulars address as above.

NEW JERSEY.

NEW JERSEY, BRIDGETON.

Seven Gables. Mrs. Westcott's Boarding-School for Young Ladies. School Certificate gives full admission to Smith College without further examination. Health record of Bridgeton first in the State. Gymnasium. Illustrated circular.

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK, KINGSTON-ON-HUDSON.

Golden Hill Preparatory School for Boys. JOHN M. CROSS, A.M., Principal.

NORTH CAROLINA.

NORTH CAROLINA, RALEIGH.

St. Mary's School for Girls. (Established in 1842.) For catalogue address the Rector.

REV. BENNETT SMEDES, A.M.

OHIO.

OHIO, GLENDALE.

Glendale Female College. Fifteen miles north of Cincinnati. Best facilities, with careful family supervision and care. Rev. L. D. POTTER, D.D.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PENNSYLVANIA, CHAMBERSBURG.

Wilson College for Young Women. Fifty miles southwest of Harrisburg, in famous Cumberland Valley. Border climate, avoiding bleak north. \$250 per year for board, room, etc. Large Music College and Art School. Handsome Park, Large Buildings, Steam Heat, Gymnasium. Address Rev. J. EDGAR, Ph.D., President.

LANGUAGES

FRENCH, GERMAN
SPANISH, ITALIAN

Actually Spoken and Mastered in Ten Weeks without leaving your homes by Dr. Rosenthal's Meisterschaft System. 550th Thousand. Pupils taught as if actually in the presence of the teacher. \$5.00 for membership each Language. All questions answered and all exercises corrected free of charge. Specimen Copies, Part I, 25 cents. Send for Circulars.

THE MEISTERSCHAFT PUBLISHING CO.

No. 196

SUMMER STREET
Boston, Mass.

IN 10 WEEKS.

MR. E. A. FREEMAN,

Recent Important Papers.

Ancient Church Endowments. *Contemporary Review*, February, 1891.

Ancient Lay Endowments. *Contemporary Review*, June, 1891.

Latest Theories on the Origin of the English. *Contemporary Review*, January, 1890.

Carthage. *Contemporary Review*, September, 1890.

Price, 40 cents each.

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION CO.,

231 Broadway, New York.

Digitized by Google

THE NEW THEOLOGY.

The Fourth Gospel. Prof. EMIL SCHURER, D.D. *Contemporary Review*, September, 1891.

Dr. Schurer on the Fourth Gospel. Prof. SANDAY. *Contemporary Review*, October, 1891.

The Fourth Gospel. Rev. W. W. PEYTON. *Contemporary Review*, November, 1891.

Canon Driver on the Book of the Law. PRINCIPAL CAVE, D.D. *Contemporary Review*, December, 1891.

Beliefs in Immortality. Rev. Prof. CHEYNE. *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1891.

Price, each, postpaid, 40 cents.

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION CO.,

231 Broadway, New York.

GOLD MEDAL, PARIS, 1878.

W. BAKER & Co.'s
Breakfast
Cocoa



from which the excess of oil has been removed,
Is Absolutely Pure and it is Soluble.

No Chemicals

are used in its preparation. It has more than three times the strength of Cocoa mixed with Starch,

Arrowroot or Sugar, and is therefore far more economical, costing less than one cent a cup. It is delicious, nourishing, strengthening, EASILY DIGESTED, and admirably adapted for invalids as well as for persons in health.

Sold by Grocers everywhere.

W. BAKER & CO., DORCHESTER, MASS.

INCORPORATED 1847.



Penn Mutual Life
Insurance Company,

OF PHILADELPHIA, PA.

GROSS ASSETS,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$18,551,388.00
SURPLUS,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,465,689 00

The Policy Contracts of this Company embrace all the liberal features of every other. They become INCONTESTABLE two years from date. They are absolutely NON-FORFEITABLE, the entire "reserve" at lapse being applied either to the EXTENSION of the original sum insured, or to the purchase of PAID-UP insurance.

CASH VALUES GUARANTEED,

EDWARD M. NEEDLES, President.

HORATIO S. STEPHENS, Vice-Pres.

J. O. BROWN, Secretary and Treasurer.

J. BARKER, Actuary.

JOHN W. HAMER, Manager of Loan Dept.

HENRY O. LIPPINCOTT, Manager of Agencies.

HENRY H. HALLOWELL, Asst Sec'y and Treas.

"It is edited with great care, and contributions from only the best writers find their way into its pages."—*Omaha Bee*.

The Westminster Review for 1892.

A NEW COMBINATION.

With 1892 the WESTMINSTER REVIEW is placed in combination with the three monthly Reviews, the NINETEENTH CENTURY, CONTEMPORARY REVIEW and FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW. This new arrangement has been made in response to many requests for such a combination, and it will undoubtedly be very popular.

The WESTMINSTER is the leading radical Review of the world. It stands in the forefront of every movement for reform and for progress. It seeks to "lighten" the dark spots of humanity, to make men more human, civilization more civilized.

The discussion of current economic questions in the WESTMINSTER are among its most noticeable and valuable features, and its reviews of CURRENT LITERATURE—a feature peculiar to this Review—are most reliable and accessible.

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS:

Per year, \$4.50; single copies, 40 cents.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW in combination with THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW and THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW: any one, \$4.50 per year; any two, \$8.50; any three, \$12.00; all four, \$16.00.

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION CO.,

231 Broadway, New York.

SAVE MONEY

in buying periodicals by subscribing through our authorized agency for all American and Foreign Periodicals. If you want any Newspaper, Magazine, Paper or Review, or a Periodical of any kind published in this country or abroad, in English or a Foreign language, write to us and we can save you both time and money in making your subscription.

Our Mutual Rate Catalogue contains a selected list of popular periodicals at much reduced prices. Sent, post free, to all mentioning this publication.

MUTUAL SUBSCRIPTION COMPANY,

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

A Talk Among Authorities.

"It is here ~~we~~ must turn for the latest results of thought or science, for the latest news of discovery and investigation, and for the soundest dicta of criticism," remarks the scholarly *Independent*.

"Excels every periodical in the timeliness and importance of its articles," breaks in the *American Hebrew*.

"Its great reputation," remarks the Roman Catholic *Republic*, carefully removing some dust from its cassock, "unquestionably rests on its broad and liberal editing."

"Ah," says the Episcopalian *Living Church*, "it is flavorful, nutritious reading," and smacks its lips over the good things it has had in it.

"It would be difficult," adds the *National Presbyterian* genially, "for any cultured reader not to be satisfied with it."

It is a chorus of praise—no jarring word, no difference among the most diverse minds—all united on the subject of the "Nineteenth Century," sold in the original English edition at \$4.50 per year, or with the "Contemporary," "Fortnightly" and "Westminster," at \$8.50 for any two, \$12.00 for any three, \$16.00 for all four.

Write for circulars.
331 Broadway, New York.

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE, 1891.

JANUARY.

Shakespeare's Women — Hermione. Helena Faucit Martin.
The Shrouded Watcher.
The Old Saloon: Recent German Fiction.
The Sussex Rhine — (Sedgemoor). David Beames.
A Secret Mission.
Froude's Lord Beaconsfield.
Madeleine's Story. E. Keary.
The Problem of the Suma.
Doves and Ravens: A Christmas-tide Fantasy.
For the Panel of an Old Case Clock.
The Parnell Imbroglio. Lord Brabourne.

FEBRUARY.

The Royal Stuarts and Their Capital.
Yankee Homes and Buffalo Haunts. A. Haggard.
Lord Houghton.
Prof. Lombroso's Theory of Political Crime. Helen Zimmern.
An Evening with Schliemann.
Madeleine's Story. E. Keary.
A Ride in Kaffirland. J. E. C. Bodley.
The French Academy.
On Surrey Hills. A Son of the Marshes.
Propped System in Morocco. Donald MacKenzie.
Growing Unpopularity of Military Service. Maj.-Gen. Trench.
Alexander William Kinglake.

MARCH.

A Suffolk Parson. Francis Hindes Groome.
Madeleine's Story. E. Keary.
Memoir of Sir Edgar Boehm. Constance Eaglestone.
"Zé Povinho," the Portuguese Peasant.
A Song in Winter.
George MacDonald as a Poet. W. D. Geddes.
The Muqaddam of Spins.
Archæological Nomads in Rugged Cilicia. J. T. Bent.
Early Roman Inscription on the Base of a Statue.
Gold-Supply of England and India. Clarmont Daniell.
Ancient Lights in the Guelph Exhibition. Sir H. E. Maxwell.
Crofter Migration. An Islesman.
An Irish Landlord.

APRIL.

Chronicles of Westerly: A Provincial Sketch.
In the Ranks of the United States Army.
The Population of Old London. Dr. C. Creighton.
Politics in Fiction.
Elizabeth Carter. L. B. Walford.
Nissá: A True Story of Isfahan.
Musical Instruments and Their Homes. C. F. G. Cumming.
Civilisation. Sir H. E. Maxwell.
Three Scottish Barldoms.
Limitations of Parliamentary Government.

MAY.

Chronicles of Westerly: A Provincial Sketch.
Some Very Noble Savages. Lt.-Col. H. Knollys.
My Novels.
Idyllic Switzerland. G. C. Swayne.
Training of Polo-Ponies. J. Moray-Brown.
From Bannockburn to Poitiers.
An Indian Ring.
Talleyrand.
Labour versus Capital in Britain.
John Murray and His Friends.
Despotism, Anarchy and Corruption in the U. S.

JUNE.

The Pope and His Writings. Dr. Sigmund Münz.
Contrast. Sir H. Maxwell.
Ways and Whims of Fresh-water Fishes. A Son of the Marshes.
Chronicles of Westerly: A Provincial Sketch.
Growing Unpopularity of Military Service. Maj.-Gen Trench.
A Night in a Haystack. Jack the Shepherd.
Squire Doot of Doot Hall, Doot Hill, Ireland.
Richard de la Pole. "White Rose." H. W. Wolff.
A Trouble before America. W. Moffatt.
Jewish Colonies in Palestine. Maj. C. R. Conder.
Index.

JULY.

Laurence Oliphant.
Eve of St. John in a Deserted Châlet. Frank Cowper.
Recent French Novels.
Chronicles of Westerly: A Provincial Sketch.
A Day's Raid into Northumberland. Prof. Veitch.
Studies in Tactical Progress during the Last Twenty-five Years.
A Roadside Naturalist. A Son of the Marshes.
Telepathy. Reginald Courtenay, D.D.
Peel. Herbert Cowell.

AUGUST.

Sir John MacDonald. Martin J. Griffin.
Cookery.
Francesca's Revenge. Hon. Kathleen Lyttelton.
Studies in Tactical Progress during the Last Twenty-five Years.
Chronicles of Westerly: A Provincial Sketch.
Names in Novels.
Woodcock, Snipe and Plover. A Son of the Marshes.
Mnemosyne. Sir H. Maxwell.
Access to Mountains. J. P. Smith.
The Old Saloon.
The Session and the Government.

SEPTEMBER.

Diamond-Digging in South Africa. Henry Knollys, R.A.
The Songs and Ballads of Fife.
Across Rannoch Moor.
Chronicles of Westerly: A Provincial Sketch.
Macbeth as the Celtic Type.
My Pythagorean Friend.
Eton Montem: A Memory of the Past.
Early Settlers in English America.
A Country Town.
A Black Stag in Monar.
Mr. Russell Lowell.

OCTOBER.

Current Influences on Foreign Politics.
Molière's *Débats* on the Theatre. H. M. Trollope.
Danovitch: A Russian Romance.
A Winter Station.
Captain Ludwey's Jump. Dorothea Gerard.
Elves—Imps. Will Foster.
Chronicles of Westerly: A Provincial Sketch.
An Historical Clock. J. A. Owen.
Imagination. Sir H. Maxwell.
To James Russell Lowell. W. W. Story.
John Inglis, Justice-General of Scotland.
The Seal-Fisheries Question.

NOVEMBER.

"The Elegie."
The Future *Rôle* of the Army Reserve. Maj.-Gen Trench.
Autumn Lights and Shades. "A Son of the Marshes."
Dawn in Nyassaland. Dr. D. Kerr Cross.
Chronicles of Westerly: A Provincial Sketch.
Von Moltke's War of 1870-71. General Sir A. Allison.
The Auld House o' Gask. J. S. Blackie.
The Egyptians and the Occupation.
The Old Saloon.
The Riots in China.
The Right Hon. W. H. Smith.

DECEMBER.

The Russians on the Pamirs.
Pearlin' Jean. J. M. Scott-Moncrieff.
The Scene of the Riots in China. W. B. Harris.
Chronicles of Westerly: A Provincial Sketch.
New England Puritans.
Lord Lynedoch. J. S. Blackie.
Among Cottage People.
Protecting Colour in Animals. F. E. Beddard.
Portuguese Republicanism and the Military Revolt.
W. Vivian.
An Italian on George Eliot.
Rights of Capital and of Labour.
Index.

Deer Park and Oakland,

ON THE CREST OF THE ALLEGHANIES,

3,000 FEET ABOVE TIDE-WATER.

SEASON OPENS JUNE 22, 1892.

JUNE 22,

1892.

These famous mountain resorts, situated at the summit of the Alleghanies, and directly upon the main line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, have the advantage of its splendid vestibuled express-train service both east and west, and are therefore readily accessible from all parts of the country. All Baltimore and Ohio trains stop at Deer Park and Oakland during the season.

Electric lights have been introduced throughout the houses and grounds; Turkish and Russian baths and large swimming-pools provided for ladies and gentlemen; suitable grounds for lawn tennis; bowling alleys and billiard-rooms are here; fine riding and driving horses, carriages, mountain wagons, tally-ho coaches, etc., are kept for hire; in short, all the necessary adjuncts for the comfort, health, or pleasure of patrons.

Rates, \$60, \$75 and \$90 a month, according to location.

ALL COMMUNICATIONS should be addressed to **GEORGE D. DeSHIELDS, Manager Baltimore and Ohio Hotels, Cumberland, Md., up to June 10; after that date, either Deer Park or Oakland, Garrett County, Md.**

THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

APRIL, 1892.

CONTENTS.

- ART. I.—HERALDRY, BRITISH AND FOREIGN. By H. GOUGH.
,, II.—THE CANARY ISLANDERS. By C. R. CONDER, R.E.,
D.C.L., LL.D., M.A.R.S.
,, III.—DAVID, DUKE OF ROTHESAY. By THE MARQUESS OF
BUTE, K.T.
,, IV.—A NEW RELIGION. By COUTTS TROTTER.
,, V.—JOHN MAJOR, SCOTTISH SCHOLASTIC, 1470-1550.
By T. G. LAW.
,, VI.—HYMNOLOGY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By
J. TELFORD.
,, VII.—THE DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. By JOHN
MACKAY.
,, VIII.—THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE.
By J. BEDDOE, LL.D.
,, IX.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.
,, X.—CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

NEW YORK:
LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY,
231 BROADWAY

PUBLISHERS OF
CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. NINETEENTH CENTURY. FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.
BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE.
EDINBURGH, QUARTERLY, WESTMINSTER AND SCOTTISH REVIEWS.
SHAKESPEARIANA.

Registered at New York Post Office as Second Class Matter.

ALEXANDER GARDNER;
Publisher to Her Majesty the Queen.
PAISLEY, AND 26 PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1891.

JANUARY.

Professor Huxley on the Warpath. Duke of Argyll.
Home Rule for the Navy. Lieut.-Gen. Sir Wm. F. Drummond
Jervois.
Shut Up in the African Forest. Lieut. W. G. Stairs.
Velasquez and His King. H. Arthur Kennedy.
Labour Colonies in Germany. Rt. Hon. Earl of Meath.
The New 'Oreo'. J. A. Fuller Maitland.
The Jew as a Workman. David P. Schlos.
Vert and Venerly. Viscount Lynton, M.P.
Random Roaming. Rev. Dr. Jessopp.
Hypnotism, Crime and the Doctors. Geo. C. Kingsbury.
Animal Immortality. Norman Pearson.
The Rival Coalitions. Edward Dicey.

FEBRUARY.

Cardinal Newman's Scriptism. Leslie Stephen.
Tyranny of the 'Nonconformist Conscience.' Hon. R. B.
Brett.
Turnerian Landscape. A. W. Hunt.
Defeat of Trade Unionism in Australia. H. H. Champion.
Scottish Railway Strike. Sir Herbert Maxwell.
The Father of All the Goats. E. N. Buxton.
A Japanese View of New Japan. Takuro Goh.
Pity the Poor Birds! Rev. Dr. Jessopp.
The Decline of Indian Taste. Mrs. Kingscote.
The War-Games. Col. Lonsdale Hale.
Forged Literature. Henry G. Hewlett.
Prof. Huxley and the Swine-Miracle. Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

MARCH.

Women of India. Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava.
Advantages of Poverty. Andrew Carnegie.
Ship Railways. Sir Benjamin Baker.
The Recruiting Problem. Archibald Forbes.
Visit to the Grande Chartreuse. Mrs. Locky.
Over-Mortgaging the Land. Rt. Hon. Lord Vernon.
Parliamentary Obstruction in the U. S. Hon. H. C. Lodge.
Fragments of Irish Chronicle. Hon. Emily Lawless.
Mr. Champion on the Australian Strike. J. D. Fitzgerald.
Illustrations of Mr. Gladstone's Controversial Method. Prof.
Huxley.
The New World. J. W. Cross.
John Wesley. Rev. Hugh Price Hughes.
The Joke about the Elgin Marbles. The Editor.
Commercial Union within the Empire. Rt. Hon. Earl Dun-
raven.

APRIL.

The Seamy Side of Australia. Hon. J. W. Fortescue.
Mutual Aid Among Savages. Prince Kropotkin.
Slum-Mothers and Death-Clubs. Edward Berdoe.
Story of Bianca Cappello. H. Schutts Wilson.
State-Made Farmers. William E. Bear.
A Stone Book. Miss Bradley.
The Progress of Welsh Disestablishment. Rt. Hon. G. O.
Morgan.
Is it to be Civil War? A. P. Laurie.
A Department of Health. Hon. R. Russell.
A Model Dairy. Rt. Hon. Earl of Meath.
Science and a Future Life. F. W. H. Myers.
Five Thousand Miles with Range-Cattle. Nels Loring.
Talleyrand's Memoirs. Rt. Hon. Lord Acton.
Professor Huxley and the Duke of Argyll. Duke of Argyll.
Letter from Mr. Gladstone.

MAY.

Judicial Shock to Marriage. Mrs. E. Lynn Linton.
Italy and the United States. Mrs. Jessie White Mario.
Resuscitation by Oxygen. Lieut.-Col. Henry Eisdale.
Town and Country Parsons. Rev. Harry Jones.
Kaiser-i-Hind and Hindoostani. Raddudin Ahmad.
Notable Books: (1) Ester Pentreath. Rt. Hon. Leonard
Courtney. (2) Mr. Locky's New Volumes. Mrs. S. Lilly. (3)
Untrodden Ground in Astronomy and Geology. Maj.-Gen.
Sir J. C. Cowell. (4) Religious Renaissance in Italy. Man-
rice Hewlett. (5) Animal Life and Intelligence. Professor
G. J. Romanes. (6) Philomathia. Mrs. Humphry Ward.
Royal Society of Painter Etchers. F. S. Haden.
Warfare of the Future. Archibald Forbes.
'Enormous Antiquity' of the East. Prof. Max Muller.
Realm of the Microbe. Mrs. Priestley.
'Trusta.' Samuel Pimell.
Is it Aristotle's Tomb? Dr. C. Waldstein.

JUNE.

The Opium 'Resolution.' Sir J. F. Stephen.
Analysis of Voluntary Movement. Victor Horsley.
Description of Manipur. Sir James Johnston.
Social Aspects of American Life. Hamilton Aide.
Hassadra's Adventure. Prof. Huxley.
Duel between Public Schools and Private 'Coaches.' Walter
Wren.
Mohammedan Women. Mrs. Reichardt.
From the Albert Nyanza to the Indian Ocean. Lieut. W. G.
Stairs.
Tear of Jew. Countess of Desart.
Witnesses to the Unseen. Wilfrid Ward.
The Bombardment of Igloo. Archer P. Crouch.
Morocco - the World's Last Market. Charles F. Goss.
Is Free Education a Bribe? T. E. Kobbell.
The McKinley Bill. Andrew Carnegie.

JULY.

Gambling and the Law. J. F. Stephen.
The Public Domain. Gen. Sir G. Chesney.
Woodlands. Sir Herbert Maxwell.
Fair Taxation of Ground-Rents. Robert Hunter.
Paqueale de Pauli. W. F. Lord.
Industries of Ancient India. Raja Muri Masohar.
His Women. As Politicians. Mrs. Lynn Linton.
A Labour Inquiry. H. H. Champion.
1798: a Rastie Retrospect. Rev. Dr. Jessopp.
How to Utilise the Naval Volunteers. H. O. Arnold-Forster.
Congregationalist Council. Rev. J. G. Rogers.
Feet of the Klephs. Rennell Rodd.
'Commonwealth of Australia.' G. H. Reid.
Sir John Macdonald on Imperial Federation. S. B. Boulton.

AUGUST.

Our Dealings with the Poor. Miss Octavia Hill.
The Next Parliament. Edward Dicey.
A War Correspondent's Reminiscences. Archibald Forbes.
Future of Landscape Art. J. S. Little.
Demography. Sir Douglas Galton.
Certain Ecclesiastical Miracles. Rev. Father Ryder.
'Confusion Worse Confounded' at the War Office. Gen. Sir
George Chesney.
Drama of the Moment. H. A. Kennedy.
Theodore de Beaulieu. R. E. Prothero.
French in Tonquin. Rt. Hon. Lord Lamington.
'Seamy Side of Australia.' Howard Willoughby.
Identification by Finger-tips. By Francis Galton.
Frontiers and Protectorates. Sir Alfred C. Lyall.

SEPTEMBER.

Electoral Facts. Hon. W. E. Gladstone.
British in East Africa. Marquis of Lorne.
Last Bit of Natural Woodland. Hon. Auberon Herbert.
Ferdinand Lassalle. Mrs. Arthur Kennard.
Compulsory Insurance in Germany. Prof. Goffken.
The Real Status of Women in Islam. Amer. Ali.
Can Railway-Passenger Fares be Lowered? W. M. Acworth.
A War Correspondent's Reminiscences. Archibald Forbes.
Gutless Australia. Hon. J. Fortescue.
Our Worn-out Parsons. Rev. Dr. Jessopp.
French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II. J. J. Jusse
and
Imperial Federation. Hon. Lord Brassey, Andrew Carnegie.

OCTOBER.

Federating the Empire. Sir Charles Tupper.
Question of Disestablishment. Prof. Goldwin Smith.
Private Life of Sir Thomas More. Miss Agnes Lambert.
Welsh Fairies. Professor Rhys.
The Wisdom of Gumbo. Edward Wakefield.
Immigration Troubles of the U. S. W. H. Wilkins.
Wild Women as Social Insurgents. Mrs. Lynn Linton.
Naval Policy of France. Rt. Hon. G. Shaw Feslerv.
Military Forces of the Crown. Gen. Sir John Aysc.
Strange Thoughts of an Indian Girl. Miss Cornelia Sorabji.
A Bardic Chronicle. Hon. Emily Lawless.
Ancient Beliefs in a Future State. Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

NOVEMBER.

Spurious Works of Art. Sir Charles Robinson.
Unpublished Pages of Popsy's Diary. H. B. Wheatley.
The Christian Hell. John Shaw.
Is Man the Only Reasoner? James Sully.
The Mises of Herodes. C. Whibley.
Byron at Pisa. Mrs. Ross.
The Psychological Society's Ghosts. A. Taylor Innes.
House of Commons and the Lord Stanley of Alderly
French Authors on Each Other. E. Deillie.
Is Our Yeomanry Worth Preserving? Hon. Earl of Airlie.
Life in a Jesuit College. H. Dnievicki.
Darwinism in the Nursery. Louis Robinson, M.D.
My Critics. Edward Dicey.

DECEMBER.

German Newspaper Press. Charles Lowe.
'Hibernia Pacata.' Rt. Hon. Viscount de Veod.
Re-organise the War Department. Gen. Sir G. Chesney.
Gardens. Sir Herbert Maxwell.
Milton's Maneth. Professor Hales.
Diminution of Drunkenness in Norway. Earl of Meath.
Women and the Glove Trade. Miss A. Heather-Bigg.
Beliefs in Immortality. Rev. Prof. Chesne.
Railway Journey with Mr. Parnell. Lord Ribblesdale.
New Science - Preventive Medicine. Dr. Armand Ruffet.
A Suggestion for My Betters. Rev. Dr. Jessopp.
Trade in the Malay Peninsula. Hon. Martin Lister.
Shakespeare and Modern Greek. Professor Blackie.
Moltke and Moltkeism. Archibald Forbes.
The Labour 'Platform' at the Next Election. H. H. Cham-
plon.

Fine Carpetings, AXMINSTERS, WILTONS, VELVETS, AND MOQUETTES.

For DRAWING and RECEPTION
ROOMS, LIBRARIES,
and HALLS.

In these goods, noted for their superior
WEARING QUALITIES, we show a large
and complete stock of most artistic and beauti-
fully colored designs, manufactured expressly
to our order, which we offer at popular prices.
Samples and estimate on application.

W. & J. SLOANE,
BROADWAY,
18th and 19th Sts., 33-35 East 18th St.
NEW YORK.



The
1892
Model
of the
Remington
is now
on the market.

LE BOUTILLIER BROS.,

14th Street, New York.

NEW SILKS.

22-inch Figured India Silks, new designs and colorings, worth 50c.....	33c.
24-inch Figured India Silks, Paris designs, our own importation, worth 85c.....	69c.
27-inch Figured Indias, a retiring importer's entire stock, best goods, bought by us at a great sacrifice, worth \$1.00.....	79c.
Black Surah Silks, 38c., 59c., 69c. and Plain colored Changeable Merveilleux, worth \$1.00.....	59c. 68c.

NEW DRESS GOODS.

Cheviots, all wool, new spring designs.....	49c.
French Suitings, latest designs.....	75c.
French Broadcloths, superfine without nap, will not wear rough, light weight, new colorings, unsurpassed by any \$2.25 cloth sold elsewhere.....	\$1.29

NEW WASH FABRICS.

Scotch Ginghams, stripes, plaids, figures, 30c.	30c.
French Satenes, India silk patterns.....	35c.
French Challies, latest Paris designs.....	58c.

NEW EMBROIDERIES.

Entire spring stock of a large Swiss manufacturer of Colored Embroideries bought by us at a great sacrifice.

Skirtings, 45-inch, worth 75c. to \$3.50.....	49c. to \$1.25
Children's Widths, worth 50c. to \$2.50.....	29c. to 98c.

RUGS.

Japanese Rugs, 26 x 34 inches.....	\$1.25
Daghestan Rugs, 3 x 6 ft., worth \$7.50.....	4.98
Japanese Rugs, 9 x 12 ft., worth \$25.00.....	17.50

Illustrated Catalogue mailed free.

Write to us for Samples or information.

Le Boutillier Bros., 14th St., New York.

Constant improvement has characterized the history of the Remington Standard Typewriter. The changes introduced into the 1892 model represent the carefully tested results of expert study of various points deemed capable of improvement. They present advantages in the quality of the work, and ease as well as convenience of operation which will readily commend themselves to all users.

Wyckoff,
Seamans &
Benedict.
327 Broadway, New York.

**Nineteenth Century
Contemporary Review
Fortnightly Review
Westminster Review
Edinburgh Review
Quarterly Review
Scottish Review
Blackwood's Magazine**

YOU CAN SAVE NEARLY

50%

By subscribing to these Reviews through us. We furnish the original English copies, printed in England by authority of the English publishers.

The Independent (New York) says of these Reviews:

"While England has nothing to compare with our illustrated magazines, we have nothing to compare with NINETEENTH CENTURY, THE FORTNIGHTLY, THE CONTEMPORARY. They force in on any thoughtful reader the conviction that it is to these English Reviews we must turn for the latest results of thought or science, for the latest news of discovery and investigation, and for the sound dicta of criticism."

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS.

NINETEENTH CENTURY, CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, WESTMINSTER REVIEW, each per year; any two, \$8.50; any three, \$12.00; all four, \$16.00; single copies, 40 cents. EDINBURGH QUARTERLY REVIEW, SCOTTISH REVIEW, each \$4.00 per year; any two, \$7.50; all three, \$10.50; single, \$1.25. BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE, \$3.00 per year, single copies, 30 cents; with one quarterly, \$6.50; with two, \$10.00; with three, \$13.00.

SHAKESPEARIANA. { An Illustrated American Quarterly Magazine. Price, \$2.00 per year.

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY

231 Broadway, New York.

3974